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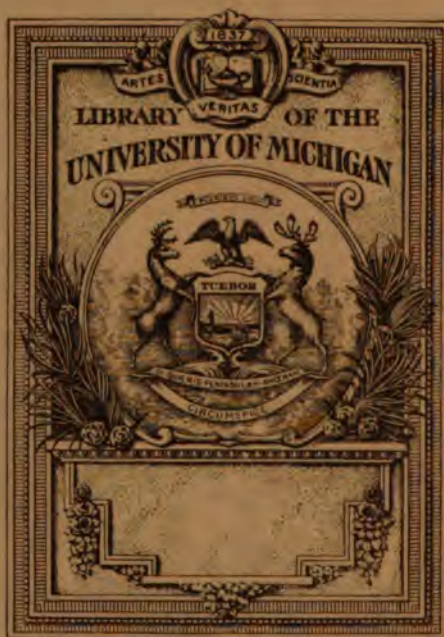
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THE
OFFICIAL REPORT
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS
HELD AT
SHREWSBURY, OCTOBER, 1896.



ADENEY & SON,

ESTABLISHED 1774.

UNDER THE HIGHEST PATRONAGE.

Clerical and General Tailors,

16, SACKVILLE STREET,

PICCADILLY

LONDON, W.

THE
OFFICIAL REPORT
General Synodical Conference
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT SHREWSBURY,

ON OCTOBER 6TH, 7TH, 8TH, AND 9TH,

1896.



EDITED BY THE REV. C. DUNKLEY.

Vicar of S. Mary's, Wolverhampton.



London:

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AND DERBY.

1896.

The Corporation of the Church House,

DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

PRESIDENT—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

THE RIGHT HON. AND RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

COUNCIL—THE PRESIDENT; HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK; THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, and twelve other *ex-officio* or elected Members.



THE GREAT HALL OF THE CHURCH HOUSE.

Opened February 11th, 1896.

Encouraged by the success of past efforts, and convinced that their true policy is to go forward, the Council have decided to appeal at once for funds for the erection of the western side of the quadrangle adjoining the Great Hall, in Great Smith Street.

This new block, the cost of which is estimated at about £18,000, will contain, *inter alia*, the permanent Hall for the use of the House of Laymen.

This Hall will be dedicated to the memory of the late Mr. Henry Hoare, the Layman who was in the very front of the movement for the revival of Convocation.

Towards this expenditure £4,500 has already been promised, leaving the sum of £13,500 still to be raised.

The opening of the new premises has entailed an increased annual expenditure, and as the hire of the rooms has been fixed on a very moderate scale, it is of importance that the number of Annual Subscriptions, which constitute the source of income most to be relied upon, should be increased.

Some ways of helping to complete the Church House.

- (1) By Donation to the Building Fund.
- (2) By becoming a Member of the Corporation.

Membership of the Corporation may be acquired by persons of either sex (being Members of the Church of England, or of any Church in full communion therewith) by an Annual Subscription of at least One Guinea; Life Membership by a Donation in one sum of at least Ten Guineas.

Associates are admitted to the Library and Reading Room on the payment of Five Shillings a year.

- (3) By becoming an Associate.
- (4) By taking a Collecting Card or Box.
- (5) By giving a Drawing Room or Garden Meeting.
- (6) By Organizing a Parish Meeting.
- (7) By Church Offertory.
- (8) By Legacy.

Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, SYDNEY W. FLAMANK, Esq., Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.

P R E F A C E.

IN his Presidential Address the Bishop of Lichfield remarked: "We only wish that our Archbishop could have been with us to-day. We should have welcomed him dutifully; we should have listened to him attentively; and I hope we should have entertained him hospitably." And on the morrow of Congress, before many who were at Shrewsbury had reached home, God had called our beloved Archbishop home. The Church reeled under the awful suddenness of the blow; and Churchmen everywhere, at home and abroad, felt the smarting pain of a personal loss—the loss, indeed, of one of the Church's choicest spirits. For the Archbishop was, to the Church he loved and served so devotedly, more than a great Churchman, more than a brave, patient, and energetic chief, more than a wise and skilful pilot, more than a firm yet gentle ruler—he was "a man greatly beloved"; beloved not only for his words and works, but even more for what he was—a holy man of God. Here let it be said how greatly valued were the kind services the late Archbishop rendered to the Church Congress through many years. His presence always meant a considerable accession to the roll of membership. His appearance on the Congress platform was the signal for a perfect ovation. His counsels, whether in sermon or address, were exhilarating and inspiring. No one understood better than he the aim and purpose of the Church Congress, or how to turn the opportunity of its assembling to good account. "It is the high function of a Congress," he remarked at Folkestone, from the Presidential chair, "to stimulate us to realize new acquisitions, to communicate our own fullest certainties, to recognize the measure of our task, and

to understand the living force given us for its accomplishment." And who that was present at Rhyl Congress, in 1891, will ever forget that unique demonstration of delight and enthusiasm, when, at the inaugural meeting, the Archbishop concluded his stirring appeal to Welsh Churchmen with the assurance, "I come from the steps of the chair of Augustine, your younger ally, to tell you that, by the benediction of God, we will not quietly see you disinherited." He "being dead yet speaketh." "He rests from his labours"; and "his works do follow him."

Notwithstanding the gloomy prognostications of some journals, Shrewsbury Church Congress has proved one of the most useful and successful of the long series. In regard to numbers, it is true Shrewsbury did not reach the high water-mark of Manchester or Birmingham; but the roll of membership exceeded by several hundreds the calculated expectations of those who were in a position to form an approximate estimate of the possible attendance. The returns show:—

Members of Congress	2,601
Day Ticket Holders	1,678
Evening Ticket Holders	441

a grand total of 4,720. Besides these, 2,950 free tickets were distributed amongst the working men and women of town and district, viz.: for men, 1,750; for women, 1,200. The accommodation of the Halls was as follow—Congress Hall (specially built) 2,500 seats (measured on a scale of 20 inches per seat); Music Hall, for the Sectional Meetings, 850; Working Men's Hall, for alternative use and extra meetings, 650 seats.

The large audiences, holding well together at nearly all the meetings, formed a striking feature of this year's Congress. For example, the attendance at the inaugural meeting was proportionately larger than for some years past. Elementary Education and Foreign Missions drew vast audiences; while on Friday morning, at the Devotional Meeting, the Congress Hall was crowded in every part, passages as well as seats; and in the afternoon, when "Tendencies in Modern Society"

was debated, the same Hall was literally packed with the largest audience of the whole Congress. "Church Reform" held the first place among the Subjects discussed; no less than five meetings being set apart to the discussion of one or another phase of this subject. The large and appreciative audiences at these meetings, and the number of volunteer speakers—*e.g.*, "Appointment, Tenure, etc.," 9; "Concession of Legislative Power," 11; "The part of the Laity, 9;—demonstrated the wide and keen interest taken in this practical subject. A great advance has been registered at Shrewsbury in respect of the amount of discussion. At no session did the discussion fail for lack of volunteers; yet several subjects were admittedly stiff and technical. Perhaps the most remarkable example of this was the debate on "Evolution," which was maintained, and maintained at a very high level of intellectual thought, to the utmost limit of the time allowed. Such results have justified the Committee in regard to (1) the *limitation* of sectional meetings; (2) a reduction in the number of invited Readers and Speakers, and of the time allotted to these; (3) the option given to Readers and Speakers to read or speak.

The recent promulgation of a Papal Bull on Anglican Orders gave a distinct colouring and incisiveness to the debates on "The National Church" and "The Continuity of the Church of England." The papers and addresses delivered at these sessions were of the highest order, and will prove of the greatest possible use at the present time. These, and the discussions which followed, demonstrated the essential unity and solidarity of the Anglican Communion, notwithstanding divergencies of opinion and differences of operations.

Some changes made this year were endorsed with the approbation of Congress: *e.g.*, (1) the holding of the usual *Conversazione*, by the thoughtful kindness of the Mayor, on Thursday instead of Friday; (2) the devotional subject was opened by three appointed Readers; and the hour left for discussion was fully utilised; (3) the discussions ended on Friday afternoon; and Congress concluded its proceedings, as it

began them, in the sanctuary, with an act of worship—a service of praise and thanksgiving. The opening and the closing services were held in three churches, which on both occasions were all filled—S. Chad's, S. Mary's, and Holy Cross.

This Congress will be remembered (to quote the words of Archdeacon Emery) as “a uniting Congress.” A visitor from the Diocese of Winchester, attending a Church Congress for the first time, said to the writer, “This is a revelation to me; I had no conception the Church of England, as an intellectual and spiritual force, could present herself with such power.”

I wish, in conclusion, to acknowledge the services rendered to Congress and to myself by the official reporter (Mr. C. Basil Cooke) and his able staff. Messrs. Bemrose and Sons, Limited, Publishers, have, by the careful accuracy which distinguishes their work, made my task as light as it well could be; and they have again been successful in issuing the Official Report—a bulky volume of 600 pages—within five or six weeks of Congress. My thanks are tendered to the Readers and Speakers for their kind assistance in revising and returning promptly the proof sheets of their contributions. On behalf of all who were connected with Shrewsbury Congress—Readers, Speakers, Visitors—and this year I must add the Press—I take the liberty of expressing their grateful sense of the obligations they are under to the Hon. Secretaries and the Committees, specially mentioning the Bishop of Shrewsbury, whose praise was on every lip; to the Right Worshipful the Mayor (W. Maynard How, Esq.), and the hospitable inhabitants of Shrewsbury and the vicinity, for the bountiful care and provision made for the comfort and happiness of the members of the Shrewsbury Congress, the recollection of which will remain a pleasant memory for long years.

May God's blessing go forth with this book and make it a blessing to the Church and her children.

C. DUNKLEY, EDITOR.

*S. Mary's Vicarage,
Wolverhampton,*

13th November, 1896.

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Patrons :

The Most Reverend and Right Honourable the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Most Reverend and Right Honourable the Lord Archbishop of York.

President :

The Right Reverend the Honourable the Lord Bishop of Lichfield.

Vice-Presidents :

CLERGY.

The Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of Armagh.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester.
The Most Rev. the Right Hon. the Lord Archbishop of Dublin.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Newcastle.
The Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Brechin (Primus of Scotland).	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Norwich.
The Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bangor.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rochester.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of S. Albans.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of S. Asaph.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of S. David's.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chichester.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Right Rev. the Hon. the Lord Bishop of Ely.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Exeter.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Southwell.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Truro.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Hereford.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Wakefield.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Liverpool.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cashel.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Llandaff.	The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Clogher.

- The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Cork.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Killaloe.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Kilmore.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Meath.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ossory.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Tuam.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Argyll and The Isles.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Edinburgh.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Moray and Ross.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of S. Andrew's.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ballarat.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Honduras.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lebombo.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Mashonaland.
 The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Rockhampton.
 The Right Rev. the Bishop Suffragan of Barrow-in-Furness.
 The Right Rev. the Bishop Suffragan of Beverley.
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Bowen, Jones, J.
Bridgeman, Rev. the Hon.
J. R. O.
Bulkeley-Owen, Rev. T. M.
Chapman, Hillyar
Challinor, J.
Cholmondeley, Rev. R. H.
Churchill, Rev. C. J. S.
Cooper, Rev. N., R.D.
Farley, Reuben
Hall, Rev. G. T.
Harvey, Rev. Herbert
Harding, W. E.
Harrison, Mrs. Whitmore
Heber-Percy, Major
Heath, J., M.P.
Heath, A. H.
Hodgson, Prebendary, R.D.
Humphreys, Mrs. J. R.
Inge, Rev. F. G.
Kenyon, R. Ll.
Kittermaster, Rev. F. W.
Kynaston, Rev. W. C. E.
Lane, Archdeacon

£10—(continued).

Lewis, Rev. John
Lloyd, G. Butler
Lonsdale, Canon
Mainwaring, C. F. K.
McCorquodale, A. C.
Nash, Canon
Norris, Rev. J. J.
Palmer, Canon
Parker, Rev. C.
Peele, E. C.
Perry, F. C.
Perry, Miss
Poole, Frank T.
Provis, T. J.
Robinson, N.
Rowdon, Rev. W. M.
Rosedale, Rev. W. E.
Sandford, Humphrey
Scott, Archdeacon
Selwyn, Rev. W.
Severne, J. E.
Southwell, Prebendary
Stamer, Captain
Thursby-Pelham, Rev. A.,
R.D.
Vane, Rev. the Hon. G.
H. F.
Wakeman, Colonel
Whitaker, W. H.
Wiggin, Sir H., Bart.
Williams, Miss

£6.

Salt, Rev. E.
Schreiber, General

£5 5s.

Bennett, F. E.
Browne, W. Lyon
Burd, L.
Coldwell, Major.
Evans, W. Ernest
Smith, J. Parson
Withers, R. W. O. and
Mrs.

£5.

Adnitt & Naunton, Messrs.
Amphlett, Mrs.
Anson, Bishop
Armytage, F. R.
Armitage, J. Auriol
Ashwell, J. B.
Baxter, Rev. H. F.
Bateman, R.
Badnall, W. B.
Boothman, Rev. E. D.

£5—(continued).

Bridges, Mrs.
Butler, Miss
Chester, Rev. A. F., R.D.
Clarke, Rev. J. H. Courtney
Clegg, J. H.
Cunliffe, Sir R., Bart.
Daltry, Rev. T. W.
Deedes, Wyndham
Draper, Rev. W. H.
Dunville-Lees, W. G. J.
Eddowes, W.
Emson, Rev. P. A. E.
Feilden, Rev. Canon
Fletcher, Rev. Canon
Fletcher, Rev. W. G. D.
Granville, Rev. Gray, R.D.
Gwynne, S. Tayleur
Haslehurst, Rev. W. G.,
R.D.
Heber-Percy, Rev. H. V.
Herbert, Hon. R. C.
Hobson, Rev. S.
Holmes, Rev. C. T.
Hook, Rev. Cecil
Hughes, H. H.
Langley, F. T.
Longueville, Miss
Mackay, Rev. J.
Meredith, Rev. T.
Norris, W.
Oakeley, W.
Owen, H.
Owen, Rev. T.
Parkins, Rev. W. Trevor
Penny, Rev. A., R.D.
Phillips, Rev. E.
Phillips-Dickson, Rev. J.
Pryce, Mrs.
Rider, Rev. T. J.
Roberts, Rev. F.
Roddam, Miss
Rope, H. J.
Royds, Rev. G. T.
Salt, The Misses
Sandford, Folliott, Esq.
Shaw-Hellier, Colonel

£5—(continued).

Sheringham, Rev. W. A.,
R.D.
Stokes, Rev. H.
Thiselton, Rev. A. C.
Tower, Brownlow
Treasure, H. H.
Underhill, Dr.
Vernon, Rev. F.
Wilkinson, Rev. H. J.
Williams-Freeman, Capt.
Woodward, R.

£4.

Ashdown, A. H.
Charlewood, Rev. G. S.
Corbet, Rev. R. W.
Hawkins, The Misses
Owen, C. R. Mostyn
Rae, Rev. C. D., R.D.

£3 3s.

Ashley, The Rev. Pre-
bendary
Evans, G.
Holt, G. J.
Tipton, Miss
Warren, Mrs.

£3.

Cheetham, Rev. R. W.
Elliot, Prebendary, R.D.
Jellicors, Prebendary
Morrall, Cyrus
Stooke, T. S.

£2 2s.

Adams, W.
Ashworth, Mrs.
Brown, T.
Cross, W. G.
Hearn, H. J.
Ingram, Rev. E. Winning-
ton

£2 2s.—(continued).

Jones, Rev. Ll. Wynne
Kitchener, F. E.
Major, W.
Rogers, W. Fletcher
Southam & Sons, Messrs. T.
Wateridge, F. W.
Watkins, R.
Wilding, L.

£2.

Allen, Prebendary, R.D.
Arrowsmith, The Misses
Beckwith, Miss
Burden, Miss
Deakin, T. P.
Downward, The Misses
Jones, Rev. J. R.
Moncrief, Prebendary, R.D.
Owen, F. B.
Redmayne, R. R.
Webb, Rev. W. A.

£1 1s.

Annand, Rev. A. W.
Burd, Miss
Holt, Rev. G. O.
Parsons, Rev. H.
Smith, C. B.
Varley, Rev. J.
Warner, Rev. J.

£1.

Bentley, E.
Blaxland, Rev. B.
Holbech, Commander, R.N.
La Touche, Rev. J. D.
Lloyd, R. G.
McCreery, Rev. C. E.
Stephenson, Rev. J. P.
Swayne, Rev. W. S., R.D.
Wright, Rev. J. P.

10s. 6d.

Forrester, Rev. R. B.

DONATIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Miss Guise	10	10	0	Mr. Crump	3	0	0
Mr. A. Salwey	10	0	0	Mr. W. D. Haydon ..	2	2	0
Mr. Edward P. Thompson	7	0	0	Dr. Calvert	2	0	0
The Directors of the Raven				Mr. T. P. Blunt	1	1	0
Hotel	5	5	0	Mr. J. G. Livesey	1	1	0
Mr. T. F. Kynnersley, per				Mr. E. C. Kelly	1	1	0
Mr. H. D. Greene, M.P.	5	0	0	Mr. G. S. Corser	1	1	0
Mrs. Townshend Main- waring	5	0	0	Mrs. Wandesforde ..	1	0	0
Mr. R. Goodwin	5	0	0	Mrs. Hasler	0	10	6

CHURCH CONGRESS, SHREWSBURY, 1896.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
By Sale of 2,601 Tickets at 7s. 6d.	975 7 6	By Erection of Congress Hall, including Electric Lighting, Chairs, Professional Charges, &c.	1,200 19 6
" " 1,678 Daily Tickets at 2s. 6d.	209 15 0	" Hire of Halls, Lighting, Attendants, &c. . .	144 0 10
" " 441 Evening Tickets at 1s.	22 1 0	" Printing and Stationery	203 6 3
" " Official Guides, Visitors' Lists, &c.	18 8 4	" Postage, Telegrams and Carriage	56 13 1
" Donations	82 5 6	" Advertisements, Bill Posting, &c.	170 0 10
" Advertisements in Official Guide.....	50 0 0	" Clerks, Messengers, &c.....	65 13 0
" Congress Banner, collected by Lady Corbet.....	53 5 7	" Subsidy to Publishers of Official Report	100 0 0
" Hire of Room for Meetings	10 10 0	" Sundry Payments	130 19 10
" Liability of Guarantors to be called up, equal to about 4s. 6d. in the £	700 0 5	" Congress Banner	50 0 0
	<u>£2,121 13 4</u>		<u>£2,121 13 4</u>

The foregoing Account correctly states the Receipts and Expenses of the Church Congress, but owing to the amounts Guaranteed not having been collected, an audited account could not be obtained in time to publish in the Congress Report.

Certified by G. BUTLER LLOYD, *Hon. Treasurer.*
 L. T. SHREWSBURY, } *Hon. Secs.*
 H. W. ADMITT, }

Nov. 12th, 1896.

GUILD HALL.

TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

THE MAYOR'S WELCOME TO THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

The Right Worshipful W. MAYNARD HOW, Esq., M.A., the
Mayor of Shrewsbury.

MY LORD PRESIDENT, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I have the honour and the pleasure of welcoming you to Shrewsbury. I need scarcely say that I do so as Mayor on behalf of the inhabitants of this ancient borough. But I think I may claim also to speak on behalf of many who live outside its boundaries, and in their name too I bid you a hearty welcome. In doing so I have no intention of going beyond my proper sphere, but I wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging in public the great assistance and encouragement which we have received from many in the county and also from neighbouring towns, some of whose mayors have come here to represent them. My Lord President, I feel a difficulty in welcoming you as though you were a stranger coming from outside, because we have had throughout the great advantage of your superintendence in our preparations, and because your wise judgment and your unfailing courtesy have guided the deliberations of the Subjects Committee. If this Congress fulfils its promise—if in spite of the premature sneers of professional detractors in certain ephemeral publications—if it is attended, as I fully believe it will be attended, by great and undeniable success, then the credit of that success will be due to your lordship and to your indefatigable Suffragan, the Bishop of Shrewsbury, whom we all in this Council are proud to have as our chaplain. There are many others here whom I should be glad to welcome individually, but it would not be right for me in public to pick out those with whom I happen to be privately acquainted, and if I attempted to give a personal welcome to all those known to me as men of personal mark and distinction by name, I fear I should detain you far longer than the time allowed for this opening ceremony. I therefore welcome the Congress as a whole, because it is good for itself and good for us. It is good for us, not in the narrow and sordid sense that a great influx of visitors to our town must be of material benefit, but in the larger and higher sense that the discussion in our midst of great questions of the highest import, not only to the Church, but also to the Realm of England, and in some cases to the whole of Christendom, must for the time lift us above our ordinary standpoint, and by enlarging our horizon, which is too often bounded by petty cares and still more petty jealousies, enable us to catch a glimpse of the great world of life and thought which lies beyond. We welcome the Congress, too, as good in itself, because it is by its constitution admirably fitted for the elucidation of truth and for the formation of public opinion. Inasmuch as its deliberations are not followed by any show of hands or other form of vote, no speaker need be deterred by the prospect of a close division, or by the necessity of conciliating his audience, from declaring the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it may appear to him.

Inasmuch also as the audiences are not brought here for purposes of voting, and are not marshalled in opposing hosts, but by a kind of natural selection are drawn from all who take an interest in the several subjects set down for discussion, no one of us has any sufficient justification for coming here with a mind so prejudiced or pre-occupied as to be unable to give a fair and dispassionate consideration to reasoning however unaccustomed or distasteful, and to form or modify our opinions according to the weight of the argument. Amongst the subjects set down for discussion there are many, but particularly two, which especially require this dispassionate treatment—I mean the subjects of education, and the influence of the theory of evolution on Christian doctrine. Surely it is not too much to expect Churchmen at all events to agree about education. Surely we may hope that the discussion which will take place at this Congress may pave the way for a united scheme of action to be formed at the great meeting to be held in London shortly. This is not the time or place, and I am not the person to express an opinion on this subject, which is one that bristles with difficulties; but I think that outside the jar of sects and parties there is a considerable weight of opinion, hardly articulate, which is morbidly sensitive on the subject of any increase of the rates. The subject of the influence of evolution upon Christian doctrine, being theoretical, is one that admits of wider differences of opinion than education, which is a matter of practical politics; but surely here, too, the time is coming when we, who are too much occupied with the daily concerns of the world to be able to work out these subjects for ourselves, may fairly ask the admitted leaders of thought in the Church to tell us how this great theory which colours the whole of modern thought, harmonizes with Christian doctrine, and particularly with the special place of man in creation and the immortality of the human soul. I fear that you will think that I have already strayed too far from my subject, and I will not detain you longer, because the Congress is also to be welcomed by a deputation representing religious bodies which, although not in full communion with the Church of England, wish to testify their sympathy with the efforts of this Congress to arrive at truth and to promote harmony and Christian feeling. I will therefore simply welcome you again, and express a hope that your stay here may not only be profitable, but also pleasant, and that, notwithstanding the rather unfavourable weather, you may carry away with you none but happy recollections of our picturesque old town.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT (Hon. A. LEGGE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lichfield).

MR. MAYOR—As President of this Church Congress, and in the name of the members, I heartily thank you for the warm words of welcome which you have spoken to us on this occasion, and for those useful and eloquent remarks which you have made in connection with the welcome you have extended to us. I well remember how, a year ago, at the close of the last Church Congress, which was held at Norwich, when a few of the members met together to consider where the Congress should be held this year, and the invitation sent from Shrewsbury was laid before the meeting, there were some who exclaimed that Shrewsbury was not a place of sufficient importance or magnitude to be able to provide accommodation or hospitality for those who might attend a Congress there, and I replied at once that Shrewsbury was a very important place, that it was very easy of access by rail from many parts, that it had the additional advantage of being on the borders of Wales, that we wished to testify our friendliness towards the Principality, and that from what I knew of the people of Salop there was no doubt whatever that there would be ready hospitality extended to all who might wish to attend that Congress. We have not

been disappointed. With your usual generosity, you, Sir, and those to whom you have referred as helping you in making preparations for the Congress, and kind neighbours around, have most generously come forward and done all you could to make this Congress a success, and to provide the necessary hospitality for all who might wish to attend it. In the course of your remarks you have referred specially to two subjects which are to come before the Congress this year—one, the very important one of education, and the other the theory of evolution as affecting Christian doctrine ; and it is not surprising that these two subjects should be of special interest to those who live in Shrewsbury, for Shrewsbury has always been very closely connected with higher education in this country. We think of the names of Butler and of Kennedy in connection with some of the best classical training that has been given to the youth of this country, and we know that everybody who lives in the county of Shropshire, as well as in the town of Shrewsbury, is proud of Shrewsbury School. And in regard to the subject of evolution we do not forget that it was a townsman of yours, one who was born in Shrewsbury—Charles Darwin—whose name is ever to be associated with the scientific theory which is known by that name. For my own part, I cannot help feeling that we, the members of the Church of Christ, owe a great debt of gratitude to Charles Darwin. He has simplified and interpreted for us, as a true man of science would be anxious to do, the methods which have been pursued by the great Almighty Creator in His work ; and in so doing it has always seemed to me that he has greatly added to the dignity of the conception which we are able to form of Him who made us and all the world. A son of his I may claim as a personal friend, Major Darwin, who for a short time represented one division of the county of Stafford in Parliament, and who showed a capacity which one can only regret is not available at the present time in the House of Commons for the administration of public affairs. I mention his name because I wish to express my sympathy with him at the present time in the loss which he has sustained by the death of his mother, the widow of Charles Darwin, which was announced in the papers I think only yesterday. You have spoken to us, too, Sir, of the effect of a Church Congress in forming public opinion and modifying it ; there is another effect, also, that of drawing us all together, members of one Church in the different dioceses of the country to which we belong, and making us realize the unity of the Church ; and especially do we feel that here on the borders of the Principality of Wales, because we reflect how much the Christianity of this country owes to the ancient British Church, and how for many centuries the Church in Wales and the Church in England have been one. And I may refer to the fact which is to me a satisfaction, that a predecessor of my own in the See of Lichfield, Bishop Lee, in the reign of Henry VIII.—who, by the way, appointed the first Suffragan Bishop of Shrewsbury—lived during his episcopate, I believe, in the county of Shropshire, at Ludlow Castle, and filled the office of President of the Principality of Wales ; and it is to his just administration of the affairs of the Principality that that complete unity of the Welsh and English as one nation was accomplished, a unity which had been preceded for so many centuries by the complete oneness of the Church. I trust that our visit here may be of some use to those who live in Shropshire and on the borderland of Wales in quickening Church life, and in making all the members of our Church more fully realize what their opportunities as well as their responsibilities are. I trust the programme which we are going to carry out, God willing, this week may prove to be attractive, and may prove also to be useful ; and I trust that when the labours of the Congress are over, and the Congress itself is dissolved once more into that nebulous state in which theoretically it exists as soon as its work in any particular year is finished, you who live here may feel that it has not

visited you without a purpose, but that it has left a real and lasting blessing behind it. I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your welcome.

NONCONFORMIST ADDRESS.

The Rev. T. TOWNSEND (Congregational Minister).

MR. MAYOR—I have been asked by my brethren, as representing the Free Churches of this town and district, to present the following address to the Church Congress:—

To the Right Reverend the Honourable the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, President; and to the Members of the Church Congress—We, the undersigned, members and representatives of the Evangelical Free Churches of Shrewsbury and the neighbourhood, desire to be present at your inaugural meeting, that we may give united and public expression to our hopes and prayers for the gatherings of your Congress. Allow us to say how cordially we welcome you, and how earnestly we pray that all your conferences may be fruitful of good to you and to your people, and of glory to Him in Whose name you meet, and about Whose work you have met to confer. In coming thus to you we do not, nor would you, we are sure, have us, pretend that there are no points on which we differ from you on the doctrines of the Church, its ministry, and sacraments. There are diversities of opinion; but on the great and essential doctrines of the Christian faith we almost wholly agree, and it would scarcely be too much to say in the words of your own Baring Gould:—

“We are not divided, all one body we;
One in hope and doctrine, one in charity.”

Nor do we simply share a common life and hold one hope and doctrine; but your problems and difficulties are ours also; and the joy which comes to you in success, and the sorrow in defeat, in your battles against intemperance, impurity, and the manifold evils of the world without, or against the indifference, worldliness, and inconsistency of the Church within, are not without their effect upon us also. For one part of the army to win victory, or sustain defeat, is for the whole army to rejoice or to lament. And in addition to common life and labour, may we not say that we have much literature in common, too. The scholars, historians, theologians, commentators, and hymnologists of your Church have laid all the Churches under deep and lasting obligation; and in your presence to-day we gladly acknowledge our indebtedness, and rejoice in our oneness with you in this common possession. We must not further trespass in this address upon your fully occupied time, and will therefore conclude in wishing you much joy and prosperity in your work for God, and in expressing the earnest hope that the results of your great gatherings may be for the deepening of the Divine life, the increasing of the activity of all Christians, and the winning of many to the faith and hope of the Gospel.

JOHN BARKER,
NOAH H. STAFFORD,
JOHN DAVIES,
WILLIAM YEOMAN,
FRANCIS TINKLER,
W. FOX DAVIES,
ROBERT MORRIS,

THOMAS TOWNSEND,
JOSIAH SMITH,
CH. SAYNE,
THOMAS COOPER,
JAMES MARTIN,
WM. HINTON-JONES,
W. EMLYN-JENKINS,

THOMAS HOSKING,
STEPHEN T. RICHARDS,
HENRY E. ROGERS,
W. R. THOMPSON, M.A.,
JOSIAH RHEYS LEWIS,
GEO. P. D. PIDSLLEY.

My Lord Bishop, I have much pleasure, in the name of my brethren, in presenting this address to your lordship as President of the Congress.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MR. TOWNSEND AND MEMBERS OF THE FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH UNION OF SHREWSBURY—I am sure that I am only speaking what is in the hearts of all the members of the Congress when I say that we do thank you most sincerely for this kind and courteous presentation of an address of welcome to us on this the occasion of our meeting here. I have reason to know that the hospitality which the members of my own Church have so liberally extended to those who are visiting this town in order to

attend the Congress has not been limited to those members, but that the same hospitality is being accorded by those who belong to the bodies which you yourself represent. It is indeed in order that God's glory may be set forth that we are met here for the purposes of our Church-Congress. We are here to discuss questions which we believe may be discussed profitably and helpfully for all the citizens of the great country to which we belong. There are, no doubt, as you have reminded us, differences of opinion amongst us. If these differences of opinion did not exist, I suppose there would not be these different religious bodies in existence either. But we can all unite in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ; we can all unite in one great longing desire for the salvation of all human souls. You have been good enough to say that you recognize your debt of gratitude to the theologians, the hymnologists, and the historians of our Church for their contributions to sacred literature and history. We, in the same way, acknowledge the debt of gratitude to your hymn-writers and theologians, and we very gratefully and thankfully acknowledge it. We feel that we have gained much from what they have put before us, and we are glad to use many of their hymns in the services of our Church. It has often seemed to me that the existence of the various separated religious bodies in our country—and perhaps there are more in this country than in any other in the world, except perhaps in America—is a witness to the strong grasp that faith has over the minds of our English people. There have been times in which the Church of Christ, as represented by the great organizations which existed in the Middle Ages, and exist still, has so misrepresented—for I can use no other word—the character of God to the people, that they have felt they could not in their conscience recognize the unloving, arbitrary being, the supporter of tyranny and wrong, Who has been put before them as the Almighty God, and worship Him; and there has been a revolt at such times against religion altogether. But brave and faithful men have come forward and have said: "It is not a question of a choice between such a deity as has been represented to you in practice and blank atheism; we do believe in God; we do believe in Jesus Christ; we desire to worship God and our Lord Jesus Christ." They have referred men to the pages of Holy Scripture, and bid them read the record of the life and the words of Jesus Christ in the Gospels, and the doctrine of Jesus Christ as set forth by the Apostles, and they have kept the flame of faith alive in many hearts at a time when there were great doubts and perplexities. Of course we regret any breach of continuity—such things cannot happen without bringing evils with them, and without in some degree hindering the growth of the spirit of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ—but so far as Nonconformity has been and is—as I believe it has been—a witness to that hold which faith in God has over the minds of our fellow-countrymen, so far we freely recognize its influence for good amongst us; we recognize the great practical benefits that have been secured for our people by its means, and we thank God that there has been a spiritual movement which has saved many a distressed conscience, which could not accept the teaching presented to it in spiritual matters, from drifting away and losing itself in the terrible and deathly wilderness of blank atheism.

THE SERMON

BY

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

(THE MOST REV. WM. DALRYMPLE MACLAGAN, D.D.),

PREACHED IN

S. CHAD'S CHURCH, SHREWSBURY,

ON TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."—(1 *Thess.* v. 21.)

THE primary application of these words is of sufficient importance to detain us for a few moments before we proceed to apply them to ourselves. They stand in close relation to the words which they immediately follow, "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things. Hold fast that which is good." It is possible for us to discern with sufficient clearness the conditions of Christian experience which the Apostle has in view. It is manifest from the record of those Apostolic times that the operations of the Holy Spirit were of an exceptional and temporary character. This is specially apparent in those spiritual utterances, those mysterious "tongues" to which S. Paul refers in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. But further there appears to have been on the part of those early Christians a very natural desire to prophesy—to speak out—in the presence of others, their own impressions or experiences of the spiritual life. A new prospect transcendent in its beauty and glory had been opened up to them by the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They were like travellers, emerging out of mists and clouds, who find themselves face to face with some magnificent landscape bathed in the full sunshine of a summer day. Transported with the overpowering beauty and grandeur thus suddenly revealed to them, they break forth into words of rapturous admiration, each eager to indicate to his brethren the special features which have most attracted his own admiration or given to him the greatest joy. One to another, and sometimes all together, they pour out their ecstatic expressions of thankful happiness as they gaze upon the revelation of beauty spread out before their admiring eyes.

Even so we may well understand how these early converts in the first days of their enlightenment and in the freshness of their new hopes and new joys would be eager to make known to one another with unregulated fervour even in their religious assemblies their individual experience of the love of God in Christ Jesus their Lord. It was some such state of things that was present to the mind of the Apostle.

There would, however, be some among the Christian converts, some of the less enthusiastic and more sober-minded, who would both dislike and distrust such utterances ; foreseeing how easily ecstasy might develop into heresy, and enthusiasm into schism. It is probably such critics as these whom the Apostle has in his mind when he addresses to them the words of caution, "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings." He could see the possible danger of such utterances both to the speaker himself and to those who heard him ; but he recognized in them the workings—the *ἐνεργήματα*—of the Holy Ghost, and would not have them suppressed, but tested and controlled. There were in them, no doubt, elements of exaggeration, dangers of self-seeking and of unreality, of presumption and pride ; and these were not of God but of the evil one. Yet behind all these there was a spiritual reality, obscured but not obliterated, and therefore they were to prove all things and to hold fast the good. The forgetfulness of S. Paul's precept has often issued in serious injury to the cause of Christ. Had it been wisely borne in mind in dealing with the Society of Friends in the seventeenth century, or with the followers of Wesley in the eighteenth, the condition of religion in England might have been more satisfactory and less divided at the present day. Even in our own time there are not lacking occasions when the precept might well be borne in mind. There are enthusiasts within the Church itself, on one side or another of theological opinion, whom we can ill afford to lose, but whom it may be difficult to retain. Our only hope lies in the faithful acceptance of S. Paul's golden rule, "Prove all things ; hold fast that which is good." And the supreme test, or proof, which S. Paul propounds for all such cases, as regards their spiritual reality, is not the utterance of a shibboleth nor the adherence to a party, but personal devotion to Jesus as our Lord. "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord but in the Holy Ghost."

But the precept of S. Paul has a far wider range. It has its reference and application to all things which in any way or in any degree affect the religious life. It is the enunciation of a great principle. It asserts the prerogative of the sanctified reason in relation to spiritual truth. S. Paul saw no antagonism, no incongruity, between the two. He recognizes in reason as well as in Revelation the gift of God.

The precept, however, has its obvious limitations. We cannot

understand S. Paul to mean that every member of the Church is bound to consider every question arising in his day that bears upon religious truth or ecclesiastical order, to search and examine into the arguments and evidence upon one side and the other, and then to form a definite judgment upon the matter in dispute. We cannot suppose that he would lay this impossible burden even upon those who by their office are constituted the guides and leaders of the people. The duty which he here assigns to individual Christians, or even to Christian communities, must of necessity be conditioned by the opportunities and the occasions which may arise to make this duty operative. The vast fields of theology, of ecclesiastical history, of Christian ethics and of Christian worship, demand an extensive subdivision of labour, and the adoption by individual labourers of certain portions of the almost unlimited domain. We are all compelled to accept and to adopt in some measure the conclusion of others who have given themselves to the diligent study of special subjects, and whose opinions are entitled to respect and confidence. In this mutual co-operation we become helpers of each other's faith and joy. But further, we must understand the Apostle as excluding from the scope of his exhortation those fundamental truths which have been revealed to us in the Word of God, and summed up in the Creeds of Christendom. These, indeed, we are to study with diligence, but in no doubting or critical spirit. They are at once the firm foundation of all religious knowledge, and the standard by which all our opinions must be tried and weighed. And yet even here S. Paul's words may have their application. It is interesting to observe the various shades of meaning in which he uses the word *δοκιμάζειν* which he here employs. There are passages, like the present, where the sense is general. But there are others where it clearly implies not the exercise of the critical faculty, but the appreciative acceptance of what is manifestly good and true, as when he exhorts the Philippians to approve the things that are excellent, and the Romans to prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God. In this sense most truly the precept of the text has its legitimate application even to the Holy Scriptures themselves, and to the whole faith once delivered to the saints. Prove them, he would say to us, prove them by ever extended discovery of their truth and their power. Taste and see for yourselves how blessed and how beautiful is the Word of God, and the knowledge of Himself and of His Will; and as you prove His Word, learn, like the Psalmist, to find in it ever-increasing delight—"Lord, what love have I unto Thy law; all the day long is my study in it."

But in truth S. Paul is not concerned so much with the things which we are to prove as with the spirit in which the duty should be performed. What he would say to us is in substance this: Whatever subjects may engage your attention, or require the

formation of your opinion, let this be the course you pursue : be not prejudiced ; be not hasty either in approving or condemning ; prove all things ; πάντα δοκίμάζετε—weigh them in the balance of a sober judgment, and deal with them by the use of that reasoning power with which God has endowed you. Estimate the value of every statement and every argument with what power and ability you may possess, deal with them in a philosophic rather than a polemical spirit. Pray that your intellectual gifts may be guided in their exercise by the Holy Spirit of Truth, and then whatever truth, whatever good you may find, lay hold on that and hold it fast. τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε.

The conjunction of the two clauses suggests another meaning which may very well attach to the Apostolic precept. He would remind us that in all inquiry and in all controversy our legitimate object and desire is the discovery of what is good and true, not the detection of error or the exposure of what is false. These he would have us to regard as the accidents of our investigation, not as a matter for satisfaction, but for sorrow ; not for triumph or complacency, but for compassionate regret, " Rejoicing not in iniquity but rejoicing with the Truth." And if this be implied as I gladly believe in the precept of the Apostle, what a blessed light it throws on the whole subject of Christian controversy, and on all such discussions as those in which you will be engaged during the proceedings of this Congress. Nay, does it not extend even to private conference, whether by speech or by letter, with those who differ from us on any question, but particularly on questions affecting religious truth or religious life. We live in an age which is eminently one of controversy. No age indeed has ever been free from this characteristic. At every period and in every branch of the Catholic Church it has had its place, from the days when Paul withstood Peter to the face until the present hour. Nor is it possible that it should be otherwise in the sphere of religious truth. The Revelation which we have received from God, though undoubtedly sufficient, is confessedly incomplete ; and this, not from any unwillingness on the part of God to reveal Himself in all the fulness of His Truth to His intelligent creatures, but because of a lack of capacity or of readiness on our part to receive it. It is the principle indicated in the words of our blessed Lord even to His chosen twelve, " I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." It is true that He adds the priceless promise, " Howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all the Truth." But our Lord does not say that this should be accomplished either immediately or all at once. The promise, like that of His abiding Presence, was made, not to the Apostles only, but to the Church of all time.

There could indeed be no addition to the Truth itself, but only an increase in the power of spiritual perception. He would

not add to the Truth, but He would lead them *into* all its fulness. The Truth was once for all delivered; it could receive no additions—no innovations. There could be no discovery of additional truth or of new spiritual facts, such as the momentous dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which nothing but a new Revelation from God could have made known to mankind. But step by step as they could bear it the followers of Christ would be led by His Holy Spirit into a clearer conception of the Truth already revealed, and of its bearing upon the spiritual needs, alike of the Church itself in its human constituents, and of every creature under heaven.

It is within this sphere that the words of the Apostle have their special application. Where there is much of incompleteness in the written Revelation—where there are so many things undefined—so many questions unsolved which are of the deepest interest to the children of God, it is inevitable that the intelligence and reason of Christian men and women moved by the religious instinct should be exercised upon these matters; that they should be made the subject of theological discussion or of pious speculation. Not less is it inevitable that the consideration of these open questions should result in widely differing and sometimes opposite opinions, and these varying according to the prepossessions, the stand-point, and the temperament of different individuals. And if this be so in the case of individuals, it is equally inevitable in the case of religious communities, and not least in the case of National Churches. Here, too, the perception of Divine truth and the investigation of its teaching have been conditioned by national temperament and national history; and the conclusions formed and enunciated have differed accordingly. Yet under all these diversities of opinion there lies the universal and unchanging Truth.

There is no individual Christian who does not believe in Jesus Christ as His Lord and Saviour, and in the one perfect all-sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction which He has made for the sins of the world; there is no one who does not accept the words of the Apostle, "Being justified by faith we have peace with God;" nor the words of Jesus Christ Himself, "He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me and I in him." It is in the explanation and application of these words of truth that differences have arisen.

If any one of fair-minded intelligence will compare together the Catechism of the Church of England with the Catechism of the Council of Trent on the one hand, and the Westminster Confession on the other, he will certainly find how vastly wider is the basis of agreement than the differences of doctrine. It is out of this state of things that Christian controversy has sprung into existence from the very earliest days of the Christian Church. It would almost seem that it is only by this conflict of opinion

that truth can be attained. But will it always be so? Is there not a hope that with advancing spiritual experience—with a more spiritual searching of the deep things of God—these controversies may be lessened in number, or diminished in area, or may lose their bitterness, or may at last die down into the silence of peace. Is it not in this direction that the hope of re-union chiefly lies?—in the acceptance of diversities of thought and expression as inseparable from our present condition in this present world; in fixing our eyes and our hearts not so much on the points at issue between religious communities or between individual Christians as upon the wide basis of faith and hope which is common to all; not indeed in any easy tolerance of error, but in an ever-deepening love of truth—proving all things, holding fast that which is good.

It would be interesting to illustrate the Apostle's maxim by applying it to some of the controversies of the day; or to questions which have agitated and disturbed the minds of religious persons during the last few years. But this is evidently too large a task for an occasion of this kind. There are, however, one or two applications of the text which we may briefly consider. First, it has its reference to communities as well as to individuals, and certainly to religious communities among the rest. I observe that in your programme there appears the subject of Church Reform; it is one which is no doubt occupying men's minds at the present moment in an exceptional degree: and the keynote of such a movement must ever be the precept of S. Paul. We must prove all things, and hold fast that which is good. The special subjects which are grouped under this head in your programme are no doubt of great importance. The conditions of appointment to the cure of souls will furnish a very interesting, and perhaps exciting, subject of discussion, and not less so the pressing question of the incomes of the clergy. But in both these cases the root of the matter is really to be found in the freehold tenure of benefices in the Church of England. Such a system has obviously many advantages, especially in the case of married clergy; but we must more and more bear in mind that our primary concern is not for the interests of the clergy, but for the interests of the people committed to their charge. And the results of a long experience, both as a parish priest and a diocesan bishop, have furnished me with some experience of the evils, as well as the advantages, which are connected with this system. It is almost unique in Christendom. I trust that you may be willing to consider this question in all its bearings, not with the prospect of any immediate, and still less hasty, action, but with the view of determining more clearly the true tenure on which the cure of souls should be held by any individual clergyman.

As regards the financial question, there is certainly a growing

opinion, in which I am bound to say that I largely sympathise, that a great re-adjustment of the general income of the Church must before long be undertaken. Yet after all this would not go far to provide a remedy for the present need. The true solution of the difficulty must be found in a growing recognition on the part of the laity of their duty, as a primary obligation, to maintain the clergy in their respective parishes.

There is another subject of still greater importance to which I should wish to apply the maxim of the Apostle. We cannot too earnestly contend for the Faith once delivered to the saints, nor too rigorously regard as immutable the great foundations of Christian Truth as they are contained in the Holy Scriptures and in the Creeds of the Church. But the terms in which that truth has been stated, whether in the writings of individual Christians, however eminent, or in the Confessions of separate branches of the Church, may well require from time to time some re-consideration. It is not necessary that they should be faulty (although even that is quite within the bounds of possibility), but from age to age there ought to be a growing apprehension of the purport of the great message and of its bearing upon personal needs, conditioned by the progress of knowledge and the special circumstances of each succeeding age.

Here, too, the Apostle's words have surely a legitimate place—"Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." There is no reason why we should not reconsider both our statements of doctrine and canons of discipline, if under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit they might be made more helpful to the welfare of the Church itself and to the comfort of individual souls. As regards canons of discipline, is there not a growing feeling among a large number of thoughtful members of the Church that the Acts of Uniformity, with all the pains and penalties which they prescribe, bearing, as they do, the marks of the special circumstances under which they were enacted, are hardly in keeping with the large-hearted spirit which characterizes the Church of England, and might well be replaced by enactments more ecclesiastical in their origin, and more Christian in their tone. Are there not, also, in the estimation of most of us, one or two at least of the XXXIX. Articles which might be brought more into accordance with the needs as well as the spirit of the present day? And above all, is there not a wide-spread desire among intelligent Churchmen that the Prayer-book itself should be enriched and enlarged, out of the same sources from which it was originally compiled, the vast treasures of liturgical prayers and offices which have come down to us from remote generations? This need not imply the slightest departure from the standard of faith or of worship adopted by the Church of England in the exercise of its undoubted right as a great National Church, but it would, as it seems to me, tend not only to enlighten and elevate

the faith of individual Churchmen, but to strengthen our position in Christendom. Such reforming movements have had a place in the history of almost every local Church in Christendom, as well as in the undivided Church of primitive times.

If there was ever a period in the history of the Church of England when such a movement could find ample justification, it is surely in the present day, with its unparalleled progress in intellectual and moral science, and its growing acquaintance with the history of the Church and with the treasures of theological literature. At a time when the Church of England is extending her organization into almost every part of the habitable globe, when she is strengthening her influence among the Churches of Christendom, it is of urgent importance that she should be more and more thoroughly equipped for her great mission, and adapted to gain the utmost and most salutary influence over all the nations with whom she is brought in contact. The call of our Lord to Churches, as well as to individuals, is to go on unto perfection, while the tendency is, as it has always been, to settle down into modes of thought and expression which have been inherited from an age very different from our own. To those of us who believe that the Church of England must be a powerful factor in the future of Christendom, and that she has exceptional advantages for meeting the wants and satisfying the demands of an intellectual age, it cannot but appear to be urgently needful that she should be more and more developed in her interior life, and enlarged in her theological thought, that she may thus be thoroughly furnished unto all good works.

You will not fail to see the very obvious application of the text to a matter which is now largely occupying the minds of English Churchmen—the recent Pastoral Letter issued by the Pope in the matter of Anglican Orders. I would gladly have been spared the pain of criticising that document, but I can scarcely pass it by. I will state as briefly as possible the facts of the case. It has long been known that the Pope was much interested in this subject, especially in connection with his often expressed desires for Christian reunion, and that he had appointed a commission to inquire into the whole matter. The results of that inquiry are embodied in the recent Bull. It is certainly one of the most remarkable documents which has ever issued from the head of the Roman Church.

The voice speaks from Rome, but it hails from England. The source of its inspiration, as well as some part of its actual expression, is sufficiently manifest from documents now in course of publication which had been sent to the Pope by English Roman Catholics to influence him in his judgment of the question at issue.

The time is well within the memory of some of us here to-day when the representatives of the Roman Church resident in this

country were content with ministering to the members of their own communion ; they lived among us, at least in the bond of peace ; in many cases they were welcomed, respected, and loved even by those who were most strongly opposed to anything like Papal claims. But now all this is changed. Their successors have not only availed themselves of the right to minister to their own people, or to any who might desire their services, but have also laid claim to positions of authority and supremacy enforced by high-sounding titles which indeed would not bear a moment's investigation. The Church of England has shown a magnanimous indifference to these claims and pretensions, nor have they made any impression whatever upon the great body of the English people. Without and against the will of the people of England, the country has been parcelled out into dioceses and parishes under Roman clergy, by the sole authority of an Italian prelate who recently occupied the See of Rome.

Vast buildings have been erected and magnificent services inaugurated, while priests have been multiplied out of all proportion to the number of adherents. Here and there, no doubt, some have fallen a prey to these fascinations, as they will probably continue to do. But there is no fact more certain than this, so far as statistics are able to teach us, that at the present moment Romanism is making no way whatever in England ; and, by the confession of some of its own officials, is actually losing ground. I think it right to support this assertion by the testimony of Roman Catholics themselves. Not more than five years ago a Roman priest at a Roman Conference in England, made the following statement : " Never since the accession to the throne of the abandoned profligate, Elizabeth, have the prospects of the Church been darker than at present. The population of the country is increasing most rapidly, and the new census showed an increase of some three millions, but Catholics asked themselves the question : Were they advancing or receding. They might set down the number of Catholics in England as 1,400,000, or a little under five per cent. of the total population. If, then, their increase during the last ten years had been on a par with the general increase, they would have added to their numbers 175,000. But the melancholy truth was that in many parts of England their numbers were on the decrease." A few years previously one of the leading Roman Catholic journals contained this confession : " The Church of England has sucked into itself, or, at all events, sucked out of their faith, a vast number of Catholics born and educated in this country."

I have mentioned these facts because of the impression prevailing among a certain number of persons that Romanism is gaining ground. The prominent publicity given in the daily newspapers to occasional cases where persons are induced to join the Church of Rome is sufficient to account for this impression

in the case of those who have not the means of inquiring carefully into the facts, and it may relieve their apprehensions to have this testimony brought before them from the utterances of Roman Catholics themselves; and there are many more of a similar character.

Under such circumstances we can well understand how the exigencies of the situation demanded such a pronouncement as that of the Papal Letter in the interest of those who within the past fifty years have created a Roman schism in the realm of England. Any recognition whatever of Anglican Orders would have established the Anglican position, and therefore excluded the plea for Roman intrusion.

Happily for us the Pope has given, not only his decision, but also his reasons. There are some of these regarding which it is difficult to believe that they have been seriously proposed, so capable are they of immediate refutation. There is hardly an argument or assumption in the Papal Letter which may not be decisively traversed by an appeal to Holy Scriptures and to the primitive Church. They have been already discredited as futile by theologians of the Roman Church itself; and the letter of the Pope is an answer, as he explicitly states, not to any appeals from England, which were absolutely never made, but to these utterances from among his own household. This is not the place to enter upon a detailed investigation of this remarkable letter. But something at least may be said, and ought to be said, although it must be very briefly, to indicate the general character of the statements and reasons upon which the Pope has based his judgment. We may altogether pass by the mere repetition of decisions given in former times, whether by Julius III. or by Paul IV. We owe no allegiance to those authorities. The objections alleged against the English Ordinal in the Papal Letter lie within a very small compass. They are almost altogether directed against the form of words which are in use among us in conferring Holy Orders, although there is reference also to what is known in the Roman Church as Intention.

As regards the form of words the Pope alleges, and no doubt he has been informed, that "The words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of Priestly Ordination were, 'Receive the Holy Ghost;' and that these certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred Order of the Priesthood or its grace and power." It is difficult to conceive how such a statement could have been made. At no period in the whole history of the English Church have these words been regarded as sufficient for the purpose of conferring Holy Orders, nor have they ever stood alone in the English Ordinal. In both the Prayer-books of Edward VI., the words employed are not merely "Receive the Holy Ghost," but "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost

forgive, they are forgiven ; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained," words very definitely indicating the sacred Order of Priesthood, and this is the precise form in which they are found in the Roman Ordinal itself at the present day. As regards this formula itself there can be little difficulty in understanding how it was adopted by the Reformers. The whole keynote of the Reformation was an appeal to Holy Scripture and to antiquity, and the Reformers would naturally feel that in escaping from the then existing corruptions of the Church they could not do better than adopt these words, which are exactly those by which our Lord gave His final commission to His first Apostles. The first objection therefore rests upon a direct misstatement of fact. But the Pope further states that this form had afterwards added to it the words, "For the office and work of a Priest, etc." This is perfectly true. It was in no way surprising that when the Church after a lapse of a hundred years had become consolidated and settled, and when some further additions and alterations in non-essential matters were being made to the Book of Common Prayer, the addition of the words "For the office and work of a Priest, etc.," should be made, with the simple purpose of making more definite and more solemn the form of Ordination. To gather from this transaction, as the Pope has done, that the Church of England of the Caroline times was conscious of any deficiency in the earlier form is a gratuitous assumption without a shadow of foundation. But these objections of the Pope are still more surprising when it is remembered that the whole formula was utterly unknown for more than twelve centuries in the earliest history of the Christian Church. There is no evidence whatever to prove that it was in use at all in primitive times. If, then, the Pope's contention be true that this formula is absolutely essential, and essential in its entirety, he has demonstrated the nullity and invalidity, not only of Anglican Orders, but of every Ordination to the Priesthood in the Church of Rome during many centuries. There is no escape from this dilemma. There is no security that Augustine, Athanasius, or Leo, or even Gregory, were ever ordained at all, or ever had the power to convey the Holy Orders to others, which they themselves had not received.

In the matter of what is known by the name of Intention, that is to say a definite purpose to convey the grace and power of priesthood, the Pope declares that he fails to find in the whole Ordinal any clear mention of this "*sacerdotium*." Here we have a statement almost more surprising still. The very word in its English form of "Priesthood" occurs again and again in the course of the Service ; in the presentation of the candidates to the bishop ; in the address of the bishop to the people ; in the Special Collect of the Service ; in the exhortation and in the

questions addressed to the candidates ; as well as in the very words of Ordination themselves.

The Pope further objects that in our Ordinal there is no reference to any authority to offer up the Christian Sacrifice. But here again such a reference was entirely unknown in the early Church for more than one thousand years. And even if such an objection were valid, it is not true in fact. The power to administer the Holy Sacraments is twice given in specific words to every priest at the time of his Ordination ; and although our conception of the Christian Sacrifice may differ from that of theologians in the Church of Rome, the Church of England has never ceased to believe in the Holy Eucharist as the great Sacrament of the Church and the Central Act of Christian Service. It is significant that the Pope in this letter should have omitted all mention of arguments which have been invariably adduced in former years when this subject was under consideration. There is no longer any exception taken to the consecration either of Parker or of Barlow. There is no insisting upon the necessity of the *porrectio instrumentorum* : there is only a very modified insistence on the necessity of Intention, a necessity which, *quantum valeat*, is abundantly supplied by the whole terms of the Ordination Service, and by the formal declaration of belief in the threefold ministry. One by one these objections have disappeared, and the Pope is now constrained to take his stand on a very limited remnant of very debatable ground.

It is clear from the testimony of Holy Scripture that the really essential part of Ordination as regards the Matter or Ceremony is the laying on of hands ; and as regards the Form, the prayer for the Holy Ghost. There may be much else that is more or less important as indicating more clearly the purposes for which Holy Orders are given, and the spirit and power in which alone they can be duly exercised. But it has been left to local Churches and even to the same Church at different times, not even excepting the Church of Rome, to make such alterations in these subordinate matters as seemed most likely to conduce to the fitting and reverent celebration of this Holy Service. These facts are happily becoming more familiar and intelligible day by day as the publication of ancient documents and the progress of historical research have placed within the reach of even the unlearned a vastly extended knowledge of this subject.

But even were the statements and arguments of the Pope true in fact and justified by authority, is there anyone outside the Church of Rome who could seriously believe and contend that the validity of the Christian ministry can possibly depend upon such considerations as are adduced in the Pastoral Letter ; upon the juxta-position, or separation, or even omission of certain

words, which were themselves for many centuries unknown to the Ordinal of the Christian Church. If nothing further can be said in depreciation of the English Ordinal than what has been urged in this Pastoral Letter, we may be abundantly satisfied. But I say no more. It may be that I have already given more time to this subject than it really deserves. There is ample evidence already available, not only of the utter insufficiency of the Papal arguments, but of the origin and inspiration of the document itself. It can only have been signed under very severe constraint, and, if he rightly understood its consequences, with a very heavy heart, by the Venerable Prelate, misled by documents to which I have already referred.

He would be a man of very unstable mind, with a very feeble hold on Christian truth, and a very scanty knowledge of ecclesiastical history, who would feel disquieted for one moment by such an utterance as that which has now issued from the Vatican. I venture to think that the effect of that document will be very different from what was intended, and very different from what some timid Churchmen had been disposed to fear. Unless I greatly mistake the tone and character of my brother priests in the Church of England, I can hardly suppose that either the proffered sympathy of the Cardinal or his charitable offers of pecuniary help will beguile them into forsaking the Church of their fathers at the invitation of an Italian Prelate, however estimable, the successor of a long line of Italians in the See of Rome.

The net result of the Papal letter has been first of all to emphasize the isolation of Rome from the rest of Christendom ; to shut her in within the barred and bolted gates of her own proud citadel, from which she would shut others out. But one further effect will certainly be to strengthen and confirm the confidence of the Anglican Church in its own divine and holy Order, and in its resistance to the arrogant claims and novel doctrines of the Roman Communion.

There may have been some who expected a different issue to the enquiries instituted at this juncture. They might well be misled by the fervent utterances of the kindly Pope, and the hopes and aspirations to which he gave expression in the matter of Christian reunion. These hopes and longings he has now with his own hand shattered and destroyed. Neither the East nor the West will accept his offered terms. But for those of us whose hearts are full of the same longing desire as that which breathed from earlier Papal letters, there will be no cessation either of our efforts or of our prayers. There are other branches of the Catholic Church besides that of Rome ; there are other religious communities both at home and abroad. There is still ample scope for earnest effort to gather together the children of God that are scattered abroad ; and there are

some at least among us who would be glad to spend the greater part of their remaining years on earth in prayerful effort to hasten the accomplishment of the Master's prayer for the unity of His Church.

We cannot doubt that in a few months or weeks the Bull will be almost forgotten, unless indeed it should be necessary for the Church of Rome to make some further utterance in order to deliver itself from the anomalous position in which it has been placed by the errors and inconsistencies of this Pastoral Letter. The opinion of the Pope or of his official predecessors does not in the faintest degree affect our position or diminish the confidence which we feel in the ministry of our Church, based as it is upon the great principles of Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order ; nor can we fail to recognize and acknowledge the manifold tokens of God's favour and loving kindness in the marvellous growth of the Anglican Communion, not only within the limits of our own country, but in the distant ends of the earth. I am not afraid to repeat what I have said more than once before, that the Church of England was never stronger than at the present day ; she is stronger than she knows. What we need is courage, the courage of faith ; courage to withstand all assaults from without, and courage to face our own weaknesses within : courage, not to assert ourselves as against others, but to claim for ourselves our full heritage of Catholic Faith and Catholic Life ; courage to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good.

So shall the pleasure of the Lord prosper in our hands ; He shall bless us more and more—us and our children. For His merciful kindness is ever more and more towards us, and the Truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise the Lord.

THE SERMON

BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF BALLARAT

(THE RIGHT REV. SAMUEL THORNTON, D.D.),

PREACHED IN

S. MARY'S CHURCH, SHREWSBURY,

ON TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

"The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law."—*Deut.* xxix. 29.

IN one of Dean Ramsay's anecdotes, a poor daft boy, asked whether he knew anything at all, makes answer, "Aweel, some things I ken, and some things I dinna ken;" and it was the reply of a philosopher. He might well have said, "*Maist* things I dinna ken;" but his words as they stand map out correctly, just as our text does, the whole area of truth into its two great realms. For us men, all verities must range under the two divisions—known and unknown, called here things "secret" and "revealed." "Things that are hid" and "things that are manifested" they are styled in another passage; in a third, things that "are covered" and that "come abroad."

Let two words of Greek origin mark these categories for us.

"Mysterious" may well denote the first: it means secret, hidden, covered, and implies something more; the word has a flavour of awesomeness and solemnity, befitting the kind of verities specially intended; and it is quite naturalized in English. And now, may I coin for the second class the title "epiphanious"? It is not English, yet; our language has welcomed "mysterious," from "mystery," but has never taken "epiphanious," from "epiphany," to its bosom, though it became a personal name in the East, as implying a valuable and attractive quality. It may be strange in sound, but supplies a serviceable contrast to "mysterious," and a fitting substitute for it, so soon as the mysterious thing is "manifested," "revealed," or "brought to light." For *that* precisely

is what it must be understood to imply ; not plain things, merely, but hidden things *so far as they have been made plain and practically available*. Moreover, the word yields a convenient substantive ; whereas "revealedness" or "manifestedness" were uncouth and impossible.

The mysterious, on the one hand, then, and the epiphanious on the other, are what our text speaks of ; and with how great wisdom ! It tells us what to think of each. The epiphanious is ours ; our permanent possession and the basis of all right conduct in life. And what of the mysterious ? Truly a majestic realm ; but not ours, but Heaven's. A realm it is ; no formless lawless chaos is the Great Unknown, but a region of as perfect order and beneficence as that of which we have cognizance, and in organic connection with it, for is it not presided over by the same Author and Ruler, "the Lord our God" ?

And His purpose towards man is *to efface, in the end, the separation between them* ; to turn all the mysterious into the epiphanious, in His own time and way. "For there is nothing covered," is the Divine Teacher's oracular assurance, "that shall not be manifested ; neither was anything hidden but that it should come to light." Magnificent programme of the future for human intelligence ! Meanwhile, however, man's wisdom plainly is, not impatiently, with that mystic pair in Eden, at the suggestion of unbelief and in disregard of God, to resent present limitations, and reach forth after enlightenments which He has seen fit to withhold for the time ; but "knowing not to know," as Milton words it, thoroughly to explore and turn to full practical account his actual knowledge, in order to God's better service.

Now, is there any truer account to be given of the object of a Church Congress ? We meet, not for speculation, not for discovery, not for controversy, but to exchange thought and counsel in seeking to utilize better, for God's glory and the good of men, all that the Church has received and holds and knows of religious, that is of moral and spiritual, truth.

My brethren, it is often treated as an axiom, that religion is mainly concerned with the mysterious ; but we demur to it. That is rather true of superstition. Every doctrine of religion, doubtless, is environed with mystery : *prodit à mysterio*, as well as *abit in mysterium* ; but it is wholesome to remember that, strictly speaking, and for practical ends, it is with the mysterious *only so far as it has been revealed*, or become epiphanious, that religion and the teaching Church should concern itself. Outside that limit the healthy operation of religion ceases. The meaningless mechanical rites of the aborigines of Australia, for instance, constitute a cult, but hardly a religion : for, though mystery is there, epiphany is not ; we see a blind, abject, frightened groping—no intelligent worship. And among ourselves, it is the epiphanious in religion that is its fruitful element ; and the utter

unprofitableness, in practice, of disquisitions on abstruse and occult religious problems what Christian layman, at any rate, will deny? And it is the practical, non-academic, non-speculative character of the debates at our Congresses, and their broad daylight of free, though reverent, discussion, which constitute their value, and make a Church Congress representative of the best and healthiest side of the religious activities of the Church of England.

In saying that the Church is specially concerned with the non-mysterious, I advance a statement seldom made in those terms; but does not Scripture bear it out? Observe the synonym here for religious truth—"the things that are revealed": recognizing epiphaniousness as an essential feature of our faith. It is a "great light," "a light to lighten Gentiles," "turning them from darkness to light." "Ye shall see heaven opened," is Christ's summary at the beginning of His ministry of what His Gospel would usher in—not "hereafter," as the unrevised version has it, but from the first; and how suggestive the incident at the close of that ministry, when the temple veil was rent in twain, and that not from bottom to top, but from top to bottom, for the rending was from above, and by no earthly hand! There was to be a fresh departure, in the way of greater openness than ever, in the religion and worship of the future. Before a rent veil, and in face of a broken down wall of partition, we now worship "God manifest in the flesh," the great "mystery of Godliness" displayed, "with unveiled face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord." "For God, Who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, giving us the light of the knowledge of His glory in the face of Jesus Christ." Not without fitness, in ages when symbol counted for more as an instrument of instruction than it does to-day, they put an aureole of light-rays round the heads of pictured saints, and a lighted candle in the hands of worshippers as an emblem of their discipleship. White is the livery of Christianity, more inseparably than green of Islam, or yellow of Buddhism; and it is the hue of light: for the Church's heritage—the spiritual wealth of her children—consists not in religious mysteries, but in the things that are revealed! The Christ we preach is no veiled Prophet of Khorassan, but the word made flesh, Who dwelt among us.

Perhaps it may be urged that our Lord designed His parables, at any rate, to conceal truth from some classes of hearers. "To them that are without I speak in parables," are His words, "that hearing they may hear and not understand." But a great divine of our time has answered this. In regard to the unthinking crowd, content to hold aloof and look on from outside, and in regard to the caviller and perverse, such was certainly the subordinate and transient office of those wondrous

parables which furnished the overture, so to speak, of the Gospel music, shrouding with attractive veil, as overtures do, while they embodied and suggested, the full plot and meaning of it. But their ultimate object was to disclose the truth, stimulating meanwhile the curiosity of the teachable, and thus accentuating the disclosure when it came. "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom," is His word to His disciples; "for there is nothing hid, *save that it should be manifested.*" That, then, was the true aim of the hiding. Parabolic teaching was a pillar of cloud designed to give light; if its primary effect was to conceal spiritual truths, its inner purpose was to illuminate them; the Master's promise meanwhile to His people being, "The hour cometh when I will no more speak unto you in parables." And by Pentecost, when the Church began, that hour had surely come!

It has been urged, again, that the word "mystery" is not seldom used in the Apostolic Epistles as a designation of Gospel doctrine. True; but it has often been pointed out that in such passages mystery is only named in connection with its disclosure. "Stewards of God's mysteries" suggests dispensers of things only stored so as to be available for circulation, not janitors of a secret and inscrutable treasure. "I *show* you a mystery," says S. Paul; "I *made known* to you the mystery," "we *speak* the wisdom of God in a mystery," "to make *all men know* what is the fellowship of the mystery." "Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared . . . but God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth . . . even the deep things of God." Not *quâ* mysterious things, then, but *quâ* epiphanious things, is our religion engaged on mysteries.

There might seem an exception to this uniform association of mystery with its disclosure, in S. Paul's words about marriage:—"This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." Yet is this an exception? August indeed is the union betwixt Christ and His Church which is the antitype of earthly marriage: but the latter in itself is, after all, a relation terminable by physical death: and having indicated, does the Apostle dwell upon its mysterious side? Nay, he escapes instantly to the practical—"Nevertheless, let each man love his wife as himself, and the wife reverence her husband."

Take other instances of the way Scripture handles mysteries. Prayer, unquestionably, has its mysterious side; yet is it discussed there? And have the multitudinous modern dissertations on that aspect of it conduced to the elucidation, or, I may add, to the more abundant practice, of prayer? It is its epiphanious side, as a practical principle of life, revealed in Scripture and recognized by the human heart in its best moods, that most profitably concerns us. Under that aspect it is our precious

possession: its mystery belongs to God, and as yet we cannot find it out. O let us beware of assumptions in regard to it devoid of all Scriptural confirmation, leading us to address prayer to others beside the Almighty, or even to negotiate, so to speak, as a valuable asset, its actual results "behind the veil"!

So with "Death's mystery." Does "spiritualism" so-called commend itself to a sound judgment as in harmony with Scriptural modes of thought? I will not quote against it the passage that warns man against "intruding into things he hath not seen," for probably it should run "dwelling in the things he *hath* seen," in allusion to a carnal and sensuous, rather than an ultra-spiritual, plane of ideas. But I will quote our text against it—"The secret things belong unto the Lord our God!" Mystery, indeed, enfolds the destiny of lost souls. But why labour to unravel it? To what good end shall loyal subjects ponder and want to have defined for them the penalties of high treason?

But the Sacraments? Our Prayer-book styles them "holy mysteries," and doubtless they are—albeit Scripture nowhere calls them so; and how little it dwells on their mysterious side—theories as to which have so convulsed and divided the Church! It is most distinctly recognised; and I shall not be suspected, I hope, of questioning it for a moment; but most certainly that side of Sacraments is not elaborated, or harped upon, in Scripture. The Presence on the altar we cannot know about: the Presence in our own heart is what specially concerns us. And is not the same true of the mysterious side of Atonement, of Inspiration, and of the Incarnation itself? Far the most important aspect of those things, for us, is their epiphanious—their revealed and practical aspect: and how that maxim, if true, shears away into comparative unimportance acres of paper, on which seas of ink have been well-meaningly, but unprofitably, spilt!

Openness, then, brethren, I insist, is the leading characteristic of our Faith. The New Testament, and our religion in its purity, is scant in the element of secrecy—in pass-words, and cabalistic signs, and obscure enigmas. For a time the cryptogram crept into the Church, and for intelligible reasons; but found no lasting home there. Our faith resembles our great typical churches, with deep chancels, indeed, but pierced by an arch: with screens, indeed, but of open-work. It is a frank, breezy, cheery religion: a religion of the open brow, and bright and happy countenance! It goes on the principle, "He that doeth good cometh to the light;" "What ye hear in the ear, proclaim upon the housetops." S. Paul longs for "boldness," and "utterance," "to make known the mysteries of the Gospel." "We are called unto liberty," he cries in another place: free political institutions, a free press, free speech, free discussion—our faith is in essential sympathy with

all these ! Unlike other ancient religions, it is not its genius to sway men to a fearsome submission by the leverage of the recondite and occult. "We are not of the night, nor of darkness," cries S. Paul, again : "we have renounced the hidden things." The Anchorite and the Trappist—secret tribunals and societies—the compulsory confessional and the Inquisition, are hardly, to say the least, normal Gospel products. "We who are of the day ;" such is the *differentia* claimed by an Apostle for Christians.

Am I asked, Where, then, does faith come in, and the blessedness of those "who have not seen, yet believe" ? I answer, that true religious faith is precisely the faculty whereby we accept the epiphanies with the heart, and make surrender to it in our lives, and are careful to leave the mysterious in patient confidence with God. Faith is concerned mainly with what is revealed ; but it is not revealed in any effectual sense to carnal minds. Only by God's gift of faith shall we "see Him Who" otherwise "is invisible ;" and in the Gospel "the righteousness of God by faith," S. Paul says, "is revealed to *faith*." "If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are perishing, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the eyes of them that believe not." But the faith that yields unquestioning assent to mysterious dogmas because propounded by ecclesiastical authority is not the faith of Scripture at all : it is, in fact, fanaticism, and there is an unbelief which is preferable to it. Of such an unbeliever one has sung—not too accurately, perhaps, yet not without true meaning—

"Perplexed in faith, but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out.
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds !"

We have already noticed a distinction between the buildings which the instincts of the Christian Church led her to erect for worship, and the Jewish temple ; more marked still is their contrast with the shrines of heathendom. The grand colonnades that adorn a Greek or Roman sanctuary stand outside it : why ? If set inside, like the lovely arcades of our cathedrals, the public and the worshippers—always kept outside—never would have seen them ! Of our cathedrals, windows are the glory ; the temples of heathenism had none. What awesome, dread-inspiring chambers they must have seemed ! "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy House" can hardly have been the sentiment they inspired. Over the temple of Isis at Sais ran the legend—"No man hath lifted my veil." They were planned, for the most part, for worshipping towards the darkling west ; and what "a horror of great darkness" must have fallen on the worshippers (as on Abraham at his prayers in the untutored stage of his faith) as they slunk beneath the portals of the grand but grim Egyptian sanctuaries ; while, in the inner *adytum*, buried behind

enclosing walls, priests peeped and muttered in hidden rites and incantations. For ever away with dim, dark Christian Churches! It seems regrettable to find men building them of late in England.

My brethren, a temptation to emphasize—both in worship and teaching—as a spur to devout obedience, the mysterious till it verges on the superstitious, has from time to time beset the Christian Church; but she must be on her guard against it!

One well-known instance is the “*Disciplina Arcani*,” or doctrine of reserve. It began innocently enough in the second century; and we may concede to Newman’s famous tract that it was no imitation of heathenism, without adopting his view, that it must have originated with the Master or His Apostles.

Now, let us do it all justice. Our blessed Lord certainly said, “Cast not your pearls before swine;” and there is a reverent delicacy in speaking of things sacred that is most wise. Apart from the danger of provoking persecution, it soon appeared that there was reason for Christ’s warning. It proved useless—aye, mischievous—to propound before foul-minded and banal heathen crowds the Incarnation, the Atonement, or the Trinity, or to baptize, celebrate Eucharist, or ordain in their presence. More than a question of taste was involved; it might furnish occasion to blasphemy. “When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and shut to the door,” has an application, in measure, even to *public* worship. I for one disrelish religious exercises (I do not include preaching) in public thoroughfares; the singing of impassioned devotional compositions, for pastime, at odd moments, as commonly encouraged in children; and the celebration of the Eucharist before mixed gatherings of non-communicant spectators. A certain private “indoors” element in the Church’s worship is of importance.

And so with doctrine. The Lord Jesus taught truth as His disciples could bear it. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of S. John were spoken in the upper chamber, could never have been delivered on the Mount; and the Apostles, distinguishing spiritual from carnal hearers, fed the last with milk, keeping strong meat for the others. An elementary and a more advanced stage in Christian instruction will always find place in the Church’s teaching, and defective discernment in hearers be taken into account by the prudent speaker on religion. When that heathen showed Augustine his god in sun, and moon, and sky, and bade him show him his, he was silent: “not,” he explains, “because I had no God to show, but because he had no eyes to see.” “The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit.” I may remind you how our Article on Predestination fully admits the danger of that doctrine “for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of Christ.”

But, on the other hand, systematic concealment of any part of

the Catholic truth from the inquirer is a method quite devoid of Scripture warrant. "I kept back nothing," says S. Paul of his ministry; "I am pure from the blood of all men, for I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God." And the ancient doctrine of reserve was carried far beyond mere caution before unbelievers, or prudent adaptation to the capacity of the taught. It recognized two kinds of teaching—exoteric, or popular, for the outsider, and esoteric for the initiated; and gradually Philo's misleading example was followed, and the plan adopted of accommodating Scripture and Church doctrine, on the one side to philosophers, by explaining it away into correspondence with the cloudy speculations of their schools, and, on the other, to common people and catechumens, who were allowed to rest in the literal sense of Bible narratives, to which allegorical meaning was attached for more expert hearers. Four distinct senses, indeed, were assigned to Scripture, and Origen said at last that it was right to tell some folks untruths for a time, provided it were done for their ultimate good: as a doctor might farnish or mutilate his patient with a view to curing him. This mystifying of the epiphanious could only end in harm. It was against our text, "the things that are revealed belong to us and to our children." It were spiritual theft for the Church's teachers to turn them back into mysteries again!

Why were Scriptures, in God's providence, given us, if not to hinder this? And the first instinct of a purified Christian feeling in the Church has ever been to get these into men's hands, and to turn them from a dark lantern into a lamp of the Lord, by translation into the vernacular. For old tongues in sacred books may sentimentally be dear, but they shroud God's Word; and we must read, as well as "sing, with understanding." A man in the Spirit may "speak mysteries," yet the hearer will not be edified if the tongue he speak in be unknown. Away with all mumbling and indistinctness in public ministration: away with Amharic, and old Syriac, and Cyrillic, and Latin; tell men "the things that are revealed" in the language of their daily life! Thus it was that the grand old Celtic Missions began with the Abgitorium, or alphabet-sheet; and the English horn-book proved the first swallow of the Reformation summer.

Well, the schools of Alexandria passed away, but a certain theory of esoterics lingered on, viz., that there was an advanced teaching, come down from the Apostles' days, to be embodied in the Church's formal system only by degrees; and in that theory lay hid all the novelties of modern Papalism, as the music of the moon in the egg of the nightingale. It culminated in the doctrine of the co-ordinate authority of tradition with Scripture, repudiated by our branch of the Catholic Church at its Reformation. We Anglicans know of no such distinctive sections of revealed truth. The epiphanious things belong for ever to us

and our children, as the mysterious for the present to God alone ; and we are aware of no evidence that part of the former was semi-mysterious, and authoritatively concealed in the first Christian centuries, to be disclosed in the sixteenth and nineteenth. There are secrets in our religion, but they belong to the Lord, not to any privileged section in His Church. The conception of an ownership by ecclesiastics, separately from the laity, in certain religious truths—of religion being a technical “mystery,” somewhat in the sense in which a trade or handicraft is called so—has been the parent of untold mischief ; and directly Scripture, with its epiphanious contents, was released from bonds, and recognized as the due, in its completeness, of the Christian layman, the Reformation was inevitable. Nor will religious obscurantism return to any community in which that Book remains in free and honoured circulation. It broke up the spiritual bondage of the middle age, and is profoundly influencing to-day the somewhat torpid State Churchism of a leading Eastern Church, in which our interest is augmenting daily, that of Russia—with her 100,000,000 peasants, through whom its music is already stirring “like wind in a tree.” They are crying out, “The things which are revealed belong to us and to our children !” And O, may their great historic Church, Scriptural in her Creed, and almost wholly free from the Latin innovations, awake and arise in response, and meet more fully the spiritual needs and cravings of her sons and daughters !

There is a Church whose genius is to court—because she has nothing to fear, everything to hope, from it—the fullest diffusion of Scriptural and religious (and, indeed, all other) enlightenment : I mean our own. She dreads no Bible criticism, however “high” or searching. And the appeal to Scripture was the pivot of her Reformation : the epiphaniousness of a healthy Christian Church was then regained by the Church of England ; and the dark abuses of a time when Papalism dominated human conscience fled like mists before the sun.

“ Her open eyes desire the truth.
The wisdom of a thousand years
Is in them. May perpetual youth
Keep dry their light from tears ! ”

And it is Scripture that stands enthroned as the arbiter and touchstone of truth at our Church Congresses, and the motto of every speaker on their platforms should be that of Paul, “Let him speak *as the oracles of God.*”

The epiphanious belongs to us.

Brethren, would that we had time to look round our splendid property ! For, outside all matters about which Christians in general hold controversy, magnificent is our common heritage of religious knowledge. And yet, how little the average nominal Christian realizes his potential spiritual wealth ! He reminds

one of that owner of a seemingly barren bit of Yorkshire land, who did nothing with it, and died in penury, while his heir found it teeming with mineral riches, that made a millionaire of him before it was his turn to pass away. A Church Congress does no slight service if it helps Churchmen to apprehend more adequately the dimensions of that inheritance of religious truth which all schools of Anglicans own in common. "Revealed truths" is what we call them.

But how came we by the knowledge of these? Have we been right in taking the known and unknown (which certainly cover the whole area of fact) as only equivalent to the "things secret and revealed" of our text? Are there no ways of knowing except through some form of revelation? A recent book has grappled with such questions, and many of us will have studied and, in the main, agreed with it. The term *epiphanious*, of course, covers all enlightenment, however attained; but into every kind of it "revelation" enters, in the sense that knowledge in its original and most essential elements assuredly issues to us from sources that transcend inquiry and reasoning. The book shows how this is true of science and politics, as well as of morals and religion; and in the latter department the results of reasoning bear but a small proportion to convictions arrived at otherwise. Reasoning no more proves to me the existence of an all-good, all-wise, Almighty God, than it proves to me my own existence as a free and responsible being, or the existence, with definite relations towards me, of other men outside myself—things doubted only in Bedlam. It is to the unsophisticated instincts of human nature that these verities commend themselves for acceptance; they become self-evident to us in their own light. And to these instincts Scripture makes its appeal. None of us, I apprehend, has accepted our sacred books as the guide of his higher life solely, or even mainly, through arguments in favour of the authenticity of their text and contents; but we are conscious that all that is best within us, in our highest and holiest moods, responds to those contents; and have felt out, rather than argued out, their authority over us. Thus, not only are they a revelation to us—they reveal us to ourselves, evoking, matching, and confirming our best inward emotions.

That our moral nature has, somehow, fallen; that wrongdoing angers the Almighty, and means awful peril to the perpetrator; that God is a father, and loves us infinitely, as He hates our sin; that Christ can save us from it, here and now; that transgressors are living on to-day because He would have them come to repentance and be saved; that the Divine Spirit, Heavenly Wind and Holy Fire, can purge and transform our character; that prayer and sacraments are a potent reality, and the very breath and health-conditions of our new and higher life; and that, body and soul, there will be resurrection

of all the dead, and a final judgment—what Christian, of whatever Church, doubts any of these things? Yet to which of them could scientific demonstration have conducted us? They transcend it; they are essentially revealed things; but *they "belong to us,"* that we may do God's law; and they are, *par excellence,* the things of universal, permanent, and practical value to mankind. In any conceivable Congress, could men gather around *data* of more commanding interest and consequence than these?

They "belong to our children." Who dares ask to have them withheld from our young ones? Such knowledge is just what the child can appropriate; and it can transfigure all its conduct. Understanding nothing of the theology of mystery—of the Hypostatic Union, or the *Communicatio Idiomatum*, or the supra-material presence in the Eucharist, the child can understand "God sees me; Christ loves me; I can pray for grace and get it, and master my bad tempers; 'There's a home for little children beyond the bright blue sky'": and on what other basis than such ideas will you rear successfully a truly pure child-life?

And they "belong to us for ever." As year after year brings a fresh Church Congress round, what happens, or can happen, to reduce the value of the fundamental verities of the Christian revelation? Let social revolt establish a new order of Society, the dread fact of the Fall will bristle up inexorably amid its Utopian paradise, like Banquo at the feast, and mar it with strife and greed and lust, as it marred all older social forms. Invent spectroscopes, and kinetographs, and nonaplets—sorrow and death and judgment to come remain to be dealt with, as awful realities as ever; and men need in A.D. 1896 for their souls' plague exactly what they needed A.D. 96—authoritative guidance how to be saved, sanctified, and solaced; and only the knowledge of a Heavenly Father, Brother, and Friend can yield it them. "Tell me the old, old story;" recite to me the old, old texts! "The fashion of this world passeth; the Word of our God liveth and abideth;" and Scripture threats and promises are as powerful and emancipating for me when I am sixty as they were when I was six. What are dying years and melting centuries that they should impair the eternal verities? Part with all else we must: these "belong to us for ever."

And how *practical* they are! No mere speculations, they are ours "*that we may do.*" We can live by them, we must die by them—these simple, epiphanious things of the everlasting Gospel. Live your true life you cannot "by bread alone"—*i.e.*, by any product of this world or creature-ingenuity; in every word that proceedeth out of God's mouth is the life of man's spirit. Deadly is the ultimate effect on human practice of mere naturalism, however tempered and delayed those effects may

be by the "atmospheric influences," as they have been called, that pervade even nominally Christian society. A man's life holds his faith in solution, and it is sure to be precipitated in the details of his conduct. It is the Hindu's fatalism that makes him the block he is. Materialism inevitably tends to rejuvenate in man the ape and tiger. Comte admits that there are no ideals that can be set beside those of Christianity; and though they are oftener praised than translated into practice, and mere religionism waits on Christian godliness as its worthless shadow, precisely as charlatanism does on science, quackery on medicine, and pedantry on scholarship, this no more disproves the supremacy of its elevating and ennobling standard of practical human conduct than a law is proved evil by being broken, or a masterpiece of Handel shown to be poor music if it be badly played.

The epiphanious is the true and special heritage of the Church! That, brethren, is my thought this morning. Unable to express it as I would wish, I am profoundly convinced that it is true and practically important. I have laboured all my life among the people, and the unquestionable aversion they entertain towards technical theology, and such prejudices as they have against the teaching Church, are largely inspired by a not inexcusable disrelish of the mysterious, and a strong preference for the untechnical and epiphanious. Much preaching of the day is repellent to them, because it harps on mysteries, instead of unfolding and enforcing on heart and conscience the things that are revealed. And a wisely conducted Church Congress will make it plain that our Church is concerning herself more and more with the latter rather than the former; and clearly discerns that Christianity is more epiphanious than mysterious—man's one great hope for the present, not to speak of the future; for earth, let alone for heaven.

And now, brethren, what time have we left to think together of the secret or mysterious things, here said to belong to the Lord our God, and destined to become epiphanious only in the future?

They are multitudinous enough! We are not about to dwell on the enigmas of physical life—of electricity, of gravitation, of the interior of our globe, of the *nebulae*, of space, its contents and limits, and the like. These seem only multiplied by the revelations of telescope and microscope; and though science is said to be steadily flooding into the gaps in our knowledge, like a flowing ocean tide into the seashore pools, and turning one by one the mysteries of yesterday into the commonplaces of to-morrow, our greatest scientist saw the ocean rather in what remained unknown, and in himself only a pebble-gatherer on the beach. Many or few, nature's secrets belong to God; and if they are being swiftly unravelled in our time it is just because,

as Scripture tells us, He hid them only that they might be discovered. And there remain regions of knowledge where, by the Will of God, no such new discoveries for the present can be made, and the watershed between the mysterious and epiphanious shifts not, and the solution of enigmas of seemingly urgent and stirring interest to man lies yet behind an unrent veil.

Some of them are heart-shaking problems indeed. Why evil at all in a world a good God made? Why all the misery of man and of beast? How can our will be free, yet everything pre-ordained? How can the prayer of imperfect, erring men prevail, if all things have been planned out by perfect wisdom? How comes Christ's sweet Gospel only just to have enlisted, after one thousand eight hundred years (as Mr. Gladstone says it has), the largest nominal following among many rival creeds? Why are Christians so divided? Why does error so often triumph? What comes directly after death? How can the saved hope to be happy hereafter, if any of their fellow men will have been lost? And what can possibly be the meaning of "eternal punishment"?

Quien sabe? Has religious speculation thrown the faintest light on any of these problems? No; there is but one answer to such queries, "We do not know." Our Church Congress, however successful, will make no discoveries, we may safely predict, in these directions.

But there is a rider to our confession of ignorance: "God knoweth." Blessed be His Name, things mysterious belong to Jahveh, our covenant God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ! We can neither understand them, nor by any act of will influence their unfolding; but they are His, and He will order them aright! The epiphanious things guarantee *that*, at any rate, about the mysterious. For, granted that God is incomprehensible, and separated from poor me in His Majesty by the diameter of the Universe, He cannot be an unsympathetic Being, if He sent His Christ to be my Brother! If this world He made be full of baffling problems of suffering, it is incredible that pessimism can be the truth, and God unjust and unkind, if He Himself, in Incarnation, has shared that suffering with His creatures! If vice succeed, and merit go unappreciated, a judgment to come, with a Divine Man to hold it, of which the Incarnate One assured us, will set all to rights at last. These secret things belong to God; and in His own good time He will reveal them all. Every mystery only awaits its epiphany. A time is hurrying towards us that shall rip away all disguises, and when we shall know as we are known; the sea of God's mysterious things shall be illumined to its depths as though it were of mingled glass and fire; and so abundant shall be the revelations that we shall veil our eyes from the blaze, as angels do, instead of straining them in vain, as we do now, to penetrate the clouds and

darkness round about the throne of "a God that hideth Himself." "The secrets of all hearts shall be revealed," and secret well-doing rewarded openly; and we shall not only see things as they are, but God Himself, even, as He is! "All things are ours; whether things present or things to come."

For the time, then, let us repose in patient trust before problems God has willed to veil from us. How meekly Christ Himself on earth acquiesced in being ignorant of "That day and hour!" How vain to be disquieted by mysteries! What folly it had been, if those scientists who went to Vadsö in August had resented their disappointment when sea fogs overshadowed the spectacle of the sun's eclipse! Not all the engineers in the world could move one of those clouds out of the way, and they had humbly to hold their peace and be content. Let us so deal with the moral and religious mysteries; not suffering them, as many do, to goad us into restlessness, or sour us into agnostic cynicism: still less let us try to turn faith to sight too soon by feigning to ourselves some vicegerent of the Almighty upon earth, able infallibly to expound them when required.

"Soon the whole, like a parched scroll,
Shall before our astounded sight uproll,
And without a screen at one burst be seen
That presence wherein we have ever been!"

Meanwhile, we will eschew all brooding over mysteries—all curious speculations about them—aye, all over-occupation with them in any way; and spend our energies and time, this week and always, in developing better the enormous resources at our command, in "the things that have been revealed." Our Church seems only to have begun in these latter days to realize in any fair measure her true power and magnificent present practical opportunities! God help us by His Spirit with wisdom from above to do this more effectively than ever in the Congress that has been permitted, by His merciful providence, to assemble once more to-day in this fair town of Shrewsbury.

THE SERMON

BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

(THE RIGHT REV. EDWARD STUART TALBOT, D.D.),

PREACHED IN

THE CHURCH OF HOLY CROSS, SHREWSBURY,

ON TUESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

“ Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty : neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me.”—*Ps.* cxxxi. 1.

THERE weighs upon the heart of the Church at this day the duty and the need of definite teaching. It is witnessed by common instinct and experience ; it is enforced by the voices of our best and wisest guides. The vagueness and shallowness for which it is desired as antidote are about us everywhere. The desire for it is the tribute half grateful, half indignant, which the Church pays to that holy treasure which she carries in her breast and on her lips. To have believed what she believes, to know such things as she knows, to be the chosen witness of such an one as her Lord, this is enough to make her heart burn to speak clear, and to speak loud, to speak so that men shall know they have among them a thing new, unique, and wholly of God. Yes, definite indeed ; it may not be the highest or deepest word to describe that which is thunderous and trumpet-like, which should search the very heart and reins, which should make all things new : the burst of light into our dark life : the coming of life amidst death ; but it is a most necessary word, and stands for a most necessary thing. It was the pastoral instinct at the heart of the Church, her desire to give what she had, which made her, we may be sure, definite in her catechesis and her confessions of faith, stating simply, clearly, briefly, and compactly in terms of fact, temporal and eternal, what the essentials were of that Gospel which she had received. It was the same instinct which made her go on, more reluctantly, but still afterwards firmly, to such definition as was needful to secure her children against

speculations which she knew to be novel, and discerned to be destructive to the very heart of her faith.

This was her definiteness, with the reasons of it.

It is our unchanged duty, and our hearts are set upon it ; it governs our whole attitude towards the education question ; it is equally, I hope, the continual subject of effort and anxiety in the daily care, steady, tender, and delicate, to give the children in our schools a pure and nourishing milk, not meat, of the Word.

It comes to us from the fields of practical work. A bishop whom it has been my own special privilege to follow has told us that in South London the work tells most and does best which is "based upon a clear, unflinching faith, definitely thought out, definitely held" ; and from abroad another bishop, who holds a difficult post bravely and well at Jerusalem, has lately borne witness, as Bishop Cotton and Bishop Douglas did in their time from Calcutta and Bombay, to the importance of such teaching for really constructive missionary work.

But do not let me dwell on this. You will grant it to me. We are at one upon it, most of us. But if that is so, in this or any other matter, it should make us immediately watchful to see when we may be distorting it, what other truth we may be suffering it to conceal from us, and where in our use of it it is likely to stand in its own light and hinder its own effects.

Usually our own experience, truly sifted, will give us the key. It is so, I think, here. For in that word definite is there not something which jars a little perhaps on ourselves and more on others ? Definite, clear-bounded, within outlines firmly and plainly drawn, accurately weighted and measured out : are these quite words to be used without anxiety and without careful sense of risk about that which is from above, Divine, tintured with infinity and eternity, to be used by man that is a worm in speaking about and for the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity, even when He stoops to human form and human instruments, or when dealing with what is His ? Is it so that we can plumb with our little lines the things which come out of the unfathomable depths of God and enter into the deep heart and mysterious life of man ? I have myself, my brothers, a great belief in the instincts of men. If we find, as we do find, a great antagonism to definite teaching, let us beware how we dismiss it with scornful or pitying words, till we have sifted it for the gold that will be surely found amongst its dross. *Antagonism*, I said, or shall I say, *indifference* ?—for that is a wider thing, the widest fact, perhaps, with which we have to deal. And we have no chance at all of dealing with it unless, very patiently, humbly, and lovingly, we disentangle the many strands of which it is blent, and recognize in it (along with the manifold and complicated work of error, our own and our fathers', as well as theirs who are indifferent) elements of a nobler and to us most

instructive sort. And certainly my own devotion to definite teaching shall not prevent me from recognizing amidst what I find of indifference and antagonism towards it, an element of true instinct against what may lower or belittle or despiritualize in human fashion that which is of God. Surely this is no unreal danger. Let us consider it together.

There is a condition, normal and permanent, in which it has pleased the wisdom of God that man should find himself on earth. It is a condition of blended knowledge and ignorance ; of good surmised, imagined, hoped for, trusted, yes, and known, but yet not grasped, or demonstrated, or seen, so that we are almost ready to take back that word "known" as presumptuous and untrue. This is the case all the world over. It is so among those simple folk of barbaric condition, who yet amidst their ignorance, the poet tells us—

"Touch God's right hand in the darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened."

It was so with the great minds of Greece, striving hard against the cleverness of sophistic criticism, to grip and define and declare moral and spiritual truths which they were sure of, but could not prove. It is written broad for us in the experience of the Old Testament, with its wonderful, shifting, flickering lights of hope, with its profound reverence for a God round about Whom are clouds and darkness.

And this is both notable and obvious, that as we look over the whole field of knowledge, it is everywhere its higher parts which are most subject to this condition. It was Aristotle, the first to draw the chart of all knowledge and lay the foundations of all method, who when he came to his highest subject, to the sciences of human character and conduct, pleaded firmly that the moralist must not be asked to demonstrate with the cogency of the mathematician. It was when the Jew drew near to God that he entered into the cloud, and there was darkness in his Holy of Holies.

Is this, then, changed for the Christian? Yes and no. Yes, in the sense which I can leave you to fill up, in the sense that Light came into the world ; and by all the difference which separates the clear, steady assurance of the New Testament from the aspiration of the Old. But, also, most surely no. No, as the New Testament itself is witness, from which come the words that I have had the trouble to hold back till now, because they are the very motto of what I am describing, "We walk by faith and not by sight" ; which has raised faith, with its characteristic difference from sight, to a position that it never held before ; which appeals to the long roll of the heroes of faith as our witnesses and encouragers in the like trial. No, by this sure sign, that the language of the Old Testament, with its hopes and

strainings, its cries out of darkness, its appeals to the God known but hidden, has been clasped by the Church to her breast, and poured forth from her lips as the utterance of her own experience. No, by our own experience, and just in proportion, I will be bold to say, as we have been real in thought, bold in facing facts; as we have been gifted or called by God to sound the depths, to pass through the fires, to draw near to that dark, inmost place of sanctuary, from which went up the cry, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani." I shall wake an answer in not a few hearts here when I ask them whether it was not just this loyalty to the light in a heart that faced all the darkness, which made some of us feel the late Dean of S. Paul's to be the greatest of our teachers.

The condition which God ordered for man abides as his discipline. He Who placed him in it has left him in it. It is, we may be pretty sure, too intimately connected with his whole probation to be altered. It is not that light is withheld, or that truths are not known. There are facts of conscience, its *données*, which, Aristotle said, sufficed to build on, and they grow stronger and clearer; there are the facts of experience, personal or natural, which bulk so large in the Old Testament, of virtue justified by results, of moral providence, of Divine succour to the right; there are the high moments in individual lives, of which George Eliot has said that they are those when we are our truest selves. There is at last the shining of the great light, the winning of the great victory over death, the seeing of things which prophets and kings desired to see. But round about all these, and penetrating them all, there is the great unknownness. The language of faith and of uncertainty runs along with the language of clearness and knowledge. Nay, each higher gift of sureness and knowledge only calls faith on to higher effort, sets it new problems, adds to the strain, and even agony, of its tenure.

I infer from this that the truest and best type of Christian doctrine or teaching is that which is true to these conditions, which not only recognizes them, but abides in the consciousness of them, which realizes the duty of ignorance as well as a duty of knowledge, which knows that gnosticism is an abiding danger as well as agnosticism, and that Christian theology must find place for the truth that there is in both, must be wisely silent as well as bravely speak.

I cannot but think that at no time has the general thought of men required such a type and aspect of Christian faith more than now; for such general thought has been latterly moulded by the sciences of nature and the methods of induction. And what is the procedure of those methods and sciences but a bold, trustful—yes, and reasonable—use of knowledge, of which it cannot give in any way adequate or final account?

"We live in a small bright oasis of knowledge, surrounded on all sides by a vast unexplored region of impenetrable mystery."

The words were spoken by Lord Salisbury from the chair of the British Association to describe what science sees. They tally, I seem to remember, almost exactly with the words in which a dying Christian, Henry Wilberforce, described the aspect as he knew it of Christian truth within the Church of infallibility.

But the figure, like all figures, is insufficient. The ignorance not only rings our knowledge round, but enters within it. One fact perfectly known means knowledge of the universe; in other words, no fact is perfectly known. The mystery which encompasses, also penetrates and saturates, and the very spirits which look out upon it are themselves deep mysteries.

And yet science rightly goes on its way, dealing with the facts which God has given to it, and making the best of them. And none are more sure that it is right so to do than men like Romanes, who have learnt through the witness of the Spirit a truth beyond; or like Balfour, though he pierces with the most riddling criticism any claim that scientific truths have, and alone have, the character of perfect knowledge.

There, then, is the idea which the thought of the time suggests. Truth, working and real truth, to be thankfully accepted, yet truth surrounded by ignorance founded on the unknown, conditioned by the unknown. The influence of such thought must tell, and ought to tell, upon our treatment of theology. And it is equally natural and remarkable that (if I understand rightly) the most powerful of recent schools of theological speculation in Germany, that school and leaven of thought which has Ritschl for its most characteristic name, is one whose method it is to start from the living facts of Christ and Christianity, and to arrive, by mere interpretation of them, at the truth which is sufficient and necessary for religious thought and life: conscious of speculative uncertainty all round, but undeterred by that, and resolutely practical.

The dangers of such a method are plain enough. It runs over quickly into vagueness and heresy. It is one-sided, giving itself over entirely to the one particular phase of thought from which it springs, and throwing off the guiding and restraining influence exercised by the witness of the Church and by her doctrinal forms. Such criticisms are easy to make. But religious history is full of instances where men have been content to taboo the dangers of error without interpreting in it the signs and hints of rightful tendency and need.

May we not read in the vogue of the school of Ritschl a hint that the theology of our time must be of a kind which along with what it knows is mindful of what it does not know; which does not ignore its incompleteness; which does not attempt to be rounded, adequate, final; which treads with fear and reverence in the forecourts of the Eternal and the unseen; yes, and even in the things that are known and seen recognizes the mystery

and profoundness as much as the plain and palpable truth or fact ?

Surely the fact that our faith comes to us so largely in the form (1) of historical facts, and (2) of human experiences, inspired, accumulated, and matured, fits it especially to reply to the needs of such a time. Our witness is primarily spiritual—we speak that we do know: we bear witness that we have found the Christ, that He has words of eternal life: we testify to His work when on earth, to His work, ascended, by the Spirit, to the facts of His grace, to the actual and living Church of His building, to the ascertained direction of His will. But it can only be imperfectly, tentatively, with certainty shading off fast into uncertainty and conjecture, that we give precise account of the how and why, the explanations and the limits of these things.

Do not, I beg you, meet me with the objection that to say this is to refuse the Church's authority by denying the necessity of dogma.

It is easy to frame logical snares, and wiser men than you and I have caught their feet in them.

We make no such refusal or denial. Dogma became necessary as the sheath and shrine of the spiritual truth and fact; necessary, too, it would seem, if the faith of Christ was to realize itself in the regions of man's speculative intellect, as well as in those of his feelings, conscience, and will.

But with what reserve and what reluctance, with what limitation of herself to such expressions as were necessary for the denial of errors, the Church at first went about this work, as one almost foreign to her, as one in which she seemed to detect or surmise the influence of causes more human than divine!

And how boldly have great dogmatists, looking back, acknowledged that dogma was a necessary evil, laying stress on both words!

On such matters the less we say *à priori* the wiser we are. We may humbly recognize the work of the Holy Spirit in securing for us those great truths of the divine nature and economy which the Creed enshrines, and yet see with open eyes that one of the subtlest, profoundest, and most dangerous of transformations in all history is that by which the use of dogma to shelter and secure passes into the love of dogma as a means to explore and expand; and see, too, that motives so strong as human curiosity, human positiveness, human unwillingness to acknowledge ignorance, or desire for the ease and relief of clear-cut definitions are ever at work to promote that change.

I have not the learning to discuss how far the return to such a reserved doctrinal position was in itself a general and conscious aim of those who in Reformation and post-Reformation days had their hands full of particular controversies against urgent abuses; how far we may generalize, for example, the words of

Bishop Andrewes when dealing with our relations with the saints departed ; he says that these are "inter occulta Dei, nec chartulæ committenda mysteria."

But we shall be, I believe, blind and ungrateful indeed if we do not see that this was in no slight degree the practical upshot of that returning upon its paces, of that cutting back of a thick growth of practice and definition, which the Church of England then made at such cost, some necessary, some unnecessary, of spiritual dislocation ; that this is one aspect of what historically takes the form of the return and appeal to primitive antiquity.

And lest we should think that in so thinking we are merely special pleading in our own interest, or merely yielding softly to a lax fashion of secular thought, behold from the East—the stern, clear-voiced, uncompromising East—comes the testimony of the ancient Church of Constantinople, not drawing the dogmatic line precisely where we draw it, refusing one clause of Creed which we accept, making some things to be of necessity which we should not, affirming absolutely as part of the definitions of the faith the decisions of seven General Councils, but appealing for that very "return" (it is their own phrase) which we sought to make, protesting with our protest against "lawless and anti-Evangelical innovations, and dogmas newly made." And we have recently had brought before us by the Eastern Church Society the works of one of her theologians, M. Khomiakoff, in which he finds the very bane of the West in the inveterate tendency to dogmatise, and that equally *pro* and *con*, upon points beyond the Creed and the Apostolic traditions.

It surely is a great encouragement for us who, amidst the irony of logical wits, ecclesiastical or sceptical, seek to hold the steadfast modest way of quiet maintenance of a truth which is unchanging, and yet ever fresh (as perhaps no generation has seen more than our own) with rich force of spiritual and moral influence for new needs.

My brethren, we shall, I think, be very guilty if, in face of all this, in spite of the position granted to us in God's providence, in contempt of the witness writ so large in history as to the evils that come from over-sureness, over-definition, over-extension of dogma, we do not humbly but firmly take our stand to present to the world and to our own plain English race the truth of Christ, definite indeed, and imperious, but still very closely limited to what is necessary for moral and spiritual probation in this our state of ignorance, and still a spiritual truth, a truth of spiritual fact, with all which that means of largeness, of elasticity, of undefinableness by even necessary and much more unnecessary terms of human language and human logic.

Not to know, as well as to know, to see truth shading off into the unknown, and not be able exactly to draw a dividing line,

to be exercised in the endurance of much ignorance and difficulty, without petulantly flying to the cheap solution that there is no definite truth to be known ; to be thrown back upon ourselves, to ponder, and consider, and pray over the bearings which known truth may have beyond its plain contents—this is surely a most true and integral part of our life's probation and schooling in Christ ; and if I am not mistaken one which it is most needful for many to-day to recognize and accept.

Such a position, and, what is as important, the religious tone and temper belonging to such a position, is what it is, a first responsibility of the English Church of to-day to take, and seek. It is worthy of her national character ; it is demanded by her best traditions ; it may go to meet the future with best and most confident hope. Bidden as I am to speak to-day to a section of this Congress, and to so many wiser and more learned than myself, I submit this humbly as what seems to me one of the things most needful for our steady and vigilant consideration.

If I try, as in duty of frankness bound, to apply what I have said to two or three matters, do not let me divert you from the main thought, and do not judge its value by that of my particular applications. Necessarily they must touch matters of delicacy and debate, even if I do not touch, by more than this passing reference, the example of an opposite method and temper, so significant, so painful, and so characteristic of the dominant tendency in the commission from which it comes, which has saddened and disappointed us, as we read the recent utterance on English Orders and the essentials of a valid ministry.

We have lately received pressure in a practical manner to find more room in the Church for reverent and loving remembrance before God of those who are departed. In my judgment we need the reminder, and should be grateful for it. We owe a debt to the Bishop who, in practical handling of a particular case, was careful to say that nothing which he had said or done prejudiced the question of prayer for the departed, or of the relation of the Holy Eucharist to such prayer. It is by faith a matter of knowledge to us that the faithful, though to us they sleep, live unto God ; they are in His keeping ; they form part with us of His Holy Catholic Church ; "one family," as Wesley has helped us to remember, "we dwell in Him" with them, and we are bound to them in the communion of saints. Beyond this we may guess with great spiritual probability that there may be for them opportunities of growth and purification, and even, with Dante, that this may involve willing pain.

But we are here feeling forward into the unknown. What is certain is that we may commend them to God ; pray for their

rest and peace ; for the grant to them of light ; for issues of blessings in which they and we may meet. To do so cannot be wrong. Not to do so is to suppress a deep and natural desire ; it may be a want of charity ; it is, as perhaps some of us can say from experience, to lose one help in realizing, amidst the pressure of things visible, the invisible and eternal world.

But then in firm protest and in loving appeal may we not point out the difference between this reverent indication and use of a truth, and the definition of it which pronounces that there is a state in which by fire, literal or figurative, of long duration the souls of the forgiven and redeemed suffer purifying agony ; the inference that prayer and offering on earth can shorten this ; and the practical consequences in doctrine and practice on which I need not dwell ? Let me express it not in my individual words, but in those of the Episcopate centred at Constantinople :—

“The one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church . . . prays and invokes the mercy of God for the forgiveness and rest of those which are fallen asleep in the Lord, but the Papal Church from the twelfth century downwards has invented a multitude of innovations concerning purgatorial fire, a superabundance of the virtues of the saints and their distribution to those who need them, and the like.”

Surely as English Churchmen we have had a pretty sharp lesson to warn us here, since precisely to this human determination to know and to define what is not known, and all the system built up, was due the reaction in England which cut out of our service-book all remembrance of the dead in prayer ; and makes multitudes of our Churchmen, most naturally, shrink from any resumption at all of what was so desperately abused. But let us observe that when such men challenge us to define exactly what good our prayers may do for the departed, their question implies in the opposite and negative shape that very heresy of defining the spiritual but undefined, and of knowing where we do not and cannot know.

I might quote as an instance of similar danger a sermon which I heard myself last year in France on the centenary of S. Antony of Padua, in which the preacher informed us that while other saints had local and limited protectorates, S. Antony had universal tutelage of the poor. It is astonishing that men do not see that in coupling such utterances with those of real Catholic truth they play the game of scepticism.

But it is surely an encouraging thing that we have positive as well as negative instances of the value of asserting without too much defining. How precious it is to us that the Church, while proclaiming as *de fide* in the Catholic Creed the resurrection to eternal life, and reciting in one of her professions of faith the translation of the Lord's Own words that they that have done evil shall go into everlasting fire, has abstained from further dogma about the last things, and the condition of those whom

she has learnt to call the lost. How infinitely precious again that we come to the questions so wide, so deep, so various, which beset in this day the interpretation of the Old and New Testament, bringing with us the unchanging faith of the Church in their sacredness and inspiration, in their God-given witness to our Lord, in their containing all things necessary to salvation; but without any constraining dogmas as to the manner of their inspiration, as to their accuracy, or authorship, or order. How have we felt, and are feeling, the help of this in meeting the results and acquisitions and suggestions of the scholarship and learning of our time. How untold a blessing is it to this our own Church that she is not hampered by those terrible and most human formulæ about the extent and implications of inspiration by which dogmatism—Protestant even more than Catholic (for there is no monopoly of such mistakes)—has warped and caricatured the spiritual verity which it sought to defend.

And, lastly, with regard to the Holy Eucharist. I speak here with fear and deep reverence upon a matter so profoundly sacred, and surrounded by such a network of personal feeling and devotion. And yet nowhere, as it seems to me, has the danger of formulating and defining done so much as here to make or increase dissension, to adulterate Divine truth with human elements, and to encumber the appeal, the arduous and yet most constraining appeal, which a thing so spiritual, so full of the Spirit of God, makes to what is spiritual even in sinful and earth-bound man.

What have we here? A means of directest union with our Lord appointed by Himself: an opportunity of approach to God through Him in the very act which renews that union: His own special and adorable presence to bestow upon us a gift objective, real, from above, from without, for our humblest taking and receiving; that gift something which is part and parcel of Himself, through which His life passes, under forms of most speaking symbolism, with result of most penetrating efficacy, into our life: an abiding and continual miracle of His wisdom, power, and love, yet wrought without faintest touch of disturbance to the material order which He made.

What response should this draw from the heart of the Christian, who believes in the unseen things of faith and of the Spirit, but profound, wondering gratitude and love? Whence comes it that this, in which for centuries the Church rejoiced without dispute, asserting but not defining, should have come to be the very centre of controversy, of suspicion, of mutual reproach; that it should be the thing which the newspapers point to in our Congress programmes as most likely to awake heated discussions, and which our authorities find necessary, in their wise discretion, to hedge with special safeguard of silence? Is low or imperfect teaching

about it, or the refusal of its grace, to be ascribed only to the natural scepticism or shallowness of man's earthly mind? I believe from my heart that even more than these the cause has been this woeful mistake of first knowing and then expressing more than is given to us to know, "of curiously sifting what should be adored, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search."* I think if we came to the matter fresh we should all resent explanations which define negatively, and say that "this" is not "His body," but only represents it, or conveys it, or becomes it by the power of our faith; that we should nearly all agree with Queen Elizabeth, and as He spake it so should take it. But whence comes this negative dogmatism? It is the child of a parent like itself; it is the presumptuous "No" flung back at the as presumptuous "Aye," rashly given to the question, not whether God's gift was real, but whether it involved this or that of metaphysical or physical inference. It is not without meaning that the Eastern theologian tells us that in much of the controversy which has torn the Western world the error of both sides has often been the same, with only the difference of the + and - signs. Of course the Church had to realize the intensity and fulness of Christ's gift—to expand and express in word and worship what was contained in the Apostolic witness about the communion of the body and the blood of Christ. That was necessary work. The result is with us in the splendour of her early liturgies and her primitive teaching. But human handling of things Divine is dangerous work; it affords only too much opening for human presumption. In defining their knowledge men forget their ignorance. More and more is the Divine thing draped with the forms, coloured with the tinges, of human logic and speculation. Practice follows after, drawing inferences, pulling the Sacrament this way and that, dividing it, employing it, with only the sanction and credential of men's own thoughts and desires. Metaphysical definitions, bleeding Hosts, adoration paid to the things of Christ rather than to Him—these and such like things bred the violence of protest which often confused human striving with Divine substance, and in impatience or contempt of the human pared down or profaned the Divine.

And now that God in His rich mercy has granted to us a great restoration of His Eucharist to its true position, a great awakening, in which head and heart, thought and conscience, and emotion have all their part, to its true meaning, import, and significance, realized with full intelligence and intensity by those who are schooled in the faith, and felt as an undefined but wonderful attraction by not a few who stand on the threshold or outside: now that not only in study or cloister only, but in slum and cottage, among fisherfolk and toilers of

* Hooker, *E.P.*, v. 67.

every sort, this great sacrament is afresh understood as the climax, centre, focus, key, of all the religion of this our mortal way, let us ask with affectionate earnestness that so great a gift, and so noble a prospect, be not marred by human presumption ; that the lessons of the past should not be as if they had not been ; that history, as well as logic, even the logic of devotion, should have its word ; that the reverence of inference should be controlled by another reverence, not less real and devout, and, perhaps, even more wholesome and Christian, which I would almost venture to call the reverence of faithful ignorance, but may, with more safety, describe as the reverence of those who, while they never forget what in Christ, and by His Church's help, they are allowed to see and know, remember nevertheless that they "see in a glass darkly," "as by a mirror, and in a riddle."

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS,
HELD AT SHREWSBURY.

CONGRESS HALL,
TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

At Two o'clock the Right Rev. the Hon. AUGUSTUS LEGGE, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Lichfield, took the Chair as President.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I REQUEST that, on this occasion, as a token of our loyalty and deep affection for Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, we should signify our gratefulness to Almighty God for the length of life and sovereignty He has granted her, by singing the first verse of the National Anthem. The verse was sung, the whole audience standing.

After prayers and the Apostles' Creed had been said, the President delivered his

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

IN the year of grace 796, just eleven centuries ago, Offa, king of Mercia, died. At that date Higbert, whom he had nominated to the See of Lichfield seventeen years earlier, was exercising jurisdiction as Archbishop over a province coterminous with Offa's kingdom. Offa had obtained the sanction of the Bishop of Rome to the creation of this new province, and a council of the English Church held at Chelsea in the year 787 had formally approved it. "For," says our diocesan historian, "the great Offa little liked the fact that all the bishops of his kingdom of Mercia were nothing more than suffragans to an archbishop who lived in a petty southern state, upon which he looked

with contempt. He therefore determined to humble Canterbury, and to exalt Lichfield, so as to concentrate his kingdom within itself." Offa recognized the power of religion in fostering and inspiring national life; he recognized also the right of a nation to regulate its own ecclesiastical affairs, free from the intrusion of foreign jurisdiction. But a true instinct led the council of Cloveshoe to restore Mercia after Higbert's death to the province of Canterbury: for a wider nationality was opening out for Englishmen. We are grateful for the restoration of our allegiance to the chair of S. Augustine and of Theodore, and thankful to number ourselves amongst the dioceses administered by suffragans of so worthy a successor in the See of Canterbury as our present Metropolitan. We only wish that our Archbishop could have been with us to-day. We should have welcomed him dutifully, we should have listened to him attentively, and I hope that we should have entertained him hospitably.

Now, in the year in which Higbert was consecrated, Offa made himself master of Pengwern, the capital of the king of Powis, and called it Scrobbesbyryg, from the abundance of brushwood on the slopes around it. Then this town of Shrewsbury, with that part of the county which forms our existing archdeaconry of Salop, already long a portion of the ancient British Church, was incorporated in the diocese of Lichfield. Offa built a church on the ruins of the palace of the British king, and happily dedicated it to S. Chad, who, by the hands which consecrated him, linked on the British to the Latin Church, and both to the Churches of the East.

So it comes to pass that I am called on to preside at this Church Congress, and not either of my weightier and more worthy episcopal neighbours in the county of Salop. Shrewsbury is essentially a county town, and this is a Shropshire Congress: but Shropshire is not yet ecclesiastically one, three dioceses claim each a part of it. The grand scheme submitted to Henry VIII. in 1538 for making the Abbey the Cathedral for a Shropshire diocese, and for attaching to it a complete body of Cathedral dignitaries, officials, and servants, has not yet been carried into effect; but an Act was passed in his reign (1534) sanctioning the appointment of twenty-six suffragan bishops for England, with local instead of foreign titles. One of these was to take his title from Shrewsbury, and in 1537 Lewis Thomas was consecrated as Bishop of Shrewsbury, but for work in another diocese; John Bird, consecrated at the same time with the title of Penrith, being the

suffragan commissioned for the diocese of Lichfield by my predecessor, Bishop Lee. Since that time no other Bishop of Shrewsbury was appointed until Sir Lovelace Stamer was consecrated suffragan to Bishop Maclagan in 1888, by the same title, and under the same Act. How much the diocese owes to the Bishop of Shrewsbury, first as rector of Stoke-on-Trent, then as archdeacon, and subsequently as suffragan, every Churchman amongst us knows very well. He has earned the gratitude of all who have been charged with the duty of preparing for this Congress, and of every member of the Congress, by his indefatigable labours as its chief secretary.

But Shropshire will not always rest satisfied with half measures. As a county it will claim its own diocesan bishop, exercising jurisdiction over the whole area of its civil unity. Already the generosity and foresight of one of our most respected clergy has laid the foundation of a scheme by which this end may be gained, when the Churchmen of Shropshire come forward, as they surely will do, and that at no distant date, to assure its completion.

It is Shropshire, then, to-day that offers a most hearty welcome to the members of the Church Congress. Shrewsbury is honoured by the visit of this great Church assembly, and by the presence of the many eminent Churchmen who have consented to take a leading part in our discussions. One we miss who would have been amongst the foremost to join in this welcome, who was eagerly looking forward to the occasion, and who had already given valuable assistance to those who were engaged in making preparations for the Congress, when, by the will of God, he fell asleep, Thomas Bucknall Lloyd, Archdeacon of Salop in Lichfield—a Salopian by birth, by education, by the sphere of his ministerial labours from the time of his Ordination to that of his death, whose name will not soon be forgotten by the many in Shrewsbury and around it who knew, honoured, and loved him.

Here I pause to refer to an event which so deeply touches the heart of every British subject, that you would not pardon me, and I should not pardon myself, if at so large and representative a meeting of members of the English Church I passed it by in silence. Within the last fortnight the reign of Queen Victoria has exceeded in length that of any other Sovereign who has sat on the throne of this country. History furnishes no record of a wiser or more righteous rule, no example of a purer Court.

I need not touch on the extraordinary progress made in science and

in art during the past sixty years, nor on the rapid extension of the vast empire over which our gracious Sovereign rules, except so far as these things both increase the responsibility of our Church to the world and supply additional facilities for the spread of the Gospel by her means. I would only express my conviction that the extension of political power to the democracy, whom we rightly trust, and the provision of free education for all the children of our people, should serve to impress on the ministers of Christ's Church, that the Gospel which they preach is for all, that the Society to which they belong is for all, that the ministrations of religion which they provide are for all, that parish churches are not their property but that of the baptized parishioners ; and, further, that their teaching must appeal to, and convince the educated conscience of reasonable men.

But I turn to the Church and her growth during those sixty years. That period has witnessed the development of the great revival of corporate Church life which we speak of as the "Oxford Movement"—the true complement, I believe, when rightly viewed, of the Evangelical Revival of the close of the last century : the one a social movement, the other individualistic, each having its counterpart in the political and economical tendencies of its day. It has been marked by the revival of our ancient Convocations, which are wakening to a sense of the services they are capable of rendering to our National Church, and which (apart from the question of their reform or reconstitution) will exercise a wider and more beneficial influence as the two houses learn to trust themselves, and to trust each other with less hesitation and less reserve. The same period has seen the revival of the Act of Henry VIII. (1534) which gave power to appoint twenty-six suffragan bishops. Seventeen suffragans have been appointed, and seven new dioceses have been created in England during the present reign, so that we have not yet reached the number of additional bishops which were considered requisite for the proper administration of the affairs of the Church three hundred and sixty years ago. Within the same period no less than fifty-seven Colonial bishoprics have been founded, having their own independent organization, and twenty-four have been added in all parts of the world to those holding mission from Canterbury. If we may reckon with these fifty-four more bishops of the Church of the United States of America, we have a total of one hundred and fifty-nine added to those in communion with our Church since the year in which her Majesty began her splendid reign. And

all this growth and progress and development have not been accomplished independently of the personal character of our venerated Queen. We use not merely the language of official documents, or of the Court, but the language most expressive of our sentiments towards her when we speak of Queen Victoria as "our most gracious Sovereign Lady." By the Grace of God "most gracious" she has ever shown herself to be ; and no Englishman will accuse me of exaggeration when I say that as head of the State, as head of English society, as head of a family and household, our beloved Queen has consistently and unremittingly exercised an influence for good such as it has been given to few to have either the power or the will to exercise.

During the last two years strenuous efforts have been made by some of the most instructed and devout members of our Church to pave the way for the restoration of the unity of Christendom. The cheapness and ease with which persons of every class can, and do now, visit foreign countries, have made Continental places and forms of worship far more familiar to this generation than they were to our fathers, and have accustomed our fellow-countrymen to other modes and expressions of Christian thought than those which had been habitual with them before. Further afield the extension of our own empire has brought us into close relation with peoples of almost every religious persuasion in the world. We are startled when we reflect that it is only a minority of the subjects of our Queen who confess the religion of Christ.

At once we deplore the melancholy fact that those who have been baptized into the same Holy Name, who accept the same creeds, who believe in common that the Eternal Son of God was made Man, was crucified for us, rose again from the dead for us, and ascended into heaven to plead for us continually, and that the Holy Ghost inspires the Church and all believers, should deny each other the privilege of a common participation in the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. We are convinced that until the Church is as "a city that is at unity in itself" she can neither rightly represent the will of her Lord, nor hope to gather in the nations to the obedience of Christ. So we are led, first, to a more careful examination of the doctrinal position assumed by the orthodox Churches of the East and West respectively ; to a more ready recognition of points of agreement ; to a clearer perception of points of difference. Explanations of terms in use are sought and offered which may remove the difficulties that their use has

occasioned. It is seen that some of these difficulties have arisen from changes in the language commonly employed, and from the difference of meaning attached to the same word at different times. Here, indeed, I am free to confess that explanations are sometimes pushed so far as to emasculate of all meaning the term to be explained, and to create a risk of unreality which it is above all things necessary for seekers after truth to avoid. But we may, and do, rejoice at the removal by honest means of any hindrance to the restoration of communion among those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. And we are thankful for the charitable assurance given us by no mean authority, that while the divisions of Christendom stand in the way of that "moral" or "social" unity which demands the acceptance of every definition of doctrine emanating from one particular, central, living authority, and submission to one supreme jurisdiction in the Church on earth, yet that these divisions cannot affect the real Oneness of the Church of Christ; for there can be but One Christ—the One only Head of the One only Church, which is His Body.*

Secondly, extending our vision over a wider range, we contemplate the millions whom the Gospel of Christ has not yet touched, and it is borne in on us that the Catholic Church and the human race are potentially one in the sight of God, according to His purpose, which stands sure for ever; that the office of the Apostolic Church is to make known God as He is, God made known to us in His true relation to all His human creatures by the Sacred Name into which all we have been baptized; and that, whether men know it or not, Christ is the Light of every man coming into the world; that He is the Second Adam, the Head of a redeemed race, who by His Incarnation took upon Himself and sanctified that human nature of which all men everywhere partake.

In the face of the atrocious massacres in the East which tell of the inconceivable depths of degradation into which a persistent course of deliberate iniquity may plunge God's fallen creatures, in the face of the wars and their attendant miseries in which African and other complications, the greed of gain and the lust for power, threaten to involve the Christian nations of Europe, it is difficult still to cling to this conviction. And, surely, it is humiliating for us to contemplate

* The Papal Bull, issued since these words were written, pronouncing our English Orders invalid, does not affect this point. We regret the misreading of history which vitiates the conclusions of the Pope's Commission; we regret the Roman Pontiff's misinterpretation of the Mind of Christ which his utterance seems to us to indicate; but we have never believed him to be infallible, and we recognize neither his jurisdiction in our Church, nor his authority over our consciences.

the failure of the Church, in the course of so many centuries, for lack of the missionary zeal which is of the very essence of her life and the test of her obedience to her Lord's commission, to teach these nations the eternal truth of the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of men, the sacredness of human flesh and blood. Yet this, and no less than this, is ever her function; her work is to save and not to destroy, her message is for the Turk and the barbarian as well as for the outcasts of our own Israel, her inspiring hope is to fetch them also home to the flock of their true Shepherd and ours.

The Catholic Church, of which we are members, must needs be restless and dissatisfied until she has accomplished this divine task, and has converted her nominal universality into an actual and splendid reality.

What is to be the share of our own Church in this great work, for the accomplishment of which God, in His wisdom and goodness, seems to have laid on us trading, annexing, governing English a special responsibility, and to have furnished us with special means? Let us be true to our principles. Christ said that the nations were to be baptized into the Sacred Name. The nations are to bow down before Him—nations are to accept His rule. We believe that the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction is a matter of national concern, and that it is right for a National Church to be free. We are sure that by accepting the fact that, according to the Divine Order in the world, each nation has an independent existence of its own, we shall further, and not hinder, the cause of Catholic unity. Such independence does not release us from the obligations to other nations which our Christianity imposes on us. If we are independent one of another, we do not forget that we are also inter-dependent one on another.

That is one point. Another is this. We look for the confirmation of our Faith to the Bible, to the Church, to conscience, and to reason. No belief is secure which does not appeal to these authorities for sanction and for proof.

We accept the Canon of Scripture on the authority of the Councils of the Church—our teacher. True, and so we receive authoritative assurance that the four Gospels are a genuine record of the words and works, of the Life and Death, of the Resurrection and Ascension, of Jesus Christ; that they were written by men who knew Jesus Christ in the flesh, who were acquainted with the facts they relate, and recorded them under the inspiration of God the Holy Ghost. The Church cannot alter the

facts, nor change the teaching, nor take from, nor add to, the record. The foundations of Christ's Church are laid on the recorded confession of S. Peter—the earliest and simplest creed—"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God." By the preaching of the Church, and by the study of the records, the truth of that confession must be made to commend itself to the conscience and to the reason of every man whom God has endowed with moral and intellectual faculties. Surely no presentation of the truth is complete, none will satisfy the requirements of human nature in its entirety, which does not rest the proof of the doctrines for which it demands acceptance on recorded facts; recognize the authority of the society which preserves the doctrines, expresses them in its worship, and hands them on from generation to generation; and enlist the approval of the conscience and the reason, to both of which the teaching must make an irresistible appeal if it is to become a vital force, recreating human character after the image of Him who made man.

Let me plead for your attention for a few more minutes while I touch briefly on some of the leading features of our Congress programme.

You will have observed how large a portion of our time is to be occupied with the discussion of the subject of Church Reform. It is a healthy sign of the times that earnest Churchmen of every party are united in their desire to purify our Church of abuses, and to entrust her with a larger measure of self-government. The legitimate claims of the laity must be satisfied as well as those of the clergy.

Next in importance is the subject of the missions of the Church. The vitality of a Church is demonstrated by the vigour of her mission work. It is no light witness to the faithfulness of our Church that more than two hundred bishops representing our Communion should be expected to assemble next year under the presidency of the successor of S. Augustine of Canterbury, to discuss questions affecting the welfare of the Church throughout the world.

Claiming, as we do, to be the Church of the Nation, there will be presented to us this afternoon the idea of a National Church, the principles on which it rests, the opportunities it provides, the limitations imposed on it by the conditions of its union with the State. In the course of the week we shall consider the plain duty of our National Church in dealing with a prevalent vice; in influencing legislation on a question affecting family life from the top to the bottom of society, and therefore deeply affecting the life of the nation itself—a question on

which unhappily the legislation of a generation ago adopted a course at variance, at least on one point, with the law of Christ ; her duty, again, in proclaiming the principles to which we may look for guidance in our endeavours to solve the problems that attach to our present industrial system, and to advise the wealthy and leisurely classes as to the wholesome and righteous use of their leisure and their wealth ; and, further, in giving a just and Christian impulse to national sentiment in our relations with the other nations of the world.

We have aimed at reducing the number of meetings so as to avoid unnecessary distraction. I had hoped that the reduction might be greater than it has been. Some meetings are still to be held for women only. Being personally excluded from these, I might have been content to see them disappear from our programme, on the ground, first, that women have no exclusive position or privileges in the Church—in Christ there is neither male nor female ; and secondly, that some at least of the subjects to be discussed have quite as great an interest for men as for women, and affect them quite as closely. But I give utterance to these sentiments with bated breath, for I am well aware that at the close of the nineteenth century the omission of this part of our programme might have led to serious revolt.

We have, however, no separate meetings for working men. Why should we ? Are we not all members one of another in the Church of Christ ? They are as welcome as any to all our meetings, and they will have the same opportunities as others for addressing them. Facilities will be afforded them for attending all they can. The subjects that interest them interest us too. It is equally good for us to hear what is good for them. They, with us, are the Church. We wish to make this plain ; and all the more because those who know tell us that there is amongst the people of our great cities a deep-seated feeling against the Church—not against her parish priests, or her members, or even her bishops, individually, but against the ecclesiastical organization which in this country constitutes for them the Church. And it seems to me that this is not surprising in the face of the contrast which her dignity, her wealth, and her position present to the simplicity, the poverty, and the lowliness of Christ and His disciples—a contrast thrust daily upon them as they go about their business. Christ Himself they honour. They know how in the wilderness of the temptation, when preparing for the work which He had to accomplish, He deliberately set aside the appeal to wealth, to corruption, to force, to superstition.

He was amongst men as Servant of all. And it is not easy for simple or busy folk to look below the surface, and to see how principles which are identical will express themselves in diverse ways when operating under totally different conditions. Nor do they know how widely the clergy of the Church are feeling the pinch of poverty. Keeping their straitened circumstances in the background, working on bravely amid discouraging circumstances, longing to do more for their parishes, and often blamed for not doing more, while their own slender private resources, if they have any, are being steadily diminished; tempted perhaps to envy the comfortable careless lot of the dependents of the neighbouring squire, but without any hand stretched out to help them, while the wages of one head-servant in the household alone would to them make all the difference between penury and a sufficiency; saved only by the grace of God from ruin and despair. All honour to them for the brave struggle which they so patiently maintain.

Neither is the truth apparent that archbishops and bishops lead a life of almost ceaseless toil and anxiety as chief ministers in the Church; that with increased incomes enormously increased expenditure is demanded of them; that in personal fortune they are rather losers than gainers by the obligations and expenses of their office; that, in these days at least, they regulate their lives as servants of the Church.

Our present position, with its outward display of wealth and power and officialism, is the result of the triumph of Christianity—a triumph which has taken captive the wealth as well as the poverty of the nation—a triumph which is accompanied by temptations of a different kind from those which beset the twelve Apostles. The temptation of a dominant Church is to abuse the riches and the luxury and the power freely placed at her disposal, and it is a temptation that she has not always been strong enough to resist. We would deprecate the resentment of the people, and appeal rather to their pity and their prayers. It is above all things hard to be in the world but not of the world. Yet this is to-day our vocation, our trial, and our privilege.

Our vocation: for we are, by God's ordering, citizens of a kingdom of this world that professes allegiance to Christ, and must accept the conditions which this fact imposes on us, and live and work under those conditions.

Our trial: for in the pursuit of holiness we long to escape from the world, its distractions and its vanities. To adoring enthusiasm it will often seem good to set up a tabernacle in the Mount of the

Transfiguration and to abide there, rather than face again the turmoil in the world below, the manifest workings of an evil spirit, the doubts, the perplexities, the sorrows that abound in it. But it is here in the midst of that confusion that our true work lies, and we must face it.

Our privilege : for there is no higher privilege than that of serving our fellows in all ranks and stations, and in all conditions of life. All have souls to be saved : all are children of One Father. The Gospel is for every creature ; in Christ there is no distinction of calling or profession, no line to separate the classes from the masses.

How then shall our Church justify herself to the people ? She must free herself from the fetters of mere conformity to the religious fashion of the day ; she must shun any approach to compromise with the world ; she must countenance no trust in passing feelings, nor in the sentiments aroused by the appeal to the imagination which colours so much of her teaching and her worship at the present time ; she must manifest FAITH as a vital force in herself, and in her members—Faith which is so far more than belief, or even trust, in a person external to ourselves, Faith which is rather the identification of our life with the life of Him in whom all live and move and have their being, which reveals and seals our fellowship with God and man. She must exhibit herself, not as a machine for manufacturing a few characters after a model accepted and approved as saintly by human ecclesiastical judges, but as an instrument of spiritual energy, leavening, elevating, sanctifying the common life of men, producing everywhere the fruits of the Spirit of Christ, by leading men and nations to conform to the Royal Law.

The Church which makes the greatest sacrifices is the most fully possessed by the Spirit of Christ. The priests who live in completest sympathy with the people committed to their charge walk closest in the footsteps of Christ. The people who most fully realize that no man liveth to himself are the truest children of the Kingdom of Christ.

And notwithstanding the many hindrances and discouragements which stand in the way of rapid advance, we have no reason to be despondent. History shows us that religion is the most permanent force in the world ; that it is, and ever will be, the moulder of individual and national character ; that while political systems rise and fall, and State panaceas for the regeneration of society are proved abortive, it pursues its path steadily, it vindicates its claim to that which is spiritual, and, because it is spiritual, is highest and truest, in man. And it claims

the spirit of man that it may inspire it with the Spirit of Christ, and by means of men so inspired may work out social and national righteousness, steadily improving the conditions of human life amongst us, regulating our conduct towards all other nations, till every calling and every profession shall be recognized as a ministry under God for the benefit of mankind, and every joint shall supply its share towards the effectual and healthy working in every part of the whole body of humanity.

Brethren, a great responsibility is laid on every member of the Congress this week. Subjects will be discussed on which there are grave differences of opinion. The more strongly we feel, the more firmly will we pledge ourselves to exercise the self-control which becomes such a meeting of Churchmen as this. On the spirit which we display, individually and collectively, depends the impression of the Church given to the people of Salop - aye, and to the people of England. Is not the visible Church the Sacrament of the Presence and Sovereignty of God in the world? Is she not the ideal society, the fashioner of the ideal character? We must exhibit our mother-Church this week in all her beauty, her charity, her reasonableness, her purity, and her power. And if by the help of God this Congress may succeed in so presenting the Church of Christ to the people; and if by so presenting her it shall rouse their languid interest in her, shall make her purpose and her real work more evident to them, shall diminish the mistrust with which they now regard her, and remove the misunderstandings which lead to that mistrust; and if by the candour, by the respect for the conscientious convictions of others, by the honest desire simply to manifest the truth, and by the calm and gentle temper which I am confident will characterize our discussions, while we lessen the mistrust of one another which threatens to paralyse the action and hinder the progress of our Church, we secure the exercise of a wider charity within her borders, we shall have no cause to regret the invitation which Shrewsbury was bold enough to send you a year ago, we shall know that the Congress has not missed its mark, nor failed to vindicate the claim of our mother-Church to declare to the nation, whose citizens we are, the whole counsel of God.

May God the Holy Ghost, by Whose inspiration alone this end can be attained, strengthen us for the task that lies before us; quicken our desire to learn the truth, and nothing but the truth; kindle in all our hearts the love for God and man; flood our conscience and our reason

with the light of life; and, by our glad submission to His leading through this week, enable us to bring our Congress to a close with such a *Te Deum Laudamus* as only unfeignedly thankful hearts can raise.

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire."

THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL CHURCH,
BOTH AS THE EXPRESSION OF THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION, AND
AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

PAPERS.

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IN the remarks which I shall make, I shall confine myself to an attempt to show what is meant by a National Church. Objection is taken to the conception in itself on the ground that it is opposed to the great idea of a Catholic, or Universal Church, which it was our Lord's object to found. I will briefly state some considerations bearing on this point.

The Church of Christ is one, in the same way as mankind is one. As God is the Father of all men, so Jesus is the universal Head of the human race. His Church is the body of those who recognize Him as such. It exists by union with Him; it can have no object of its own apart from Him; its work is to bear witness of Him, and its power to do so comes from the indwelling of His Holy Spirit. Its unity is one of a common faith, a common hope, and a common love.

Mankind is one because it is God's family; but it cannot recognize this fact, and the corruption of human nature is manifest in perpetual discord. The Church of Christ is one in a much more intimate sense, because it has a knowledge of its unity, and of its obligation to set forth that unity in the world. Why, then, is it divided into differing and hostile bodies? The answer is, that though the Church is a new creation and belongs by right to the spiritual order, its home on earth is in the natural order, by which it is constantly limited, and from which it cannot be completely disentangled. The Church of Christ, in spite of variances, is the greatest bond of union between men which exists. It has created an attitude towards life, the power of which can only be understood by comparing Christian and non-Christian peoples. Why is it not a greater bond? My answer will be that the conditions of human life have ruled that, to accomplish its work, the Church must admit differences of organization; and that human frailty, unable to realize the spiritual order save in the forms of earthly polity, has passionately striven to clothe the Church in the trappings of the world, which become obsolete, and has sacrificed unity, which is possible, to uniformity, which is impossible. In support of this I must ask you briefly to consider historical facts.

The Church grew up within the political framework of the Roman Empire; but the immediate result of the spread of

Christianity was to revive national sentiment. Differences of thought and character, which were in abeyance under the Roman rule, began to show themselves again in the modes in which Christianity was apprehended and applied by different people. The framework of the Roman Empire remained long enough for the settlement of Christian dogma, *i.e.*, of the intellectual meaning of Christian truth, on one universal basis. Then the great system of the world's government fell in its outward form; but the Christian Church survived, supplying a bond of connexion between the new peoples, and impressing upon them all that was best worth preserving in the spirit of the old civilization. It could not, however, maintain unity of organization. The declining Roman Empire found it necessary to have two capitals, Rome and Byzantium, corresponding to the different tendencies of its Eastern and Western subjects. The difference became more strongly marked, and in the ninth century led to a separation between the Eastern and Western Churches—a separation not arising from any real difference about the contents of the Christian faith, or its application to life, but arising from differences of language, modes of thought, and conceptions of the nature of civil authority. The State continued to exist in the East, when it had fallen in the West. The Church went with it, and continued to present the faith in the old forms with which the Eastern peoples were familiar. In the West, where the old State had disappeared, the Church stepped into its place, and maintained the appearance of a religious commonwealth, whose civil affairs were administered by local rulers. It organized itself on the lines of the Roman Empire, and adapted its system to meet the needs of the various peoples whom it undertook to govern. It set up the Papal monarchy, and in theology it set up a theory of development in theology, both of which were rejected as unlawful innovations by the settled and conservative East. The consequent separation destroyed the idea of one Church, united in outward organization. There was still one Church, united essentially in one faith, and setting it forth in the world; but it differed about the mode of government and the method of teaching.

However, each branch claimed for itself universal acceptance and condemned the other. The Western Church, by treating the Eastern with contemptuous indifference or open hostility, succeeded for a time in maintaining its hold on the West. It thus held the peoples of Europe together under a common discipline, which enabled common conceptions to tell upon the formation of national institutions and national character. But when national character arrived at self-consciousness, there was a renewal of the process which had occurred in earlier times. The organization of the Western Church could no longer contain both the Latin and Teutonic peoples; there was again a breach of outward unity, which mainly followed the lines of national development.

Now our judgment of all this process must depend on our conception of nations and of national institutions. To me it seems that the differentiation of nations is part of that continuous revelation of God's purposes which is contained in history. Creation shows an endless diversity. God bestows on mankind "diversities of gifts, but the same spirit." The peoples of modern Europe at the beginning of their civilization entered upon a common inheritance of religion. They appropriated this, and added their own spirit, in varying degrees,

till the European Commonwealth existed only in idea, and was replaced in fact by a number of independent states, each exhibiting national characteristics of its own. Behind these characteristics lay different conceptions of liberty, *i.e.*, of the meaning and contents of the individual life; and these conceptions were embodied in different national institutions.

What was there in this, it will be asked, which was inconsistent with the maintenance of a uniform organization of the Western Church? The answer is that that organization had itself been affected by the process going on around it, had ceased to be mainly ecclesiastical, and had become almost entirely political. The Roman Church was a name which meant, generally, the ecclesiastical system of Western Europe, and, particularly, the political interests of a small Italian principality. It was no longer a Church, but a State; it no longer promoted the general interests of Europe, but sought its own interests; its process of development, which at first found room for the manifold tendencies of the peoples whom it governed, was arrested when it had gone far enough to perfect a rigid form of absolute government. The cause of the German revolt is simple. Germany was challenged to say if it would yield absolute obedience to a distant authority, and send Luther prisoner to Rome, contrary to its own sense of right, of liberty, and of national responsibility.

In England a smaller question led to a more quiet adjustment, and the jurisdiction of the Pope was set aside without any organic change in the Church. The English position is set forth in the language of the Statute of Appeals. "That part of the body politic called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, has always been reputed and found of that sort that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it has been always thought and is at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts and to administer all such offices and duties as to their realm spiritual doth appertain." The root idea of the National Church in England is simply this, that England can manage its own ecclesiastical affairs without interference from outside, because experience showed that that interference was a hindrance and not a help. This involved no new principle of ecclesiastical administration: bishops and provincial synods remained exactly as they had been before.

I am not concerned with pressing further the historical results that followed. I have shown you how the idea of a National Church came into existence. What does it involve?

(1) It is in no way repugnant to the conception of one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Its local name signifies that it consists of the members of that Church living in a particular country. All members of the Church are one through faith in God as revealed in the Scriptures; and that faith is expressed in the Creeds of Christendom.

(2) These local bodies of believers have no power to change the Creeds of the Universal Church, or its early organization. But they have the right to determine the best methods of setting forth to the people the contents of the Christian faith. They may regulate rites, ceremonies, usages, observances, and discipline for that purpose according to their own wisdom and discretion.

This, I think, is all that a National Church implies, and its principles simply recognize the facts of human history. It is grievous to think of all the havoc that has been wrought by a refusal to recognize those facts. The unity of the Western Church has been destroyed by the assertion that a monarchical constitution is of divine appointment, *i.e.*, by resolving the Church into a State, and fighting for it as such. The question of the organization of the Church has been confounded with the faith of the Church; and Christianity has been used as a means of suppressing national feeling and stifling liberty. Instead of being the divine educator of mankind in the regions of truth, the Western Church has too often appeared as busied only with upholding its own organization, without reference to the purpose for which that organization exists. Theology has suffered because, instead of explaining positive truth, it has been largely concerned with unprofitable negations. Religious bodies have claimed universality for every detail of their own organization, and have despised others. Thus the idea of a National Church has not been allowed to express itself fully, or to develop peacefully. England only has maintained it in the West, and in England the influence of outward antagonisms has not allowed the Church to embrace the whole nation, and has in former times obscured its true relations to the State. There is much to regret in the history of the English Church. But it is worth while to notice that there is far more to regret in the Roman Church, for the Roman Church has failed more conspicuously, and has committed worse errors. It has been regarded as the enemy of national development, and has been hopelessly worsted in every country of its obedience. If its organization has been strong enough to prevent the growth of sects, its overweening demands have directly promoted religious indifference. It has not, as a matter of fact, succeeded anywhere in obtaining the authority which it claims.

If I have become controversial, it is the fault of my subject. The idea of a National Church can only be judged by comparison with its alternative. The idea of a Church, universal in its organization, has been tried, and, as a matter of fact, has failed, because it could not make room for two forces which have been most powerful in shaping the modern world—the forces of nationality and of liberty. These forces have their defects, like all else, and need discipline from that spiritual truth which it is the duty of the Church to teach. The modern State is largely the product of those two forces; and there is ample material in the actual condition of Europe to determine what system has been most successful in training nations to a sense of Christian duty. A Church which claims universal obedience uses force when it can command it, and intrigue when it cannot. It takes up a lofty position of superiority to the State, and asserts an independence which it does not in fact possess. Its claims read well on paper; it makes beautiful provision for a good time which never comes. A National Church can put forward no such far-reaching pretensions, nor issue such peremptory commands, which are attractive in the eyes of thoughtless bystanders, who covet power—and who does not?—until they perceive that those commands are rarely obeyed. A National Church stands in close relation to the life of a particular nation, and tries to lead it to a recognition of its eternal destiny, not to force it into

a common mould. It persuades rather than commands ; its weapon is influence, not power. In pursuing this course the Church of England has to endure much from human wilfulness—but not more than its competitor ; it is only deprived of the privilege of sulking, which it knows to be useless—a privilege, however, which seems to have an attraction to some, who when they do not immediately get their own way exclaim, “ Better disestablishment than this,” as if in a changed organization it was quite certain that their way would be followed. But it has the satisfaction of knowing that it is training the generations on whom the future of the world depends, and it is content to gender sons and daughters into liberty. It knows both the difficulties and the responsibilities of its task, and is willing, nay anxious, to learn from every side. It longs for peace with other Christian communities ; and tries to rise above misunderstandings which come from ancient warfare. The sense of the greatness of the work which lies before it is teaching it to separate what is trivial from what is fundamental. It has never committed itself to hasty statements in judging others. It has never erected impenetrable barriers. Its sympathies are growing, and with them its power of creating sympathy in others. It pleads in the Christian world for that charity which is the bond of unity, and it works in hope of repairing breaches and restoring ancient ways.

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I WISH to speak in this Paper on the idea of a National Church as an integral part of the Church Catholic. In doing so, I shall attempt briefly to answer two questions. Firstly—What is the idea of a National Church as an integral part of the Catholic Church? and, secondly—What meaning has such an idea for the well-being of Christianity and civilization at the present day?

What, then, do we mean when we talk about a National Church? There are two theories of a National Church which are nowadays brought prominently before us in literature, in the press, and on the platform. The first is that a National Church means the Church to which the majority of the population belongs. It is a theory adapted from the principles of democratic politics. It assumes that in religion, as in politics, numbers, and numbers alone, prevail, and that a million and one adherents of a religious body in a given territorial area will constitute a National Church, when a million of such adherents will not, just as they would decide a political election, if voters. Such a theory uses the word Church, not in its proper sense, as the Church of England uses it in her formularies, and Christendom used it for sixteen centuries, as meaning the whole or a part of the one Catholic Church, but in the modern sense of a religious organization, not even necessarily Christian. Whatever may be the conveniences of such use, and of a theory based upon it, no one, I imagine, would pretend that it was the theory of National Churches as known to history, and strenuously asserted by the Church of England in all periods of her history, and especially at her Reformation. When the Church of England claims to

be a National Church, she makes that claim on far higher grounds than that of the number of her adherents, and she points to the fact that she possesses the allegiance of the majority of the population, not as the ground of her claim to be the National Church, but as evidence of the way in which she is fulfilling her national duties.

The second theory with which we are familiar is that a National Church means that particular religious organization which has received legal recognition from the State; in common language, that a Church is national because it is established. Here, again, surely there is some confusion of thought. Such a theory necessitates the view that the State is prior to the Church in time, which is notoriously not the case. There was a National Church in England and in Wales, in Scotland, and in Ireland, long before there was a National State or a National Law; long before civilization was sufficiently advanced to admit of the conception of a legal recognition of religion—of an established Church. People who talk of the Church being national because she is established are putting the cart before the horse. The Church, being national, becomes recognized by the law. She takes her part, usually a large one, in making the nation, and then receives definite recognition from the nation which she has helped to make. It is true that in most countries where a National Church exists it has that definite and special relation to the law which we in England oddly call establishment. But in none of them is she national because she is established, but she has become established because she is national. Establishment, like numerical preponderance, is the evidence, not the cause, of her national character.

What, then, is the idea of a National Church as we find it in history, as it is asserted by the Church of England? As I understand it, it is this. That the one Holy Catholic Church founded by our Lord for the maintenance and extension of His religion among the human race rightly carries out that world-wide mission in connection with, not in opposition to, the great external forces which mould human nature, such as those of race, language, climate, and political and historical associations. The idea of a National Church as I find it in history is not that each nation ought, or is at liberty, to evolve for itself such a religion as pleases the majority of the population, but, on the contrary, that the Catholic Church, being the guardian of truth, ought to adapt itself to national characteristics, and enlist them in its service for the purpose of training the national character in the way of truth. The process as we see it in history is the carrying out, amid all the imperfections of human nature and the marring of human sin, of the divine mission, "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of every creature." The spiritual society, with its definite religious creed, its definite moral law, its definite ministerial organization, gradually occupies the area of the civilized and progressive world, adapting itself to the peculiarities which political government, racial instincts, influences of climate and social habit may bring about, while remaining true to the fundamental laws of its own being. Strictness in maintaining the fundamentals of the faith, and great elasticity in adapting them to local peculiarities, and entwining them round the very root fibres of national existence, have ever been the great principles of successful Church progress. They were eminently shown in the gradual building up of National Churches in Europe after the collapse of the Roman imperial power.

They have been observed much more carefully in the East than they have been in the West, for in the East the Church has been always looked upon as primarily a society for the maintenance of truth, while in the West it has been very largely regarded as an organized government, and obedience has been made the text of orthodoxy wherever the papacy has been established. Still, in spite of the disturbing influence of the papacy, it remains substantially true that up to the sixteenth century the progress of the Church was by the planting and development of sister National Churches, united in faith and organization, differing much from one another in worship and observance, and closely allying themselves to national characteristics, and fostering the growth of national character. These Churches claimed to be national, not because the majority of the people adhered to them, not because the government gave them legal recognition and dignity, but because they formed that part of the Catholic Church which had undertaken the responsibility of teaching a particular nation the Christian faith, which had associated itself with the nation's history, which had trained the nation in civilization, which had in the religious and moral sphere set its mark upon the national character.

Now I venture to ask my second question: Has the theory merely an historical interest? Has it no practical bearing on the needs of the Church and the world at the present day? Is the day of National Churches over? I humbly think not. The future of the world it can hardly be doubted lies with the Teutonic and the Slavonic races. Until the day arrives when the Chinaman becomes teachable and progressive, we may safely assume that to the Anglo-Saxon race, the German race, and the Russian race will belong in the twentieth century the rule over the world, the power to dictate to civilization the path by which it is to travel. These three great races to whom God is entrusting the future of the world are profoundly national in their instincts, and at bottom profoundly religious in their character. The question of questions for the future of the world is whether the civilization which they will develop will bear unmistakably upon its face the stamp of the religion of Christ. We in this hall cannot but believe that the Church of Christ will lead civilization in the future as it has done in the past. But in order that it may lead it effectively it must be at peace with itself. Corporate union under one organization, even if desirable, is under present conditions impossible, and likely to remain so. Intercommunion and religious co-operation among separately organized branches of the Church is, I believe, within the sphere of practical possibility. Such co-operation is most easily effected on the basis of the theory of National Churches. Already there have been during the last half century considerable steps taken in this direction. As the Christian peoples of Eastern Europe have emancipated themselves from the yoke of the Turk, they have organized the Church on a national basis. In full communion with the Church of Constantinople, but not in governmental dependence upon it, are the National Churches of Greece, of Servia, of Roumania, of Bulgaria, as well as of Russia. People here in the West are apt to forget that the Christianity in the Eastern and Northern half of Europe is already organized on the basis of National Churches, in full communion with one another as integral parts of the Church Catholic. But English people are sometimes impatient of object lessons taken from

the backward, child-like East, from which we have so much to learn. Let us turn to the West. In the history of Christianity in the West during the last fifty years two great movements stand out conspicuously. The one is the concentration of authority in the Latin Church in the person of the Pope. The victory of Ultramontanism is for the time assured, and Leo XIII. may truly parallel the proud boast of Louis XIV. and declare *L'eglise cest moi*. The other is the extension of the Anglican communion all over the world, mainly in the form of independent voluntary societies of a quasi-national kind, National Churches in fact, not in maturity, but in infancy, but bound to grow into maturity as they grow in capacity. If we take our stand for a moment at the close of the present century, and look into the next, three things seem to me to be undeniable, because they rest upon the deep facts of human nature and religion. The first is, that the Catholic Church of Christ will continue to be the chief influence in the civilization and moral government of the world. Secondly, that the Catholic Church of Christ, if it is to exercise that influence efficiently, will have to choose between two different forms of organization, the organization of autocratic government inherited historically from the Roman Empire, and represented ecclesiastically by the papacy in its Hildebrandine or Ultramontane form, and the organization of National Churches in religious communion with one another, but independent in government, subject to the profession of a common faith. Thirdly, that this confederation of independent National Churches is the form which is evolving itself naturally among the Anglo-Saxon and the Slavonic races, to whom the future of the world must inevitably largely belong. Is it for nothing that the East has retained so stubbornly principles of ecclesiastical organization which easily fit in with those principles of nationality which assert themselves so imperiously in our own days? Is it for nothing that England, insular and national as she is to the last degree, should have been led even against her own desires to establish in her colonies, not daughter Churches under a Pope at Canterbury, but sister Churches on a national principle? The national character of the English Church was never an assertion against the principle of unity, but against the principle of autocracy. That characteristic it still possesses, and it shares it with the Churches of the East. But it is more than a mere defensive weapon against the Pope. It is a theory of the due relations of the different locally organized parts of the Catholic Church one to another which has proved workable in the past, is found workable in the present, and promises to be of the first importance in the future to the Church, to society, and to civilization. Upon our appreciation of these facts as Churchmen, and our use of the principles which underlie them, will depend in no slight measure the power and influence of the faith of Christ in the ages to come.

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THE phrase, "A National Church is the Conscience of the Nation," makes two distinct assertions. (1) That the operation of the Church

ought to be spiritual through influence on principles, and (2) that Church and State should be coterminous. A phrase which "verges on the poetical" must lose by analysis, but the poetry is true and the analogy real.

The two last Church Congresses dealt with the historical growth of the Early Churches in three stages—the primitive local beginnings, the organization of the Church by the imperial dioceses, and the revival of Churches in the separate barbarian countries after the empire's dissolution—and showed in each stage the natural order of the Church's settlements to have been on the lines of local, political, and racial distribution of the people, which is the principle of National Churches.

The phrase assigned me as my text asserts the reasonableness of this natural order, and my business is to maintain this, and to contrast this reasonableness with the artificial systems which have claimed to supersede National Churches. I am not to speak of origins or rights, neither am I to speak of imperfections or complications, but solely of the theory of a National Church as being in principle the best for promoting religion in reality, as the conscience of the nation.

Conscience belongs to a personal agent. Its office is to regulate a personal will in its choice for action, by asserting the principle of right and wrong as obligatory on personal choice. It is because a nation acts as a collective whole, that analogy justifies our calling a nation a personal agent, and our speaking of a national conscience. A nation is the largest organic unit of action, but ideally, as an unit of action, it ought to be wholly pervaded by one self-governing principle of right, which should be as essential a constituent of its corporate life as its separate, independent, collective will and action. Without an organ for this, its moral constitution is at best rudimentary. A nation is as truly in *statu pupillari* if its religion is subject to outside direction as it would be if its laws and wars were dependent on outside authority. Again a broken unity of religion is a broken conscience, which can only produce vacillation in moral action, and ultimately disregard of religious principle altogether. The constitution of the national organ of religion is not my special subject, and I leave it to others. If the eye be not truly constituted, the body will not see well; but my concern now is that the best eye only sees by the body's life, and though the healthiest body only sees through an eye, it is itself that sees and not another. The religious eye must be the body's own. The light to be seen by it is divine: if we believe a religious eye to have been divinely constituted, yet it is one part of its constitution that its vision is proportioned to the life of the body using it, and only "when the eye is single is the body full of light." A moral nation will desire to make its religious eye the most efficient possible; for this it will organize its officers with the best system and circumstances possible for deepening the nation's sense of God and of duty to His commandments, which are in Christian philosophy the two departments of conscience. The acceptance, however, not the teaching; the power, not the system; the Church, not the clergy, makes the reality of national religion. The truth of God and of His commandments is universal, as for men so for nations; but that does not make the acceptance of them by the conscience of men and nations the same for all, nor does it make the same means of producing that acceptance the best for all. One nation is impressed by reason, one

by emotion ; one is amenable to discipline, one to trust ; one requires truth, one is happy in superstition ; one is elevated by authority, one lives on liberty. Customs good and right for one racial temperament, one climate, one social habit, one set of property and civil rights, are untrue for another. We should not make Fiji children Sunday scholars by pinafores and coal-scuttle bonnets, and yet we may follow Augustine rather than Gregory in supposing that there can only be one stereotyped regulation set of Christian customs. There is an individuality in nations which makes the idea of enforcing universal uniformity in religious customs as misguided a sacrifice for nothing as the boast that every child in France was learning the same lesson at the same hour, as untrue to natural facts as the notion of arranging that all Christians on this revolving earth should say the same prayer at the same moment. Nations do not understand one another, and in nothing less than in each other's religious sentiments and capacities. Unknown truths must be taught by those who know ; but missions are in infant tutelage until they pass to a native clergy. If a present teacher gets to understand his scholars in part and in time, a distant system of foreigners behind him does not. Churches are schoolmasters, not consciences, until they are in and of their own people. Churches are living realities when the Church's belief is the nation's belief, its principles the nation's principles, its system the nation's system, its worship the nation's worship—when the Church is the nation. Stages of imperfection may be unavoidable in a Church's growth, but imperfect apprehension within has more truth and power and promise than unreal representation outside. Only when a nation is Christianized into a Church which is itself, is its Church the nation's conscience, and its Church organization a real organ of the national body, filling it with light but living with the nation's life. The reason of National Churches rests on the fact of nations' individuality as real distinct agents.

I must remind you again that I am not now concerned with practical problems, complications, difficulties, or remedies. I am only to speak of theory to theorists, in reply to assertions that other ranges of Church co-ordination are better and truer than national Churches. My contention is that not only (as has been shown by others) are National Churches the natural primitive type of Church development, but that they also satisfy most completely the spiritual characteristics claimed to belong to the artificial systems contrasted with them. A Church's spiritual freedom from secular spirit and control is proportioned to its national character. Contrast in this single respect (to which my time is limited) the two representative systems formed on opposite individualistic ideas against national unity, one by subdividing, the other by subordinating it, the Congregational and the Papal theories. Are they more spiritual and unsecular in aims, methods, spirit, results, than a National Church ? or do not their systems involve essentially by the very nature of their existence more and not less secularity in action ? By secular, of course, I do not mean lay. The Church, we all say, is not the clergy, and lay Church influence is not to be called unspiritual. Spiritual freedom of the Church does not mean unlimited clergy control. In spiritual as truly as in secular society the greatest liberty for all is derived from law controlling all. What I say is, that a National Church, established by recognized acceptance, organized with recognized officers and

machinery, constituted with recognized laws and rights, and provided with recognized resources, is, by these conditions, in proportion to their completeness, free to be a wholly spiritual organ of life beyond the other systems.

We are, I need scarcely remind a Church Congress, not now speaking of that invisible Church of good Christians which spreads through all the world in spiritual unity with its Divine Head, the infecting spiritual power to make the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. We are speaking of the visible Churches framed to enlarge that invisible Church by gathering all into it. That invisible Church of Christ's saints is assuredly most real and is not national; but it is irrelevant to our contrast. It is spiritual, but not Congregational; universal, but not Papal.

Congregationalism begins essentially in opposition. This differentiates it from the primitive Churches which it has claimed for its models. This initial spirit of schism itself creates one set of unspiritual relations, essentially attached to the antagonism evolved by it. Suppose for argument's sake, that a schism has begun for a good object. We need not say, The end does not justify the means, because what we say is, This means hinders its end. In the ideal National Church every member ought to contribute his best energy and thought to the new developments and improvements, and individual shades of enlightenment should tone one another gradually by friction and supplement until a new truth is seen generally, and a controversy forms an enrichment of progress. Not so with schism. A schism for an idea shows that its idea was seen before the schism, seen therefore in the Church, where it might as naturally have spread to others—the schism presents it unnaturally in hostility, which delays instead of advancing its acceptance. When the idea is an error, loyalty to the schism keeps the error on, which might have been naturally exploded, and when the next generation abandons the error, the schism remains because it exists, and has to find its occupation in secular politics. Congregationalism has made its doctrines into secular political antagonism.

Does schism advance moral causes? Teetotalers fifty years ago were mainly dissenters. Did schism advance temperance? Did it not throw back for a generation the general support and progress which the truth of the cause might have gained for a Church of England Temperance Society? The most spiritual plea for such schisms is impatience, that the whole body does not without education see and honour the new truth at once. Even apart from self-assertion and fanaticism, patience to leaven the whole lump were truer spirit. I do not dispute the awakening power of unpleasantness to create attention, but it is an alienating power, and separation has not been a converting, but an alienating influence, and its essential spirit of opposition is our present chief hindrance to national moral improvement. I say nothing of the unspiritual sub-divisions multiplied by pique, jealousy, quarrels, and more interested motives; competition subjects schisms to secularity at all points. Think of the secular control essential to unendowed bodies, when minister and congregation are subject to purse or proprietor, and preachers are displaced for their virtues, if they will not prophesy smooth things and run chapels on popular lines. Is national law really less spiritual, are constitutional obligations more secular, than the legal

contracts which alone give rights in unestablished Churches, or the business control of autocratic deacons? For whom is there freedom in the Free Churches except to the rulers, lay or not lay, to exclude and expel, to govern and tax at pleasure, with no appeal except to the same courts that people call non-spiritual, and no alternative except to form a new schism? Enthusiasts may be carried away by words till they learn better, or business managers may think it a popular attraction to vaunt spiritual freedom; but, spiritual as individual ministers are, competitive sectarianism is by its nature involved on all sides in unspiritual secularities unnatural to a National Church.

Is the extra-national range of Papal Church subordination more free, and spiritual, and unsecular in its aims, methods, and spirit? I do not mean for the clergy, but for the Church. Clergy belief in the superiority of clergy rule may call ecclesiastical spiritual, and attach a glamour of catholicity to the extra-national Clergy Union, which the papal theory exalts with authority and immunity above State law and National Church. Yet even clergy may doubt whether outside the Papal Court, even the clergy gain in freedom or position from the Papal system. The eighty recalcitrants of the Vatican Council witness to the spiritual fetters which reduce all outside the Curia from ministers of Christ to functionaries of fixed ceremonial more really than republican laws attempt. Heresy may deserve prison, torture, and death, and yet clergy may not accept an Italian definition of heresy to be simply refusal of absolute submission to the Pope. Laymen see that extra-national secular schemes, e.g., for Arbitration or Trades' Unions, require at least two conditions as essential for reality: (1) representative character, (2) coercive efficiency. Church writers see this for secular schemes, but not for ecclesiastical; and yet Papal history witnesses that the failure of the Papal system in spiritual character and religious progress is due to its unrepresentative and ineffective catholicity. The Papacy is Italian. If ruling powers ever made it otherwise, tendency and conditions have dwarfed it into Italian. It cannot itinerate. Apart from temporal dominion, Rome was its idea and is its glamour. It is also its fixed habitation. The Pope is not the Pope, but the Curia. The Tsar's autocracy has been lately described by one who knew, to be a popular will focused by an inner circle and made the Tsar's will. So is the Pope's infallibility. The Curia, with departments and colleges, and traditions and environment, the growth of ages, could not be uprooted. If an American were Pope, the real Pope would still be Italian. His foreign character is fatal to religious rule; foreign officials don't understand the people, natives he does not understand. Foreign misunderstandings even in secular and national administration are disastrous; but without sympathy religious rule is impossible. Roman methods are as alien to England, as English to Rome; the Inquisition could not act in England, nor liberty of thought at Rome. It is the same with the other nations. The unrepresentative Papacy lacks the mutual sympathy needed for religious rule. Its second flaw is no less due to its extra-national range; its coercive power was secular force bribed by secular motives. A religious world might be ruled by awe of anathemas, but their general terror was the rufianism let loose by their outlawry. The Inquisition was called a holy office, and inquisitors believed they were doing God service; but its power was the terrorism of a secret agency resting on secular sanction

and secular executions. The Papal supremacy was advanced by stirring nation against nation, as aims and enmities would purchase sanction for invasion by recognitions of fealty. The two invasions of England, the Albigensian Crusades, the crushing of the Templars, the Crusades transferred against Manfred, are typical instances of Papal secular intrigue due to extra-national impotence. Still more fatal effects appear in the degradation of really great Papal methods, the monasteries, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the benefit of clergy, the supervision of Church patronage, the benevolences for catholic objects like crusades, the devices for enforcing general discipline. The hollowness of central control over them in foreign lands, the want of knowledge and interest in their foreign usefulness, and their perversions to the sole object of aggrandizing the Papacy, demoralized the institutions and alienated the nations. All this was due to the catholicity of the one Christian Church which has been a kingdom of this world.

The Pope never changes. The present venerable Pope has had his successes by the old methods. The balance of political parties is the modern fulcrum, and reactions against socialism and atheism his opportunities. When a party refuses (say) to vote naval supplies without some concession to Papal demands, such political manoeuvres are as secular as intrigues with kings of old, and as anti-national to Church as well as State. Denunciations from a Roman altar still serve to undermine law in Roman interest, rather than to stir righteous indignation against crime. Anti-national Papalism is, and professes to be, but it is not, therefore, unsecular or non-political any more than Congregationalism. Both make consciences of their own. Both disregard the nation and its conscience. Both call it spiritual to do so. Mutterings among Churchmen sometimes sound like their echoes. My contention is that the one Church system wholly free for spiritual offices and interests, is the one system that has its independence, stability, and acceptance secured in accord with its nation's religious conscience as an ideal National Church.

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In speaking of the idea of a National Church to-day, I intend, as I am quite sure is expected of me, to devote myself to views held upon this subject in the Holy Eastern Church, and to illustrate them more especially from the Church of Russia, which is by far the greatest of Orthodox, as well as of all National, Churches at the present day.

The Russian Church is undoubtedly by far the most conspicuous example which exists of the realization of the idea which is the subject of our discussion—that is to say, of the double-sided character which of necessity belongs to a Church which is at once National and Catholic. That the Russian Church is a National Church I need not stop to prove. None that have read the newspapers this year can doubt of this for a moment. And that she is part of the Catholic Church is equally clear, and this not to her own children only, nor even merely to the members of the other National Churches which are in full communion with her. Her foes, indeed, may deny that she is Catholic, but then these consist either of those who deny the right of Nationa

Churches to exist, or else of those who have thrown away the belief in the existence of any Catholic Church at all. That the English Church is not to be counted amongst these has been shown to the world in an unmistakable manner during the solemnities that took place in Russia last spring.

These two elements, the National and the Catholic, permeate the whole being of the Russian Church. Indeed, it is upon this fact that her unity essentially depends. Such a statement may at first seem to be a paradox, and naturally gives rise to the question whether the National and Catholic elements in the Russian Church do not of necessity involve a contradiction, and whether it is possible for the one to be fully and freely developed without absorbing the other. The interminable antagonisms between Church and State which have characterized the history of all the countries of Western Europe inevitably suggest some such suspicion to every Western : and, inasmuch as he probably knows little of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Russian Empire, whereas political considerations can never allow her existence as a nation to be forgotten, he naturally believes those who tell him that in the Russian Church the Catholic element is swallowed up in the National, and accordingly he joins with them in describing her as a Cæsaro-Papalism, or Church governed by the Emperor as its supreme head, in the same sense that the Pope is the head of the Latin Communion. As a matter of fact, nothing can be further from the truth. In the Russian Church there is no contradiction between its National and Catholic elements, nor does either of them absorb the other. And the reason of this is that in agreement with the fundamental principles of the Orthodox Church, based upon the Divine command "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," the National is, indeed, subordinated to the Catholic element, but this without the latter in the least limiting the legitimate freedom of the National element.

For it must be remembered that the Russian Church does not claim to be the whole Catholic Church, but only a part of it. She teaches that the Catholic Church is the assembly of the faithful of all nations under the headship of Christ, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit ; and for the Church as thus understood she claims the gift of infallibility, as properly belonging, not to the hierarchy, still less to any one member of it, but to the whole Body of Christ, including, not only that part of it which is now upon earth, but also both that which is at rest and that which is yet to be born. Nevertheless, that part of the Catholic Church which is militant here upon earth can likewise claim to be infallible, inasmuch as according to the Divine promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, the Church upon earth can never be separated from the whole body or from its Divine head. A Russian writer* has pointed out that this conception of the infallibility of the Church imposes no undue strain upon the intelligence, for although the infallibility of the Church is justly considered to be miraculous, it belongs to that order of the miraculous which of necessity manifests itself wherever the immediate working of Divine Providence is perceived.

* Danileffski. The above passage down to the end of the paragraph is taken almost word for word from his *Russia and Europe*, p. 229.

Thus, although historians may err—and, indeed, they have erred—history itself is infallible; for if it could err it would cease to be history, and would become fable; and the infallibility of the Church is the same in kind, only differing from it inasmuch as in it Divine Providence is manifested in a more direct and immediate manner. And this infallibility expresses itself in everything that constitutes the voice of the whole Church, and, consequently, its clearest and most definite form is to be seen in the decrees of Œcumenical councils. But the power to assemble a council which shall be certainly Œcumenical does not reside in any secular prince, or in any individual patriarch, nor, indeed, in any authority in its separate capacity; for only that council will become truly Œcumenical which is confirmed as such by Divine Providence itself; and inasmuch as there are no outward signs by means of which such a character can be *à priori* assigned to it, only those councils have a right to be so reckoned which have been acknowledged as such by the conscious recognition of the whole Church—that is to say, which have been ratified by the Divine Head of the Church Himself, and by the Holy Spirit through the medium of the whole Church.

This, then, is the Orthodox view of the Catholic Church and of its means of expressing its own infallibility, which it was necessary to enlarge upon in order to show clearly my meaning when I said that in the Church of Russia the National element is subordinated to the Catholic element. The Eastern Church, which, from her point of view, now that the West has fallen away, is the whole Catholic Church upon earth, consists at the present day of a number of National Churches, such as the four Eastern Patriarchates and the autocephalous Churches of Russia, Greece, Roumania, Servia, etc., all of which are in full communion with one another. And whilst these, or at least some of them, have their recognized order of precedence *iure ecclesiastico*, they are nevertheless equal and independent in so far as no single one of them has any immediate jurisdiction over another, nor the right to interfere in its national affairs; but for the settlement of any matter vitally affecting the doctrine, discipline, or constitution of the whole Church, each one of them is subject to the authority of all in their collective capacity, whether when represented in a General Council, or, if this is impossible or unnecessary, when consulted in some other manner. Russian history provides two extremely good object-lessons with regard to this point. In the sixteenth century the increased importance of the Russian empire suggested the advisability of the promotion of the Metropolitan See of Moscow to the rank of a Patriarchate. The initiative was taken by the Tsar, but for a change of such importance in the polity of the Orthodox Church, it was necessary, upon Catholic principles, to obtain the consent of the other then existing Orthodox Churches, in the person of the four Patriarchs. In the same way, when Peter the Great wished to substitute the Holy Synod for the Patriarchate, he obtained the sanction of the Eastern Patriarchs in a document which is to this day to be seen in the building at S. Petersburg in which the Holy Synod meets, declaring its constitution to be in accord with the principles of the Church. A similar recognition was obtained for the creation of the Holy Synod of Greece, and for that of each of the other Orthodox nationalities as they freed themselves from the Turkish yoke.

So much for the Catholic side of the Russian and other Orthodox Eastern Churches. We must now turn to their National side. We have already seen that this is subordinated to the Catholic side; but it is more than this. Each National Church is in herself the bearer and exponent of Catholic doctrine, and accordingly in an Œcumenical Council her spiritual representatives, the bishops, appear as witnesses of the Catholic faith, and assist in its definition. Accordingly a National Church, in order to remain faithful to the cause of the Catholic truth, must make it her aim and object to decide all national and local questions in a manner which strictly corresponds to the spirit of the whole Catholic Church. But this is the sole limit which is placed upon the freedom of the Orthodox National Churches. In local matters, for instance of language, or rites and ceremonies, they are free. Each one of them is free both to preach the faith and to worship God in whatever language she may deem most edifying to her children; while with regard to rites and ceremonies, so long as nothing is introduced which affects the dogma of the whole Church, or causes scandal to the faithful, she will be allowed an equally wide latitude. But it is in matters of internal organization that this freedom of local Churches is most conspicuously manifested.

It is obvious that, under a Christian autocracy like Russia, a Constitutional Government like that of Greece and some other Orthodox States, and an infidel Government like that of Turkey, the interests of the Church must suggest different forms of ecclesiastical organization. I shall not stop to show how the problem has been worked out in the last two cases, I shall only say that in every case the National Church has succeeded in doing so in correspondence with the canonical and universal law of the Church. I shall confine myself to Russia, whose Government has inherited the original autocratic model brought over from Byzantium. All these relations are now concentrated in the Tsar, to whose position the idea of Cæsaro-Papalism is, as we have already seen, ascribed by candid friends in the West. But for Easterns, brought up in the traditions of their own Church, a Cæsaro-Papalism is a thing quite inconceivable. The Tsar is merely the representative of the secular side of the National Church, and that, moreover, only in so far as he remains a faithful exponent of the faith of the Catholic Church. This idea is clearly expressed in the coronation service, when, before he is crowned, in answer to the question, "What is thy belief?" he recites the Creed of the Catholic Church. If he betrays the faith of the *Catholic* Church, he thereby ceases to represent the faith of the *National* Church, and should he try to force heresy upon her, she will reject it, for otherwise she would cease to be the Church. If this cannot be shown from the history of the Russian Church—for none of the Russian Emperors have ever attempted to force heresy upon her—the history of the Byzantine Church affords numerous proofs of it. Under the persecutions of the Monothelite and Iconoclast Emperors the Church remained no less free than she did under the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, and this even at times when her Patriarchs proved unfaithful. Had certain claims of which we nowadays hear a great deal been acknowledged in the fourth century, it would have gone hard with the Catholic Church when Constantine forced Pope Liberius to acknowledge the *semi-Arian* Creed, and separate

himself from S. Athanasius ; but when the Byzantine Emperors forced the Patriarchs to join in the Iconoclastic persecution, the result was that while Emperor and Patriarch *ipso facto* excluded themselves from the Church, by an abundant harvest of martyrdoms she only acquired fresh strength. But what if, not the Emperor, but the head of the national hierarchy, prove false to the Orthodox cause ? Then it will be the duty of the Sovereign, as the representative of the National Church, to undertake her defence. Russian history provides us with an example of this in the case of the Metropolitan Isidore of Moscow, who betrayed the Orthodox cause by accepting the decrees of the Council of Florence. The Grand Duke Vassili the Blind summoned a council of bishops to investigate the case, and he was by them deposed. This is an example of an Orthodox sovereign, as representative of an Orthodox nation, defending the Orthodox faith ; and in this he acted exactly as did the Byzantine Emperors who summoned the seven councils which the Church has acknowledged as Œcumenical.

Again, the exact relation of the Emperor to the Russian Church is illustrated by the position of the chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who represents the Emperor there. All questions of a mixed nature between the secular and spiritual authorities pass through him. But upon purely spiritual matters, though he may be present when they are discussed, he has no vote, nor even the right to speak. Is this Cæsaro-Papalism ?

To conclude : for us Westerns it is somewhat difficult to grasp the position which the person of the Tsar occupies in Russia, which nevertheless seems so reasonable and natural, not only to Russians, but to all other members of the Orthodox Church. They in their turn are so entirely permeated with the idea that mutual relationship between the National and Catholic elements in the Church ought to be neither that of tyrant and slave, nor that of cat and dog, but that of a *mens sana in corpore sano*, that they can only look upon the present condition of things in the West, or at least in the greater part of it, as an abnormal state of affairs. According to their view, the local national spirit of Rome, under the auspices of Charlemagne, unrighteously arrogated to itself a claim to be recognised as the whole Catholic Church, and proceeded to fasten this claim upon the other National Churches of the West. But as time went on, and local national consciousness developed, some of these Churches recognised the unjustifiable and arbitrary nature of these claims and threw them aside, and attempted in their local nationalism to rediscover a primitive form of Christianity, and to formulate it by means of local councils, which, however, made no claim to infallibility, and consequently were merely illogical, half-way houses to that complete individualism which at the present day is gradually devouring the Protestant Churches and sects of the West ; while in the Latin countries the same principle is making its way under the specious cry of "a free Church in a State," which is only another word for the total destruction of national Christianity. This is the Eastern view of Western Christendom. A very slight acquaintance with Russian theological writings would cause considerable surprise to the gentleman who wrote a short time ago to the *Times* to say that the Russian Church recommended the English Church to make its submission to the Patriarch of the West.

H. MALET, Esq., M.D., Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Wolverhampton.

THE issues raised by the somewhat vague idea of the National Church as the expression of the conscience of the nation are so many, and so wide, that it is difficult to allude to them within limits, or to feel quite in order in doing so. If I am out of order, of course I am in your hands. The present day practical morality of England is very low; especially as regards work, trade, and all money transactions. The principle which underlies everything is that of doing the best for one's self, the exact opposite of the principle of love established by Christ as the basis of morality. Before any realization of the idea of the National Church as the expression of the conscience of the nation is possible, the whole tone of the nation's morality must be not merely improved, but altered. The National Church should be the main agent in doing this—to do it should be one of her chief functions, and the present state of things is in part due to her neglect of that function in the past. I am very sure that in performing that work, in teaching the Will of God in all those matters that affect national life and well-being, will be found the Church's truest and strongest claim to her position. The Church should be a moral guide and teacher in every affair of life; a National Church, especially so in affairs of national interest. Whenever any great social, industrial, or commercial question with a moral aspect is to the fore, the Church, as such, should in some way give an authoritative expression of her opinion about it. Such an expression is due to her Master, due to the nation, and would be most helpful to many. As regards the teaching power of the Church, much could be done, no doubt, in many ways—in her schools and by her literature, for instance; but I limit myself to her pulpit opportunities. Ordinary preaching should be a most powerful teaching agency, considering the amount of it, and the fact that it is addressed to members of the Church. Hitherto it has had small effect in teaching morality, simply because such teaching has occupied it so very little. Apart from doctrine or history, its efforts have been mainly either conversional or directed towards fostering spiritual growth or personal piety—essential work, but not at all that is needful, because to have right feelings is not sufficient to enable a man to act rightly; he must also have right knowledge—the teaching this knowledge is moral teaching.

Teaching morality is work of the very highest order; it is teaching the Will of God; teaching what Jesus Christ Himself would do. Without such teaching, any approach to our Lord's ideal, "Be ye perfect," becomes impossible; it is only through rightly-directed activities that any real growth is possible for most. Moral teaching is necessary. It is surprising how incapable the average person is of applying the spirit of Christianity to the hourly occurrences of everyday life; even the most obvious applications are overlooked through want of thought by truly Christian people. Moreover, it is often very difficult to know whether an action is right or wrong. The most difficult moral problems are those which concern our dealings with others under modern conditions of society, work, or trade. Here we have no direct examples from of old, and so fresh conclusions must be drawn. The conditions are often very complex. One's judgment is warped by long practice and universal custom. Self-interest often misleads.

Yet these are the very problems which vitally affect our national life, and in which we need guiding, that we may be a righteous nation, fulfilling the Laws of God, which are "for our good always." Consider how far we are from "good" in England now. We have in our manufacturing towns large populations living in squalid poverty, ignorance, and sin. We have a large artisan population which is tending away from religion. Drink and gambling are rival national curses. Our home missions, temperance work, and other attempts at amelioration barely touch the surface of this vast and hopeless heathendom and misery. Further, our leading business men, our employers of labour, in fact nearly all those who command the greatest power of modern times—money—are educated by custom and fashion in a spirit so directly anti-Christian that it is very hard for them to have any real sympathy with the spirit of the Cross, which appears to them Quixotic, or, as they would most correctly express it, unbusinesslike. The parable of the needle's eye is truer now than ever. And they believe themselves right; conscience has taken the wrong side, and work and religion are divorced. In what sense can any Church of God be the expression of the conscience of such a nation as this, avowedly worshipping Mammon? These things are, because immoral conditions of work and trade have been allowed to exist; selfishness and covetousness have been allowed to regulate men's dealings without protest, because the Church was supposed to have nothing to do with political economy or industrial problems. As if anything that had a right or a wrong in it could be outside the teaching of Christ to approve or condemn!

It should be a part of the education of the clergy to acquire some general knowledge of political economy, especially from the point of view of the best moral writers, and some knowledge of work and business matters. A doctor must know so much of a man's business as may affect his physical health; a clergyman should have the same knowledge as regards his moral health.

The moral aspects of social, industrial, and commercial questions should be discussed at Congresses, Conferences, and other Church meetings. This is lately being done, but not in proportion to the importance of the subject. For instance, at this Congress, out of eighteen meetings, only two are directly so concerned—Thursday evening's and Friday afternoon's, here; this evening's is indirectly related to the same subject. Then in order to give practical effect to such discussions, each clergyman, in the light of them, and with his knowledge of the circumstances of his own congregation, should press home on them the moral aspects of their lives and occupations.

Two things may seem deterrent—difficulty and hopelessness. The work would be difficult, and occasional blunders would be inevitable. But it is far better to do the right faithfully and blunder occasionally than to do nothing. The Church in any of the ways I have mentioned would be less likely to err than those who are themselves involved in these matters. I cannot believe that God's blessing would not be upon her earnest endeavour to learn His Will and teach it. As regards pulpit teaching, it would usually be more in the urging on those concerned the application by them of principles to their work, rather than in dictating about specific actions (though this latter would sometimes be necessary). For instance, the essence of morality, as consisting of

justness, including the love we owe one another, should be taught and insisted on. The most common cause of wrong moral conclusion is inferring morality from utility ; we can never tell the future effect of any action, and therefore cannot possibly know if it will be ultimately useful or mischievous—so that a knowledge of utility beyond the moment is impossible. General practical applications of this test of morality should be made, such as that to work and pay—each man has a work to do, that is what he does for others ; and a pay to receive, that is what others do for him. The spirit of love dictates that his work should have the first place ; that whether he is making a chair, relieving pain, planting a potato, organizing labour, conveying goods, or enlightening souls, his primary thought must be to get the work well done ; after that he should see that he is justly paid. If he reverses this, he is so far immoral. There would be little possibility of error in advocating these principles or in making more definite applications of them.

As to the hopelessness of the work, there would at first be scarcely any practical effect ; even where the immorality would be granted, things are gone so far that it would be, in most cases, impossible to act up to correct ideals. For instance, a man may have 4 per cent. from shares in a concern whose employés are working seven days a week to get it. By dropping to $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. they might have their Sundays. It is obviously immoral to take that $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., but what can he do? Individually, nothing ; but it is none the less important that he should be alive to the position—that his conscience should be true. And if a proper feeling was consistently taught, eventually a majority of the shareholders would be able to act. I only use this as an illustration, I do not commit myself to even the $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The nation has had individual teachers of morality. Many of the poets, and writers like Carlyle and Ruskin, have done much ; they have aroused the consciences of many, and have so affected the teachings of political economy that they are not now directly anti-Christian, as they once were. If these individuals could do this, how much more might not the Church do? Neither the difficulty nor the apparent hopelessness should be any real deterrent if the course is right. If the thing is of God it will prosper.

There is another matter which tends to part the Church from the nation's conscience, the fact that we are losing our educated thinking young men. I believe this is also in part due to the want of a practical moral element in our preaching ; this want disassociates for them their religion from their work, and they are bewildered by the acquiescent silence of the Church regarding things contrary to their Bibles and catechisms. It would be very different if the Church carried more for them the daily working orders of their Captain, and condemned the wrong around them. There are definite reasons why the teaching of the Church should have assumed the narrow limits it has done, but they cannot be considered now. What I have said is necessarily very abrupt and imperfect. I have said it because I am most deeply impressed by the evil of our day, and because I fear the Church does not realize the extent of this evil, nor her own duty and power to contend with it. If she will not do so, then either God in His condemnation of us as a nation will let us alone, and we will perish in our iniquity

as other nations have perished ; or He will raise up other teachers and prophets, like those He has already sent us, to do this work ; and what will be our Church's position then ?

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. NEWTON MAN'T, Vicar of Hendon.

SOME years ago the Church of England passed through a period of attack, which was on her endowments and historical position. We replied that the Church of England of past days, and the Church of England of these days, was precisely the same Church, and the Church which ministered to our forefathers. Those of us who were humbly engaged in the work of meeting this attack met it with instruction and information ; and I think we may be sure that whenever we are brought face to face with attack from without we know perfectly well that the great cause of our weakness is the want of information, not merely on the part of our lay people, but in many cases on the part of our teachers. Like people who have been brought up in a conservative way, and under a conservative system, we have taken things too much for granted. It is sometimes a blessing for a man if he has occasionally solemnly to review his position ; and those who have had to review their position and to face it, and have looked carefully into their acts and their consciences, and considered their responsibilities, have a deeper sense of those responsibilities than ever they had before. At the present moment the attack comes again from without, and it comes from a high ecclesiastical authority. It is not for me, but rather for those who are in authority, who have the right of learning and position, to speak. It is not for me or for the ordinary parish priest to speak at such gatherings as this on a subject which is really of very deep interest for us. But what we feel is this, that whenever we have a chance of seizing a moment and an opportunity, we must do it in a practical way. Now, at the present moment, if there ever has been an opportunity offered to us of turning people's attention to the three-fold ministry of the Church of Christ our Lord, this is the time. Many of us read Church papers, but it is only a tithe of the Church population of England who do so. Some of our papers give carefully prepared instruction in the Catholic Faith, but it is but a tithe of our clergy who perform this part of their ministry. Those whom we want to reach are the educated and intelligent people of this country who are Church attendants, and very often very devout ones. Church members are often ready to accept assertions as the best guarantee for authority. Those of us, to use a common expression, who are in the know, are aware that information is of more importance than mere assertion. Let us give the information, and let us see that it is fair and right. Now, one reason which made me venture to send my card to the bishop to-day was because, under the advice of the Bishop of Stepney, a meeting is to be held at the Church House with the object of meeting this attack. The meeting will be held on Thursday week, at 2.30. We have 1,350 seats, and the Bishop of Stepney proposes to speak, and anybody who is anxious to know what we mean by Holy Orders can gain the information which he requires. Father Puller, of Cowley, who has proved himself to be the right man for the task, will put before us the position which we in the Church of England must take up. When I went to the Bishop of Stepney for advice, I said, "Will you have Father Puller ?" and he replied, "Yes, I shall welcome him." This is not to be an isolated meeting, and I hope we shall go on increasing the number of these gatherings. At this moment in the South of London one who knows the whole aspect of the case is going to give a series of addresses to the clergy. Last week at the Church House we had a meeting of some two hundred clergy, some of whom came, not because they were disturbed, for they are as true as steel, but that they might be taught to help others. We want to make our laity acquainted with the historical position upon which we rest. Well, I will ask this audience to help in gathering together intelligent Church of England people. At the proposed meeting I do not know that we so much want people who are instructed and know the whole case fairly well so far as its historical position is concerned, but we want people who are well disposed, but who can hardly give a reason for their position—but whether clergy or laity matters little ; but at the present moment our duty is not so much to form their faith, which perhaps is already true enough, but to give them clear, lucid, well concentrated information suited to the intellectual

position of the enquirer. Now, you will find in the course of this week notice of this meeting in the papers, and also in some of the halls of this Congress, and one hopes that this meeting will be so large and so great a success so far as numbers are concerned, that it will be able to make an impression. There will be no resolutions, and we want no press reports, but what we desire to do is to teach our Church-people quietly, so that they can state pithily and in a concentrated form the grounds which make them remain where they are.

The Rev. F. LEWIS DONALDSON, Rector of Nailstone,
Nuneaton.

I WISH to allude to a point of great importance in relation to the first part of our subject, which refers to the Church as the expression of the conscience of the nation. A previous speaker said truly that the Church is established because she is national, not national because she is established. I should like to indicate in what way the Church originally found her first point of union with the nation. It was by her declaration of the sanctity of the unit of the nation—the individual citizen. In the eyes of the nation, the newest citizen is the baby last born within her borders; and in relation to that child, that citizen, the Church found her union with the nation, when, by the Sacrament of Baptism, she claimed that child as the child of God. Thus the very first sacrament of the Church gives her claim on the nation's love and alliance. The conscience of the nation quickly recognized this basis of union between her and the Church. The unit of the nation is the individual man, and the unit of the Church is the same, man as man, as the Sacrament of Baptism claims and witnesses. This is what gives the Church her first national characteristic. She is national not merely by numerical supremacy, but by the fact that she claims every child born within the nation's border for God. Thus the conscience of the nation instinctively claims her alliance. It cannot so claim the alliance of the sects who—for instance, the Baptist sect in their origin—started by denying the sanctity and worth of most men, only affirming it of some men—the “elect.” The nation, clearly, could have no lasting alliance with such religious bodies which left out of the pale the majority of its citizens. The nation's conscience could only, naturally, find affinity with that Church which took up with her common ground. This, as history tells us, is exactly what the Church of England did in ancient times, and does still. And this is how the Church Catholic, first interpreting a nation's best instincts, and thus creating a national conscience out of instincts, becomes at last in her order, constitution, worship, and work, the best expression of that conscience. Hence our claim to-day that the Church of England is the best, and, historically, the rightful expression of the conscience of the nation to which we belong.

The Hon. and Rev. LEWIS W. DENMAN, Vicar of
Willian, Hitchin.

NOTHING very much has yet been said concerning conscience, although the “conscience” of the nation enters largely into the subject before us. At this moment very great concern is being shown for the fearful persecutions which have been going on in Turkey, and which ought to be regarded as a disgrace to Europe, and to the world. If we ask what conscience can do, we see that when rightly directed it will make us act righteously and humanely; but when wrongly directed, falsely and cruelly. So, certainly, there is a great contrast between the conscience of a Christian who believes in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the conscience of a Mahomedan who believes in Mahomet. No doubt some Mahomedans are humane men, and act better than their creed teaches them. But of the majority of them, of course, this cannot be said. The Christian conscience guided by Holy Scripture, however, is entirely different, and when we protest, as we have been doing lately, we are so far showing the conscience of the nation. Let me remind you of what the conscience of England has done in the past. We paid £20,000,000 in 1833 to compensate those whose interests were affected through the liberation of the slaves in the West Indies, and since then we entirely stopped the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa. And now I should like to see Churchmen taking the lead in arousing their brethren of all

denominations of Christians to take part in the movement whose object it is, by inducing Germany, Austria, Russia, and France to help us, to put a stop to these persecutions, and thus to vindicate the honour of the Christian religion, and of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CONGRESS HALL.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE CAUSES OF INTEMPERANCE, AND POSSIBLE REMEDIES,

IN THE INDIVIDUAL, IN SOCIAL CONDITIONS, AND IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

PAPERS.

SIR WILLOUGHBY WADE, Bart., M.D., Edgbaston.

THE topic upon which I have been asked to address you is "The Causes of Intemperance and Possible Remedies in the Individual." "Social conditions," which include the manners and customs of society, are placed in other hands. On mature consideration it has appeared to me that an estimate of the value of alcohol, from a medical point of view, would be the most useful way of dealing with this question. Such an estimate would include the dangers which arise from its careless or excessive use. Alcohol is a definite and unchanging chemical compound. Alcoholic drinks consist of alcohol mixed with water and with various other bodies; some arising incidentally in the process of manufacture, others intentionally added for flavouring purposes. That alcohol is a poison capable, even when diluted, of causing death in a few hours, is an undeniable fact. Many, no doubt, sincerely believe that after such a statement nothing can be said in its favour. This opinion seems to be fortified by another admission. Medical science recognizes that alcohol acts also as a chronic poison; that it favours the development of diseases which progress slowly, and kill only after a long time. It may be that it actually produces these diseases. But this is not so certain. There is no disease which is credited to alcohol, with the doubtful exception of delirium tremens, which may not attack even life-long total abstinens. There are physicians who incline to the opinion that some of these diseases are due rather to other ingredients of alcoholic drinks than to the alcohol. There is no doubt that some of these ingredients produce in some persons deleterious effects. As an example, there are many who feel sensible ill-effects from drinking malt liquor, who find no such results from drinking wine equivalent to a larger dose of alcohol. When we speak of a thing as a poison, we are apt to forget that this is not an absolute term, but a relative one. Whether a thing is a poison or not depends upon the amount taken,

and the state of the person who takes it. Thus what is ordinarily a poison may really become an antidote. For example, take the virulent poison arsenic. In many persons suffering from malaria, arsenic is an antidote of the greatest value, and often requires to be taken in a quantity which would be injurious to a healthy person. On the other hand, reputedly innocent agents may be injurious. For example, I saw recently a patient who suffered much from indigestion after breakfast. This proved to be solely due to drinking a glass of hot water on rising. On omitting the hot water the indigestion at once ceased.

It, therefore, does not follow that because under some circumstances alcohol may be injurious, it cannot under any be beneficial. Indeed, we may with truth affirm that a drug which is incapable of doing harm is equally incapable of doing good. Many lay persons nowadays either administer drugs or exercise a coercive influence over the line of treatment their doctors desire to adopt. It is, therefore, desirable to indicate generally some of the conditions which limit the utility of alcohol used as a drug. In certain acute diseases, such as inflammation of the lungs (pneumonia), alcohol may be extremely beneficial. Some such cases require neither alcohol nor any other drug. They get well as quickly and as comfortably by lying in bed suitably fed. Other cases are much helped by other drugs exclusive of alcohol. But in others again conditions arise which alcohol controls in a way which no other drug known to me does. We believe that these conditions depend on the state of some part of the nervous system. One of the symptoms of this condition is quickening of the pulse. A dose of alcohol will within a minute or two, or even less, reduce the rate of the pulse, thus proving by exact observation the really controlling influence of alcohol. Sometimes large doses are necessary, and their repetition is equally necessary. I have never known any craving for alcohol follow such a mode of using it. Especially as when the particular condition referred to has passed away there is no need to continue its use. I would repeat, for the instruction of lay persons, some of whom have an overweening belief in alcohol as a remedy in acute diseases, that it is not because a patient has got pneumonia or typhoid fever, or any other acute disease, that he requires alcohol, but that he does require it when certain symptoms show themselves. A temperance hospital, in which alcohol is but little used, claims that its statistics show quite satisfactory results in this disease. Pneumonia is a disease in which statistics have been claimed to be in favour of the most opposite methods of treatment. The fact is that there is hardly a disease in which varieties of degree are more evident. As I have above pointed out, many cases will get well of themselves; it is equally true that many will die whatever we do. I have studied the reports of cases treated in this hospital, and very candidly published by its authorities. A detailed examination of them would of course not be proper on this occasion. I will content myself with saying that I find no sufficient reason in them for altering the above stated views on the usefulness of alcohol as a drug.

The effect of alcohol in such a case seems to me to prove that there is in that case a demand or need for alcohol. This need is quite an unconscious one. It thus differs from the conscious craving we meet with elsewhere. This suggests to us that in these latter there is equally

a physical substratum, of which the conscious craving is the outward expression. I shall refer later on to another aspect of alcohol in relation to the treatment of acute diseases. Before dealing with chronic diseases or disorders a statement may be made. There can be no doubt that in perfectly healthy persons alcohol is not a necessity of life, and especially is this true of children. Indeed, the highest condition of animal life, namely, that of men in training for muscular efforts, is obtained without it. Now, the question arises whether in the ordinary conditions of life its moderate use is hurtful. Except by assuming that what is a poison in large doses must be a poison in any dose there is no ground for concluding that it is necessarily hurtful. The human body is designed to act healthily under varying states of temperature, climate, atmospheric pressure, and on very various diets. As far as my observation goes it does so in regard to alcohol. No doubt in regard to all these things the indifference, or, if you like, the power of resistance, is very different in different persons.

We will now turn to the consideration of chronic disorders. It will be convenient to enumerate those in which alcohol is most commonly used as a remedy. And it must be stated that its use is much more freely and frequently adopted by the patient than ordered by the doctor. It is used for the relief of pain, whether occurring irregularly as neuralgia, or periodically at stated intervals. It is used for the relief of asthma; it is used in that condition of the system which is technically styled neurasthenia, popularly nervous debility, or in the fashionable slang of the day, "run down."

There can be no doubt that some cases of pain and of asthma are speedily relieved by spirits. But there are, I think, few, if any, in which equal relief cannot be obtained by less objectionable means. The great danger from alcohol arises in this way. It is natural that one who suffers from neuralgia or asthma should wish to forestall an attack, instead of waiting till it is fully developed. And there is a real danger of these persons taking alarm needlessly and flying to a dose of spirits. An alcohol habit is thus liable to arise. There is, of course, still greater risk if there should be present that peculiar nervous constitution on which a "craving" seems to depend. And neuralgia and asthma are often expressions of such a constitution. In persons with an established alcoholic habit neuralgia is often simulated both as an excuse for taking wine or spirits, and also as a cloak to their effects.

With regard to nervous debility, the causes of this are common knowledge. Acute illnesses, such as influenza, leave it as a sequel. In men, the worries of business, monetary anxieties, the assumption of public duties in addition to an exacting business or profession, the harass of an executorship or trusteeship, and so on. In women, chronic exhausting illnesses, night-watching, and anxiety for a sick husband or child, domestic duties, and housekeeping, the demands, and perhaps the chagrins of society. These sort of things impair the appetite, invade sleep, and disorder many other bodily functions. Hence depression of spirits, and inability to discharge even ordinary household duties without exhaustion or fatigue. Some stimulant revives the spirits, restores for a time the lapsed energy; the dram is resorted to again and again, and the liquor habit is established. This is beyond all question its origin in a large proportion of drunken women, and in

a not inconsiderable proportion of drunken men. These practices are due much less to any medical advice than to spontaneous action by the individual, or the unguarded advice of friends, or the recommendations of quasi-medical authorities in weekly journals. Many adolescent girls and other weakly persons can eat but little breakfast, become exhausted by 11 o'clock, and are given then a glass of port wine, with or without a biscuit, or a glass of quinine wine or coca wine. Such "pick-me-ups" are just as likely to be dangerously repeated as any unmedicated wine, and there is the danger of establishing a coca habit as well as an alcoholic one. A cup of clear soup or beef tea, or of a solution of some meat extract, will in almost all cases prevent exhaustion just as well as alcohol, and without its possible dangers. What is better still is that a solid meal should be taken at that hour instead of waiting till luncheon-time. But this can only be obtained abroad, where this wholesome plan is the custom of the country.

There is, in my opinion, no doubt that in many cases of acute disease, patients progress more favourably, "hold themselves together" better, if supplied with alcohol in small quantities. So also many persons in feeble health, and indeed others, are the better for taking alcoholic liquids. They take more food, and digest it more comfortably and more effectively, and are better able to discharge their duties. But in all such cases prudence requires that they should be taken only with the ordinary regular meals, and not at irregular times, whether with a little food, such as a biscuit, or not. From this point of view it is futile to discuss whether or no alcohol is a food. It is equally idle to argue that persons may lead a purely animal life, and remain strong without alcohol. We have to deal with individuals as we find them in ordinary life. There can be no dispute, unfortunately, that there are a considerable number of persons who do not use alcohol in this careful manner; who, on the contrary, use it in a way which injures their health, and in many ways unfits them for many of the duties of life. How are they to be cured? Some will relinquish the excess when the danger is pointed out to them; some, on the other hand, have not the same power of self-denial. For some time past it has been possible for these to abnegate their liberty and personal freedom. No doubt the immediate effect upon their health is remarkable. Their appetite is restored and their power of digestion re-established, and all the bodily functions are well performed. These persons have not had all their fortitude and power of will destroyed by their habits, even while under the evil influence of them. Otherwise, they would not have subjected themselves to a voluntary deprivation of their personal freedom. We can, therefore, understand that when their moral forces are strengthened by an improved physical condition they may be able, after obtaining their freedom, to maintain their habits of acquired abstinence. But do they maintain them? Yes, some do. Others certainly do not. We are badly in want of definite information as to the number of those who do and of those who do not. It has an important bearing upon a proposition which is being pressed for adoption. Seeing that only a small proportion of those who are tersely described as "habitual drunkards" are willing to undergo seclusion, it is proposed that the rest should be forcibly put away. The supporters of this view (with whose aims all must sympathize) seem to think the question a very simple one. To

my mind it is an extremely difficult one, as I think will appear when its advocates come to grips with Parliament. It will, I think, help them to succeed if some of the difficulties are pointed out beforehand. There are constantly two currents of public opinion, of which now one and now the other is the more strenuous. They may be styled, "Individualism" and "State Socialism." One makes for, and the other against, interference with personal liberty.

There are a variety of kinds, and innumerable degrees, of excessive drinking. How are we to define an "habitual drunkard?" At present a man says, "I am an habitual drunkard, and I will go into seclusion." There is no difficulty about that. But now it is proposed that someone shall have the statutory power to say to a man, "You are an habitual drunkard, and you shall go into seclusion." In other words, you shall be imprisoned for at least six, probably twelve months, perhaps more. The man contests the fact. He must, of course, be allowed facilities for disproving it. What facilities? If it was sought to prove him a lunatic by inquisition, he would be entitled to be heard by counsel, and to demand to be tried by jury. The "habitual drunkard" cannot surely be allowed less, especially when we consider that the lunatic could at once be set free on proving that he had recovered his right senses; whereas the other is condemned to a definite term of imprisonment, and cannot prove that he has recovered till that term has expired.

I have used the term "imprisonment." I am aware of what may be said to show that the term is inappropriate. My answer is that those who have undergone seclusion voluntarily regard it in that light. How much more, then, will it be so regarded by those who do not undergo it voluntarily. It seems probable that the risk of exposure and scandal which would attend the operation of such a law would greatly curtail its use, and might indeed cause it to be almost inoperative. The narrow limits of my allotted time compel me to omit various interesting and important considerations. They have necessitated a greater conciseness and a more dogmatic tone than is altogether desirable. The views which I have candidly expressed may not be agreeable to some, but it will hardly be denied that they make for moderation and temperance in the use of alcoholic drinks.

The Rev. E. L. HICKS, Rector of S. Philip's, Salford; and
Canon of Manchester.

I.—MANY causes are assigned for intemperance, and they are all in their measure true. But my experience leads me to regard the drink mainly as a matter of temptation. "When I don't see it I don't want it," is what men constantly say to me. But given the temptation, then the exciting causes of intemperance are as many and varied as the moods and conditions of humanity. We might even adapt the lines of Coleridge, and say:—

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are the ministers of drink,
And feed his hellish flame."

But, first, what is intemperance? Whatever degree of excess, however small, impairs the physical health, relaxes the self-control, and makes a man the worse in body or mind—that is what you and I mean by intemperance.

But intemperance, as understood in the law courts, is quite a different matter. I find no legal definition of it. I believe the police hold no one to be technically drunk as long as he can stand up. At home the drunkard (husband or wife) may make the house a hell, but the law pays no regard. And in practice every publican in the kingdom can serve anyone over sixteen with any amount of liquor, provided the victim be able somehow to stagger home.

Let us remember that the drink crave is one of the most incurable and calamitous of diseases. It is a physical and moral ailment in one—an ailment to which our people are specially prone, through heredity, climate, and the conditions of modern life.

Now we licence 168,000 liquor shops virtually to propagate this disease. The colossal gains of the traffickers depend on the success with which they can spread the love of drink. It is the inebriates who (though they may never be legally drunk) are their regular customers. With an inhuman indifference to consequences, and with a sole view to profit, the temptation is placed precisely where our brothers and sisters are most easily tempted—where they most require protection—near great works, near holiday resorts, in crowded alleys of the slums.

I am aware that I shall be told that business is business. But there are different kinds of business, and we meet here not as crimps but as Christians. The words of a great brewer are as true to-day as when he wrote them:—"The struggle of the school, the library, and the Church, all united, against the beerhouse and the gin-palace, is but one development of the war between heaven and hell."

II.—The remedies suggested have been substantially two:—(1) To keep the people from the drink; (2) To keep the drink from the people. Most of us are agreed about the first; there is more doubt as to the second; but the two must always go together. Prohibition without moral education would be a failure; moral suasion without legislation is futile. The teetotal movement has left its abiding mark upon our statute book. The purpose of all the liquor legislation for the last forty years has been restriction, so as to clip the claws of this "devilish and destructive traffic." We have done a good deal in this direction already. Thus in 1853, when the United Kingdom Alliance was formed, the liquor shops plied their trade all day and all night, weekdays and Sundays alike. We have secured Sunday Closing for Scotland, for Ireland, for Wales. By the Acts of 1854, 1864, and 1872, the hours of sale have been substantially reduced. In 1872 the payment of wages in public-houses was forbidden. By the Acts of 1883 and 1884 the public-house may not be used as an electoral committee room. In 1887 the Truck Act forbade the part payment of wages in drink; while in 1883 the North Sea Fisheries were made a prohibitory area. These restrictions were steps towards prohibition. They have had the zealous support of the prohibition party, and would never have been carried without them. But restriction is not enough. The liquor traffic has hardly been hurt at all, still less is it scotched or killed. It has simply organized other methods of influence. *E.g.*, the value of friendly societies

has been greatly lessened by the holding of their lodges in public-houses. Bank-holidays would be a far greater boon but for the drink traffic. Sunday closing has been hampered by the combined ingenuity of the *bona fide* traveller and the publican. Music and the drama would do more to elevate the public taste, had not the theatre and the music hall been converted into drink shops. The railway excursionist is waylaid by the railway refreshment room, and the excursion steamer (save in Scotland) is a floating bar beyond all control. Our political clubs are largely schools of drinking and gambling. Again, athletics might have done much for temperance, but every great athletic ground has its bars; and the headquarters of football teams and of bicycle clubs are at leading public-houses. Every successful cricket "pro." or champion runner is sought after by the great brewers for one of their tied houses.

In these and countless other ways the liquor traffic has defied all efforts at mere restriction. It has its representatives in the Lords, in the Commons, on every town council and local board. It has bought up a great part of the provincial press, it has perfected its electoral organization, it has practically unlimited funds at its command, and it proclaims unblushingly its motto, "Our Trade is our Politics." Its power at election times is enormous. The liquor ring will soon master the nation if the nation does not master the liquor ring.

III.—And therefore I plead for prohibition. Not for imperial prohibition—the country is not ready for it; some localities are ready, but not the country at large. Prohibition cannot prohibit without a strenuous public opinion behind it. The alleged failures of prohibition are generally found to be under an imperial act. But permissive prohibition is an automatic register of local opinion. It can only operate as soon as—and so long as—public opinion is overwhelmingly for it.

We say it is a crime to force drink shops upon localities that do not want them. We demand the Direct Local Veto as a simple application of the principle of self-government, and we affirm it to be one of the safest and most valuable experiments that can be made in this age of social reform. We hear of rich landlords (and even distillers) making prohibitory areas wherein no drink is sold, and where accordingly there is peace and comfort, and health to a degree not known elsewhere. Why may not free citizens be permitted to make the experiment of similar areas for themselves by popular vote?

Examples of successful prohibition abound. The North Sea Fisheries are a prohibitory area. So are practically all our hospitals, and our great works with their myriads of workpeople. We can point to Toxteth Park, Liverpool, with a population 60,000; to the Shaftesbury Park estate, to Queen's Park, Noel Park, Leigham Court, and other properties of the Artisans, Labourers', and General Dwellings Company, with a total population of nearly 39,000; to a similar area in Greenheys, Manchester, population 2,000; to Roe Green, a mining village of 650 people; to Bessbrook, in Ireland, population 4,000; to the Coppice Estate, Oldham, population 8,000; and to at least 1,000 villages in England uncursed by a liquor shop. Other equally striking examples might be adduced. We desire legislation to enable us to multiply experiments like this by popular vote. The people would use the power if they

had it. In Georgia, U.S., there are 108 counties under prohibition by Local Option, and two-thirds of the entire population of Massachusetts.

From all quarters of the English-speaking world, and also from Scandinavia, we have proofs that the question of prohibition by popular vote is become one of the greatest social and political problems of our time. This great controversy is in abeyance in Great Britain—but only for a while. It will awake again ere long, and bids fair to disturb or supersede all other public issues.

On which side is the Church to be? On the side of the weak, or of the strong? of the tempter, or the tempted? of the capitalist brewer, or the sober and struggling working-man?

COMMANDER J. E. BOWLY, R.N., Aston, Birmingham.

THE licensing question, in which is included that of temperance reform, or *vice versa*, has for many years occupied the attention of all interested in the amelioration of the condition of the masses and their social elevation. Both of these facts appeal very strongly to the Church, which, being national, must, *ipso facto*, identify itself with the national aspirations to roll off the reproach of drunkenness from our land, and with this consummation hasten the improved conditions above referred to. While the question of temperance reform has advanced, has the active sympathy of the Church with it been retarded, or has it gone forward? All that has happened has been that politicians have stepped in where the Church would not tread, with simply disastrous results for the temperance cause; as, for instance, the withdrawal of Mr. Goschen's Bill; or, with similarly dire results, the extremists of the temperance party have by their virulence and violence alienated the public platform identity of men, Churchmen, who have still worked silently, perhaps, but ceaselessly, for the good cause.

But while the alliance between the Church of England and the advanced temperance party (if it ever existed) has materially weakened, has the understanding between the Church and the Trade, if there be any, been strengthened? That the people of England recognize something of an understanding, and a common platform for the Church and the Trade, is evidenced by the catch-word of the political phrase-monger who coined the call "Beer and Bible."

When times of political storm and stress have driven the Trade into the attitude of defence before the common spoiler, the alliance of Church and Trade, *unsought on either side*, was the inevitable coalition of threatened interests. There may be no more in "Beer and Bible" than in the celebrated "Three acres and a Cow" cry, which, having answered its temporary purpose, disappeared from the lexicon of political phraseology. Need the cry of "Church and Trade" be similarly allowed to slide into obscurity, or is there justification for suggesting that there are grave reasons why the Church and the Trade shall continue their coalition with the grand idea (now that the threatened interests, like other threatened institutions and individuals, promise to live long) of helping to attain by their alliance that *summum bonum*, national and individual temperance and sobriety? The death of the Local Veto Bill is the disappearance simply of one form of suggested

solution of the great temperance question. The question itself survives. Who shall solve it? The United Kingdom Alliance, with its impossible programme of enforced total abstinence for the individual, and total suppression of the liquor traffic by the State?—Never! The United Kingdom Alliance and party politicians?—Similarly impossible! The Church of England Temperance Society, with its programme as at present constituted, without consultation with the Trade, and based upon a mandate of its own, and not of the people, will it supply the solution? With all due respect, I venture to say "No!"

The United Kingdom Alliance is impotent. The Church of England has asked, through the mouth of one of its most eloquent and, at the same time, experienced exponents of this question, for its "disentanglement" from party politics, and it is singularly unlikely that it will identify itself with politicians of a party hue to settle this great question. The Church of England Temperance Society is warned in time, by the woes of the United Kingdom Alliance, as well as by the admonitions from its own skilled teachers on licensing reform, viz., "Put not your trust in party politicians." This being so, where are the allies of the Church of England in the great cause of the national sobriety? I fearlessly reply, "In the licensed trade itself."

The licensed trade is deeply interested in the promotion of the trade temperance, which is moderation. Who can deny it? Only those who don't know facts. The drunkard is the greatest danger, the greatest pest, the greatest nuisance, the licensed victualler has to deal with. To bring about that desirable period, when no drunkard shall be seen in, or come out of, a public-house, there is not a licensed victualler worthy of his privilege but who would do something towards so desirable an end. The Church of England and the licensed victuallers suggest the best possible combination for combating the evils of intemperance. So far as the Church is concerned, see how stalwart the opinions of some of her most honoured leaders are on "the burning questions" of the trade, such as "Compensation," "Sunday Closing," "Clubs," "Suggested Soberization by Act of Parliament," etc. On the Compensation question, the Right Rev. Dr. Earle, Lord Bishop of Marlborough, in 1891, spoke eloquently and truly enough on this head; the Bishop of Chester has similarly proclaimed himself; and other Church dignitaries have pronounced in favour of the irrevocable command, the Decalogue-taught principle, "Thou shalt not steal," yea, though the theft be a publican's property.

On Sunday Closing, let me but refer you to the attitude of the Convocation of Canterbury in January, 1894, when by fifty-seven votes to nine it rejected total Sunday Closing, on the ground "that it would lead to secret drinking," "would not conduce to temperance," and lead to "ills we know not of," worse than those we have.

Is there a clergyman of the Church of England who would perpetuate, or continue for any period, the present condition of clubs, with their unlimited hours for consumption of drink, weekday and Sunday, under no restrictions, paying no license, and simply defying that supervision which all must admit is essential wherever alcoholic liquors are supplied?

On the question, therefore, of the reform of the drunkard, the Compensation of the publican, if through no fault of his own and on public

grounds he loses his license, the Regulation of Clubs, and Sunday Closing, there are unquestionably, to say the least of it, points of agreement between the Church and the Trade. We may go further, and maintain that the Church of England and the licensed trade agree that the soberization of our country will be effected with greater credit, with greater certainty, with greater surety of enduring result, by moral suasion rather than by Act of Parliament, or compulsory legislation. "Preaching, teaching, and the continued enforcement of the truth was better than any amount of legislation," said the Archbishop of Canterbury at a Church Temperance Society meeting at Lambeth Palace on May 11th, 1896.

Are not the Church and the Trade in accord, admitting that when education shall have further-filtrated and its effects be more widely felt among the masses; when their better housing shall make the laws of health more practicable; when the increase of open spaces for public gymnasia and parks, "the lungs" of our big towns, shall, along with the light of religion burning brightly, "and not consumed," affect their reforming power, then will come, as it is coming even now slowly but surely, the free, voluntary temperance and sobriety of the people, covering our country "like the waters cover the sea." It will not be long coming this uplifting of the social condition of the masses. It is within the range of "practical communism" even now. It will get its greatest impetus from the National Church, just as the National Church will receive from the licensed trade, if only that Church will act, as its traditions inspire in us the belief that it will act, equitably by the great industry the licensed trade represents, the heartiest co-operation, the most energetic support in the promotion of the true temperance, the temperance which is spontaneous and voluntary. This, I maintain, is the ideal "Church and Trade" alliance. It will not discredit the Church, and the Trade will be as proud as worthy of it. It will survive the ridicule that jealous partisans of impossible propaganda may heap upon it, and the Church of England, basing its attitude toward this great question, not on teetotal tyranny, the cant of the faddist, and the Utopia of the dreamer, but on a basis of toleration, of common sense, and an appreciation of facts in our national life, will help to solve that which temperance societies hitherto have combined to render insolvable.

In conclusion, I may mention that the Royal Commission now sitting on this question is composed of leaders of both Church and Trade, under the chairmanship of one whose impartiality is undoubted. May we not hope for the happiest results from their labours?

APPENDIX.

(Legislation v. Moral Suasion.)

The Archbishop of York said:—"He was afraid he did not altogether go with all the methods employed, or all the ideas prevalent on the subject of temperance; but no one could be a more earnest advocate of temperance than he was. He felt, however, that 'Legislation may be good, but personal work and influence may be better.' Looking back on the history of the question during the last half century, they must all be thankful that the state of things prevalent amongst the educated classes at the beginning of that period had almost entirely

passed away, not from the operation of a single Act of Parliament, but from the operation of a higher tone and a better feeling among the class to which he was referring. He believed in the same way they would do very little by legislation in order to bring the same happy change into a humbler stratum of society; that it must be by raising the tone of the public at large, especially in the classes where intemperance was most prevalent. He had never been able to give his vote for a measure of Sunday Closing. He felt, as long as the clubs in London were open, it was very hard to say to the working man, that upon that one day in the week, when he had the happiness of dining in company with his wife and children, he was not to have a glass of beer to his dinner.”—Diocesan Meeting, York, Church of England Temperance Society, June, 1894.

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY.

(Sunday Closing.)

Canon Mudd says:—“After twenty years’ experience in an agricultural parish, I cannot support total Sunday Closing, as I believe it would lead to secret drinking, which is more dangerous than open public-houses.”

The Rev. Archdeacon Potts said:—“The people had a right to get their Sunday dinner and supper beer just as much as they (the clergy) had.”—January, 1894.

(Compensation.)

The Bishop of Chester says:—“If any trenchant scheme of reform is to pass through Parliament, it must reckon fairly and frankly with the equitable claims of the *bona fide* publican.”—Church Congress, 1893, and reprinted in the *Humanitarian*, November, 1893.

Canon Ellison said:—“He was glad that the view they had taken (*re* Compensation) had that day been endorsed by the highest legal opinion in England” (*i.e.*, Lord Chief Justice Coleridge).—Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Church of England Temperance Society, April 25th, 1888.

Lord Chief Justice Coleridge said:—“It would in his judgment be wrong to say that there was no vested interest in the profession or trade which the publican pursued . . . We had no right to ruin them (*i.e.*, the publicans) because the mind of England had changed on the drink question.”—Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Church of England Temperance Society.

(The Temperance Question and Party Politics.)

The Bishop of Chester says:—“There are three principal obstacles to (licensing reform) legislation. First, the entanglement of the Temperance question with Party Politics”—Church Congress, 1893, and in the *Humanitarian*, November, 1893.

The Very Rev. the Hon. J. W. LEIGH, D.D., Dean of Hereford.

THE paper read just now was a very remarkable paper. The subject is possible remedies for intemperance in connection with the organization of the trade, and the speaker, who I suppose represents the trade, proposes that there should be an alliance between the Church and the trade. Well, there are a few difficulties in the way of bringing about such an alliance at the present time, and I would wish to confine the few remarks I have to make in the short time placed at my disposal to a matter connected with the organization of the drink traffic which I believe to be one, if not the chief, cause of intemperance, and which needs greatly to be remedied. Moreover, it is a subject which it behoves the Church especially to consider, and for this reason, that many members of the Church are in some measure indirectly, if not directly, responsible for a system connected with the sale of strong drink which is fraught with a vast amount of evil. Now I agree with the last speaker that it has been too much the custom for speakers to say hard things of the publicans and drunkards, and to let off the Pharisees—I mean those highly respectable persons moving in the best society, who make large sums out of a system which places the publican in a false position, and is one of the greatest hindrances to a thorough licensing reform. Of late years, as you know, there has been a rush after shares in "Brewery Companies Limited." Ladies as well as gentlemen, ministers of religion as well as members of other professions, have shown a great anxiety to secure large returns for their investments, regardless as to how these large returns are secured. If questioned as to how these profits were made, they might possibly answer, "Through brewing good, wholesome beer." If asked further, whether their Company had many tied houses, in all probability they would answer that they really did not know, and perhaps did not much care; and yet, in many cases, the amount of their dividend would depend largely on the number of such houses.

What about this system of tied and bound houses? Why, that it has been termed by a former chairman of a Licensed Victuallers' Society, as "one of the most grinding, tyrannical and demoralizing systems that ever existed in this country; the abolition of which was one of the chief things necessary before any reform could be accomplished." It is, moreover, an ever-increasing monopoly which threatens to get entire control of the public-houses in the country; any amount is given to acquire possession of eligible licensed houses offered by auction. A few weeks ago a tavern in Liverpool was put up for sale, the reserve price was £12,500. To the surprise of everyone present it was knocked down at £28,200, which was considered far in excess of the estimated value.

In that city a large brewery concern was sold a few years ago to a Company for £3,000,000, owning more than two hundred and fifty public-houses. In Plymouth five hundred out of six hundred and fifty houses are tied to twenty firms, and the tenants are bound to go to these firms to purchase whatever beer or spirits they may require at a much higher rate of interest than the free houses. In the County of Surrey, outside the Metropolitan district, five-sixths of the houses are tied; in Cheshire four-fifths. In Hull, the clerk to the magistrates

giving evidence before the Royal Commission, stated that during the nine years he had held office there had been only one instance of conviction against a free house ; but he went on to say there had been ninety-one out of one hundred and two transfers among the tied houses, and that tied tenants were, as a rule, of an inferior class to free tenants. This has been admitted by some of the leading publicans—and no wonder, since, owing to the hard and exacting terms of some of the leases, the publican is tempted to resort to illegal and immoral acts in order to make a living, when were he a free man he would not be so tempted.

A very great change has taken place with regard to licensed houses since the old days when the host and hostess gave a hearty welcome to the traveller, and supplied him with good victuals as well as home-brewed ale. Now there are no victuals and no home-brewed. The public-houses have become for the most part the mere tap-rooms of brewery companies and syndicates, who are no longer satisfied to get a large interest from the wholesale manufacture of the article, but must needs force it down the throats of their customers, through the agency of managers placed in charge of their liquor shops. For, as a rule, the publican to whom the license is granted is not even a *bona fide* tenant, but a mere servant or bondsman, liable to be dismissed at the shortest notice without any compensation. He is compelled to buy his liquors, and often cigars and other articles, from his employer at a high price, and cannot go elsewhere. If he happens to be detected in allowing any illegal acts to take place on the premises, and the license is endorsed, he is promptly ejected by the virtuous employer, and another man of straw put in his place.

In many cases the rent charged is lower than that which the owner or lessee pays himself ; the latter looking principally to the profit for the beer sold. This has the effect of procuring a low assessment for the licensed house, and thereby throwing upon other ratepayers an unfair burden.

A publican on one occasion came to consult me as to what could be done in his case. He found himself possessed of £300. He went to a public-house broker or agent, who recommended a small house in the neighbourhood of Edgware Road, where the takings were estimated at £120 per month. The intending purchaser consented on this statement to give £158 for good-will. On entering into the business he found the takings were far less than stated, and he persuaded the outgoing tenant to agree to a reduction of £40, *i.e.*, to take the sum of £118. On hearing of the proposed reduction, the agent of the well-known brewery firm refused to allow it, stating that the house and fittings were the exclusive property of the firm, and that the outgoing tenant had no voice in the matter. After a great deal of annoyance to the incoming tenant, the purchase was at length completed. The new tenant, however, after getting possession, found that in the past eight years there had been no less than eight tenants, all of whom had failed in the business. He soon discovered it was impossible for him to pay expenses, and in eighteen months from taking the house he had to give up, and was turned out penniless, having exhausted all his small capital, the wealthy brewery firm refusing to assist him in any way.

A case was tried not so long ago before Judge Cave at the Chester

Assizes, where a dispute had arisen about the good-will of a public-house belonging to a large brewery firm in the neighbourhood. It had reference to the sum of £100 for goodwill. The firm said it did not recognize the good-will of tenants. The judge asked : "When a tenant increases the value of a house, do you confiscate the good-will?" "Certainly," the agent replied. The judge thereupon declared that "this plan of seizing unearned increment was outrageous and monstrous." I might give many more instances of the way in which the retail dealers are treated by the large firms and companies, and the sort of agreements they are called upon to sign. I might, did time allow, show how injuriously this system works with regard to the question of Sunday closing, and how the publican is often prevented from obtaining a six days' license and debarred from the privileges of Sunday rest and Church attendance, however much he might desire it, through the selfishness and covetousness of employers who themselves profess to be strict observers of the Sabbath and regular attendants at the Church services.

I rejoice to think that the Royal Commission now sitting will thoroughly investigate this most pernicious system, and I trust it may be possible for them to obtain reliable evidence from some of the tied and bound publicans, and that some remedy may be found by which they may be released from their intolerable bondage. That something can be done, even under the existing law, has been shown by the action of the Crewe justices, who, in face of opposition from the great local brewers, and even from the magnates at quarter sessions, have insisted upon the agreements of the publicans with their employers being produced, and who decided that along with the character of the house and of the applicant they must consider the conditions under which the applicant held his tenancy from the owner of the premises, for on these conditions, they believed, depended to a great extent whether he was or was not a fit and proper person to hold a license.

My friends, I would conclude by saying that it is possible good men may be engaged in a bad business through ignorance. They may shut their eyes to the terrible scenes of brutality, immorality, pauperism and crime caused in a great measure by the business in which they have an interest. They may close their ears to strong evidence brought forward with regard to the result of forcing strong liquor down the throats of the people. Their responsibility remains all the same. They may refuse to believe that lunacy is increased, lives shortened, diseases multiplied, and that some of the blackest crimes are committed which disfigure our criminal calendar. They may say, "It must needs be that crimes must come." Yes, but what about the "woe to them by whom they come?" What about the saying of the wise man in his book of Proverbs, "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; If thou sayest, behold we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? and shall not He render to every man according to his work?" Ruskin has said, "The encouragement of drunkenness for the sake of the profit on the sale of drink is certainly one of the most criminal methods of assassination for money hitherto adopted by the bravos of any age or country." And yet we have a vast number of respectable people, Church-going people, who are shareholders in big

liquor producing companies, and who only think how much money they can get out of the concern, and give no thought as to the amount of misery and desolation and crime caused by their thirst after gain.

Until Christian men, and Christian women, and Churchpeople, legislators, magistrates, clergy, realize their responsibilities, we shall make but little headway in our earnest endeavours to bring about social reforms. Lives will continue to be degraded, the happiness of thousands blighted, homes made desolate, gaols and lunatic asylums filled, and evils caused more deadly and more continuous than war, pestilence, or famine combined.

J. J. COCKSHOT, Esq., Solicitor, Southport; Vice-Chairman of the Liverpool Diocesan Branch of the Church of England Temperance Society.

WE are all agreed that the primary cause of drunkenness is "drink," but temperance reformers are divided into two armies contending with each other as to the best method of promoting sobriety.

The question at issue is, whether "Prohibition" or "Re-organization" is the possible remedy.

Reform v. Prohibition.—The United Kingdom Alliance represents the prohibitionists, whilst the Church of England Temperance Society—reinforced by the Bishop of Chester and his friends—represents the cause of public-house reform. All attempts to bring about a coalition of prohibitionists and reformers have failed; the reason being that the difference between them is fundamental, and not one of detail only.

The United Kingdom Alliance seeks the total suppression of the liquor traffic, whilst the Church of England Temperance Society aims at its better regulation. The Alliance contends that drunkenness is the inevitable result of drinking, whilst the Church of England Temperance Society observes that a large number of sober people will have facilities for obtaining drink, and that the Alliance remedy of total and immediate suppression is unattainable.

Policy for Churchmen.—In my opinion the Church of England Temperance Society ought henceforward to vigorously pursue its own policy and endeavour to attract to its standard all temperance reformers who are not at heart "Prohibitionists." This policy ought to be governed by three considerations, namely:—(1) That the enormous evils which flow from the traffic as it is now carried on are capable of substantial abatement; (2) that the reasonable wants of sober men must be supplied; (3) that due regard must be paid to existing interests. In pursuance of this policy the Society ought to rivet public attention upon the defects of the existing licensing system. One of these is the concentration of public-houses in the poorest districts of our large towns.

Congested Districts.—A few years ago I read a report of the annual meeting of the Seamen's Home at Liverpool. The chairman—one of Liverpool's merchant princes, who are amongst the honourable men of the earth—is a city magistrate, and he informed the meeting that there were no less than one hundred and ten public-houses within two hundred and fifty yards of the Seamen's Home in Liverpool. The chairman and his

brother magistrates had licensed these houses, and what was the result? "That which a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The chairman designated these licensed houses as "frightful temptations" to the seamen, and he related an arrangement which the committee of the Home had made with certain shipping firms, by which the seamen's wages due on their arrival in port were sent in advance by means of pay notes to their homes, in order to keep the sailors out of the licensed traps which are set to intercept their wages before they reach their wives and children. Five per cent. of the licensed houses in Liverpool are around the Seamen's Home, and in other parts of the city there are alleys and courts crowded with people who are utterly unable to resist temptation, and amongst whom public-houses are scattered "like grains of pepper from a pepper box." The application of drastic measures to these "congested districts" in Liverpool and other large towns would cause no resentment amongst the sober part of the electorate, whilst the maintenance of the *status quo* would be supported only by the least reputable part of the trade.

A long sleep.—Some years ago a police detective was consulted by a widow who kept a small beershop with regard to some of her customers. They were working-men—her own neighbours—who frequented her house on Saturday and Sunday evenings. Some of them also called on their way to work on Monday morning, and did not always leave again until the day's work was lost. The woman did not like this. She saw no harm in the men spending their leisure time at her house, but she was grieved to see them missing their week's work and losing their weekly wage. She acted upon the officer's advice, which was that she should take a "long sleep" on Monday morning so that her house would be closed when the men went to work, and the officer assured me that this simple device was most effective. The men did not seek another open house, they went to their work on Monday morning and got in a full week—they did not become teetotalers—they made the beershop their week-end resort, but they did not become drunkards. The shortening of the hours of sale is therefore another remedy which would be welcomed by a very large proportion of the population.

License Rentals.—In the evidence recently given by Sir H. B. Poland, Q.C., before the Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws, he referred to the monopoly created by the present system. He mentioned a case of a house in the Harrow Road, London, which was recently disposed of for £90,000. The value of the house a few years ago was from £45,000 to £50,000, but it had gone up to £90,000. This is a point to which public attention ought to be drawn. Why should the Licensing Justices be permitted to add these enormous sums to the value of licensed property? Why should not every licensed house be valued according to the value of the land and the bricks and mortar upon it, and the difference between that value and the value of the premises as a public-house be charged to the applicant and brought into the public coffers? Why should the magistrates go on year after year putting thousands of pounds into the pockets of public-house owners? The imposition of a full license rental would do several things—first, it would check the demand for public-house licenses; secondly, it would provide a fund out of which reasonable compensation could be paid in respect of well conducted houses whose licenses were

discontinued; and thirdly, it would provide funds for the provision of places of public resort and amusement under public control.

Amusements and Drink.—I know a Company which provides high-class amusements. There is a license attached to the premises, but the sale of intoxicants takes place in the basement, to which there is no direct access from the street, and a person must really search for the refreshment bar before he can find it. I have visited the place frequently, and I have never seen any intoxicants sold. In the year ending the 30th September, 1895, the receipts for admission to this place of amusement exceeded £21,000, whilst the total receipts in the refreshment rooms (for intoxicants and other refreshments) amounted to less than £1,350. I quote this as an illustration of the fact that people who attend public places of amusement do not feel it necessary to have intoxicants placed before them at every turn.

The Church of England Temperance Society and the Bishop of Chester.—The application of the remedies I have suggested might be entrusted to an administrative board such as is recommended by the Church of England Temperance Society, or to a municipal committee or local company as recommended by the Bishop of Chester. The Church of England Temperance Society and the Public House Reform Association might join hands on this question and agree to leave to each locality the choice by a vote of the electorate whether they would leave the trade in private hands and elect an administrative board to supervise it, or they would place the control of the drink traffic in their midst in the hands of a municipal or voluntary committee.

Veto Bills.—Theoretically I see no objection to prohibition by the direct veto, for if the liquor trade cannot be free and unrestricted—and this is almost universally admitted—the control should be in the hands of the people most closely affected by it. The Liverpool Diocesan Branch of the Church of England Temperance Society—of which I have the honour to be vice-chairman—supported the first Bill of the late Government, which proposed to give the power of veto over licensed drink shops, that is over “all or none.” For this resolve we were publicly boycotted by the leader of the Conservative party in Liverpool. We have survived that. The Church of England Temperance Society in Liverpool at any rate does not intend to become hewers of wood or drawers of water to any political organization. Two years later the Central Council of the Church of England Temperance Society resolved to support the second reading of Sir William Harcourt’s amended Veto Bill, which contained clauses for the reduction of the number as an alternative to the total prohibition of licensed drink shops, but the second reading was never proposed. A member of the present Government declared repeatedly between 1892 and 1895 that the Veto Bills were introduced, “not to pass, but to pacify.” His judgment proved to be correct, and I hope and believe that when the Liberal party touch the question again—and neither party can leave it alone for long—they will propose, not the veto, but the reform of the public-house system as the surest remedy for intemperance.

Where prohibition fails.—For however much one may approve of the principle of Local Veto in practice, it fails where it is most needed. Prohibition prohibits where the people at large are with it. As the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote some years ago, in most country places

where it has been tried, and wherever the people are with it, prohibition realizes its object—crime, poverty, lunacy and public burdens diminish under it; material well-being, thrift, and attendance at public worship thrive under it. But in large towns the people at large are not with it to a sufficient extent, and consequently there prohibition is not and cannot be enforced. In the United States of America, after upwards of forty years' experience of prohibition, fifty-two millions of the people live under restrictive legislation, whilst ten and a half millions only rejoice in prohibition. We may therefore reasonably ask that those who are in favour of the total suppression of the liquor traffic shall for the present confine their energies to spreading the principles of total abstinence, and leave the legislative field free for the public-house reformer.

DISCUSSION.

The Venerable WM. EMERY, Archdeacon and Canon of Ely;
Permanent Hon. Sec. of the Church Congress.

I AM anxious to speak a few words on this important subject, because for many years I have been interested in it, not only as an individual, but as a member of Convocation. It was my great privilege to have been put upon the committee appointed by Convocation to consider the subject. One of the chief members of that committee was Archdeacon Sandford, whose son I believe now occupies his father's position, and has a place on this platform. Archdeacon Bickersteth, who afterwards became Dean of Lichfield, was then our Prolocutor. The committee were in great difficulty as to what they should recommend Convocation to agree to. It was proposed by some that teetotalism should be made the basis of the resolution, but the committee said it was impossible to go to Convocation to recommend that as a principle for the whole country, and we were nearly giving the matter up as almost insoluble. Archdeacon Sandford, however, said that there were two teetotal societies in the kingdom, one in London, and one, I think, in Manchester, and they believed that until the Church of England took the question of temperance in hand, no national effort could possibly be made against the vice and the evil of intemperance. So we determined that temperance, and not total abstinence, should be the principle of our recommendation in the first place, and teetotalism in the second place as a special practice which anyone might adopt either for his own sake or for the good of those around him. It was said in the Committee that the teetotal societies would never accept this. I said "Try." So Archdeacon Sandford and I went as a deputation to the two societies to ask whether they would agree to throw themselves into our plan. Their reply was that it was so important for the Church of England to take up the matter that they would agree so to do. With this plan, then, we went to Convocation. We asked Archdeacon Bickersteth to draw up what he considered to be the leading principle on which a Christian and Churchman should act in the matter, and the words which are often printed in the publications of the Church of England Temperance Society are the very words he drew up; namely, that every baptized member of the Church of Christ was bound by his vow to temperance, and that if he felt it was desirable for himself or for the good of others he was even to abstain altogether. That principle was accepted by Convocation. Archdeacon Sandford put forward on behalf of Convocation a wonderful report upon the evils of intemperance, which had a great effect upon the country, and Her Gracious Majesty became a patron of the Church of England Temperance Society which was soon after formed. Though that Society has not done all that we could have wished, and has not had adequate support from the country—and I hope I shall be pardoned if I say, from the parochial clergy throughout the kingdom—which we hoped for, yet there has been a great improvement in the matter of temperance, and I believe that if we will only go forward without being too fanatical—if I may be bold enough to use that word—and without trying to make everybody drink water and nothing else: if only we will be temperate in our attempt to cure, or, at any rate, to mitigate the evil, I think we shall in a very few years see much greater progress and

improvement than has hitherto been witnessed. If every parochial clergyman will form a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society in his parish, and will combine together all men and women among the laity who profess godliness, as all true members of the Church do, and if the Nonconformists in each parish will take part in the movement, I believe that in a very few years the Church of England Temperance Society will be far more influential for good than it has hitherto been. There is no doubt that intemperance is a frightful evil, and that something ought to be done with respect to licensing; but let me say, as has been already said, that there is a good deal in the existing law which might be carried out with good results if only our magistrates would put it into operation. I knew a certain clergyman in Bedfordshire who was chairman of a bench of magistrates, and when travelling by rail with the chief constable of the district, I talked with him about my friend, who lived near the largest manufacturing town in the diocese of Ely. The chief-constable said, "Mr. So-and-So has diminished drunkenness in the place, and has done away with a large number of the worst public-houses." I asked, "How?" He replied, "He made the police understand that they must do their duty, and see that the occupiers of public-houses did not serve liquor to anyone who ought not to have it. If they brought before him a case in which they proved that a man was served with liquor when he already had had sufficient, the licence was withdrawn." My friend, as chairman of the magistrates, had great determination and power, and he cancelled many of the licences of the worst public-houses, with the result that he changed to a large extent the aspect of the place. Well, in my opinion, though we want fresh laws, and though I hope the propositions which have rightly been made by the Church of England Temperance Society through the Bishop of London may be considered and carried by the present Conservative Government, there is still a very great deal of evil to be cured, or, at any rate, modified, by means of the present laws, if we can only bring our influence to bear upon the magistrates throughout the country. There is one of the most degrading features of the intemperance of the present day to which I must for a moment refer. Whilst I think *mankind* has become to some extent more temperate, *womankind* has not. I am shocked by what I sometimes see of the way in which women will take brandy and wine at railway stations. Whilst many gentlemen are content to refresh themselves with a cup of tea, women who enter the station refreshment rooms will without show of modesty or timidity, which they used to exhibit, ask for a glass of sherry, or port, or spirit, and seem to think nothing of it. Certainly the evil of intemperance is most frightful, and I spoke strongly some time ago about it at a meeting we had at Ely on the subject. Soon after I had a letter from a gentleman of high character asking me why I went on speaking so strongly against intemperance, and did not speak about immorality and impurity, which was so much more rife. Well, if we could make the nation more temperate, we should make it, I think, a great deal more pure. One word more, I do trust that the teetotallers and the temperance people will try to combine their forces. We cannot force the country into teetotalism, but we may by judicious Christian effort and prayer and by social means mitigate the evil and greatly conduce towards temperance in the country. Much has been done already, society has greatly improved, and, please God, it will be improved still more if only our friends the promoters of temperance and teetotalism will act together, and show temperance in the measures they advocate.

STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq., Chairman of the Executive Committee
for Collecting Evidence for Presentation to the Royal
Commission on the Licensing Laws.

I DO not propose to exhaust the few minutes at my disposal by going over the various arguments produced by previous speakers, and I will only say in regard to the extent that drink is spreading amongst the women of this country, that the course of an extended investigation in the interests of morality in our great towns, of efforts to improve the unfortunate appearance of our streets, and to reduce the number of the haunts to which those who parade their immorality in the face of the community resort, have shown me how closely dependent upon the evils of intemperance is the prevailing immorality, and how hopeless it is to attempt to deal with immorality without reducing intemperance. I was glad to hear from the champion of the United Kingdom Alliance that for a time the extreme purpose of that society is in abeyance. The time will come when it will be brought forward again, but I

would ask, Are we to wait for that time before we resort to any repressive associated measures? No doubt it is quite correct to say that, if the magistrates were pleased, they would cancel many more licenses; but we want to compel the magistrates to do their duty, we want to unmask the horrors of the licensed trade, we want to get the Royal Commission that is now sitting furnished with evidence from all parts of the country as to the evils which exist; and I believe that, if temperance reformers would devote all their energy to present a true picture of the necessity of temperance reform, we should force upon the minds of those who compose the Commission the necessity of recommending a most stringent alteration in the licensing laws. In the first place, we want to have the number of public-houses reduced; for just in proportion to the number of public-houses that are exposed to the eyes of the people, so are the young tempted to become victims to intemperance, and so are the old met with increasing opportunities of indulging their taste. The Commission is now sitting from day to day with an earnest desire to get to the root of the matter, and to find out how the evils which we are all ready to admit may be checked. I will not enter upon an argument respecting prohibition; but I say that there are other questions which must be settled before prohibition can ever be enacted in this country, or, if enacted, can produce any beneficial result. So long as we leave the clubs untouched, so long as we allow every public-house which is deprived of its license to be converted into a club, and every house of ill-fame which is closed to be re-opened as a club, so long must we wait for prohibition; because the moment we begin to prohibit, we, under the present system, allow greater evils to spring up than were produced by the public-houses themselves. I could point to houses in London which have been turned into clubs, and which now, instead of being under the inspection of the police, and being forced to close at 12.30 o'clock at night, and through a large part of Sunday, are under no inspection, and can serve drink all night long and during the whole of Sunday. The Royal Commission is going to direct special attention to the subject of clubs, and if only a sufficient number of witnesses are sent up, the result may be very beneficial. The last speaker is, I believe, among those who are going to give evidence, and I know of several persons living in Liverpool and Manchester who are going to do the same. I believe that the collection of evidence to place before the Commission is the immediate work which temperance societies have to do. We have formed a board in London, with a secretary and a good legal adviser, with the object of having this work properly done, and my desire in rising is to entreat all those who may be disposed to think that any good can come out of the Commission to make use of the grand opportunity which is now given them. If they do so, I venture to believe that, with the blessing of God resting upon their efforts, a wide and lasting influence will result. I could keep you here all night with a narrative of the evils which exist in the great metropolis, and which are not less frightful because they are hidden from the sight of the multitude, or because it is only in the process of wiping them out that they become so palpable. I could keep you long with stories which would thrill you with horror, and would, I think, induce you with all the energy you possess to embrace the question now placed before you, for letting the Commission know exactly how things stand, and so inducing them to recommend legislation for the repression of the existing evils.

Captain the Hon. G. A. ANSON, Chief Constable of Stafford.

I HAVE listened with very great attention to what has been said here to-night. I do not wish to go into what I call the theoretical part of the licensing question, and therefore I will not refer to a great many things that have been said with which perhaps I cannot altogether agree. I will not even allude, more particularly, to the statement made by one speaker that the greatest enemies of drinking were the publicans. I will leave that question for you to settle yourselves. There is, however, one statement made in the course of the discussion to which I must take exception. One speaker said that in the opinion of the police a man was not drunk if he could stand up. As a policeman, I must object to that statement. A great many more than half the persons proceeded against for drunkenness not only can stand up, but take the greatest exception to being asked to sit down. I will, however, let that pass. My object is merely to deal with the practical part of the question, with reference to what may be or may not be possible in the way of remedies. I do not know any subject on which it is necessary to draw a stronger and a broader dividing line between the ideal and the practical—that is to say, between what we would like to have, and

what we are likely to have. I will not touch upon what ought to be done, but merely on what can be done. Someone gave utterance to-night to the elementary truism that the primary cause of drunkenness was drink. Of course, if there were no drink to be had there would be no drunkenness. If we are to get to the root of the thing, no doubt to stop drunkenness we must stop the traffic in drink. The question, however, arises, can you secure prohibition? There was a song sung very commonly in the streets a few years ago, "Oh, sweet papa, oh, dear papa, I want the moon." We might sing, "Oh, sweet papa Salisbury, oh, dear papa Salisbury, we want prohibition." The girl did not get the moon even in the song; well, we are just as likely to get prohibition as to get the moon. Whether Lord Salisbury would like to give it to us or not—and I do not think he would—he cannot give it. It is not in his power or in the power of his party to give us prohibition. It is not even in the power of any party to give us the right to say for ourselves whether we shall have it locally or not. Sir William Harcourt tried to do that, but the election at Derby settled the question for some time to come. Well, then, it will be said that, as we cannot do away with public-houses altogether we must reduce and regulate the sale of drink in some way. I suppose there is nobody here, and very few sensible people anywhere, who would not agree that it is very desirable to largely reduce the number of public-houses. In the police district of which I have charge, with a population of about nine hundred thousand, there are about four thousand seven hundred licenses. That is, more than one license to every two hundred persons, or one public-house to every forty householders. It is obvious that all these licenses cannot possibly be required. Starting on the assumption that there are a great many more public-houses than we want, how are they to be got rid of? It is said that magistrates can do more than they do at present to reduce the number of licences. Well, I know what their difficulties are in this matter. In name they have the power to take away licences, but when it comes to the test of law they have precious little power. Licences may be taken away, but they will most likely be given back again by the Court of Appeal. Therefore, when people talk of magistrates taking away licences, they do not understand the difficulties of the situation. They are apt to suppose it is easy to decide between two or three licences, and say, "We will take away this one and leave the other two." Supposing a law were passed to-morrow that three out of four licences were to be taken away without compensation, how would the magistrates set about carrying out the law? There are, no doubt, some cases in which it would be easy to decide between two or three persons, or between two or three things, as to which of them were most important. Suppose you were to decide that the Bishop and I were too near each other on this platform and that one of us was not wanted, obviously, there would be no difficulty in coming to a conclusion that the Bishop was wanted and I was not, and you would say to me at once, "Go." But suppose we were both public-houses—my lord will excuse me taking such a liberty with him—suppose we were both public-houses which were too near together, I should have as much right to say, "You are too near me," as he would have to say I was too near him. Therefore, if it were left to a bench of magistrates to decide which of us must go, in all probability they would not be able to make up their minds on our rival claims—of course, supposing that we were both of reasonably good character, and I think there would be no dispute about that. But it might be said that if one of us were a first-rate hotel and the other a common pot-house, there would, perhaps, not be much difficulty; but if we both had full licences, the difficulty in coming to a decision would be just as great. If two persons took tickets for a railway journey, and a difficulty arose half-way about accommodation in the train, and one had to get out, one passenger would have as much right to remain in the train as another. That argument would apply to the two public-houses. Even if a public-house is doing a small business, it has as much right, if it is well-conducted, to retain its license as a larger and more expensive one. The only way in which to get over the difficulty I have suggested is, I think, to take away the licenses, more or less, with the consent of the owners. In my opinion, if you cannot arrange to do these things with the good will or concurrence of the owners of the licenses, you will not be able to do them at all. It seems to me that this licensing question will never be settled in a satisfactory way until we get three things, or two out of the three. The first of these things is "moderation," the second is "moderation," and the third is "moderation." These are three "moderations," and not one. The first "moderation" is that of the people who sell. So long as most of the profits of the sale of drink go to an enormous number of shareholders, unlimited, of breweries, limited, you cannot expect moderation in the true sense of the word. I do not wish to say a word against the traffic as now conducted, but I do say that, so long as the

people have money invested in any commercial undertaking, they will want to get some return for their investment. So long as drink is sold for private advantage and profit, so long will the traffic be conducted without any moderation in the strict sense of the word. Investors will try to get all they can for their money, and that means that all the drink will be sold that the manager, acting for the investors, can sell. The second "moderation" to which I refer is that of the people who buy the drink. This cannot be produced in a day; but I think that as time goes on, and as the young persons who have been trained to see how terrible drunkenness is grow up, a disinclination to drinking to excess will continue to show itself.

[The speaker was here stopped by the President's bell.]

The Ven. E. G. SANDFORD, Canon Residentiary and Archdeacon of Exeter.

A GOOD deal has been said this evening in regard to details affecting the liquor traffic, and perhaps some words have been said about which we cannot speak with perfect confidence. I think it desirable that before this meeting closes there should go out a good, strong, clear note as to principle, and as to the attitude which the Church of England has taken up, and intends, God helping her, still to take in regard to this matter of drink. We have heard of the remarkable proposal made this evening with reference to a certain alliance. I do not think England very much loves compromising alliances. If any kind of alliance is proposed with things that are evil, or with things which do not tend to raise mankind, I say that not only the Church but the nation at large ought to repudiate such a proposal. Though I am no statesman or politician, I am an English Churchman, and I can speak for the attitude of the English Church; and I say that it is quite impossible for the Church to take up such a position as has been proposed this evening. Some allusion has been made to the work of my father in the cause of temperance. I know that the one thing dear to that good man's heart was this, that there should be no mistake as to the position which the Church as a National Church should occupy. He wanted it to be made perfectly plain that the cause of intemperance was one cause, and the cause of the Church of England was another. He wanted to make it quite plain that there were two bodies which could never converge, that there were two travellers who could never walk together. The one traveller was the traveller who was aiding the cause of drink, and the other was the traveller who was doing his very best to put down all that could produce intemperance. Now I maintain that an alliance is impossible between the drink traffic and the Church of England. I am not saying a word against publicans personally, but I am speaking of a cause, and when we have to contend for a cause we ought not to be too particular as to what it is necessary for us to say in regard to individuals. We must speak out, and say straight what are the things we mean. The Church of England is the friend of the English home, and one of the great works which the Church of England is doing at this time is that of making the homes of the people happy in our large centres of population. I want to ask those who are labouring most in this cause, whether they think that the publicans would be useful friends or allies in the endeavour they are making to render the homes of England happy. We know perfectly that if there is one thing more than another which tends to degrade the English home, and to bring misery where there ought to be cheerfulness, to take the smile from the young wife's face, to cloud the happy promise of the early days—if there be one thing more than another which tends to degrade the English home from being what God intended it to be, it is this terrible foe of drink. We know perfectly well—anyone of common sense, anyone who can use his eyes, knows perfectly—that this drink traffic is injuring the homes of England; therefore, we cannot make any terms with it so long as it is continuing in the path in which it is now walking. Then, again, the Church of England is the friend of the educational movement. We want to develop the individual life of the citizens of England, and to sweep away from the path of the individual life anything that tends to keep it back and keep it down. We know perfectly well that there are individual lives which are led into the slavery of drink through the public-houses. We know perfectly well that public-houses make their gains out of the drunkard. I have seen with my own eyes men coming out of public-houses reeling drunk, and I say that these public-houses must have been making their profit out of those men's sins. I say that, quite apart from the individual drunkard, there are hundreds and thousands of men in this country who, though they stop

short of the lowest degradation, are still greatly lowering the level of their moral and spiritual life by the practice of drinking. I say also that the Church of England is above all things the friend of the helpless and weak, and if the Church of England can do anything to make it more easy for some poor, weak, feeble soul to live nearer to God, and to struggle out of the present bondage, then she should hold out a helping hand. The Church of England knows what is that terrible woe pronounced upon those who set stumbling-blocks in the way of the weak, and she cannot help seeing that this traffic does set a stumbling-block in their way. I want it to go forth from this Congress that while we, representing the Church of England, will be prepared to look carefully into this matter, and while we shall adopt no measures but such as commend themselves to our intelligence, yet we have been unmistakable friends to the temperance cause, and intend to be its friends still. We cannot join hands with the liquor traffic until it becomes something entirely different from what it is at present, because we are the friends of the home, the friends of the individual life—because we want to help the weak to become strong, and because, as members of the National Church, we want to make it easier for the national life to rise nearer to God.

The Rev. CONOLY THOMAS PORTER, D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Southport.

It is really almost impossible to say anything in my three minutes. But even in three minutes I should like altogether to dissent from the idea that moderation consists in taking drink, and that the reverse of moderation consists in doing without drink. I think, if we listened with any kind of attention to the splendid paper with which this meeting was opened, we must have been convinced that alcohol is a deadly poison, and it seems to me that the moderate man, and the wise and common-sense man, is he who keeps poison outside his body; while the man who is the reverse of moderate is he who puts poison inside his body. We have had tremendous indignation meetings throughout the country lately, and we have been told by Mr. Asquith that fifty thousand Armenians have perished by the sword, and that the same number have perished by famine. Well, the same number of persons are perishing every year in this country through the traffic in drink. I hope we shall not wait until some Royal Commission has settled what should be done with the drink traffic before we obtain even such a small thing as Sunday Closing. Surely, with so many Bishops and so many men in Parliament, both on the Conservative and on the Liberal sides, in favour of Sunday Closing, we ought soon to be able to get it. I come from Liverpool, where a few years ago there were, roughly, two thousand eight hundred liquor shops, and where now there are only two thousand two hundred. Roundly speaking, six hundred licenses have gone out of existence in a few years, and without compensation. It is a mistake to say that the Church of England Temperance Society is not in favour of compensation. It is in favour of compensation so long as the compensation comes out of the pockets of the drink-sellers themselves. Why are we not all, from the highest bishop in the country down to the poorest curate, everyone of us teetotalers, and trying to do something for this great cause? There is nothing like personal example and personal persuasion in promoting the great cause of temperance. The leaders ought to lead. And surely if the bishops and clergy be the natural leaders of religious movements, then ought they to be in the van of the temperance cause, both by precept and example.

The Rev. W. MARTIN, Vicar of Bromyard.

To be brief, I would suggest that the political party which instituted grocers' licences should have the courage to withdraw them, seeing they are admitted to cause the degradation of women; that clubs should close at the same hour as public-houses and be under the same supervision, which is only just; that the system of "tied houses" should be done away with, no person being allowed to sell drink except he were directly responsible for the conduct of the house and property, and had a free right to purchase anywhere. I have heard of a tenant being turned out because, although beer enough was sold on the premises, the sale of spirits was not sufficient—an argument in favour of not making the seller dependent on the quantity sold. I

have myself for years advocated the closing of public-houses on Sundays, save for outdoor traffic, between the hours of twelve and two and eight and ten, to accommodate the working-man's dinner and supper time. In my opinion the uncompromising attitude of teetotalers has greatly hindered the cause of temperance.

The Rev. J. S. PENROSE, Rector of Gawsforth, Macclesfield.

A GREAT deal has been said this evening upon the legislative side of the temperance question. I venture to stand up, for one moment, with the object of entering a plea addressed to the upper class in reference to the social side of temperance. For a good many years I have been watching the progress of temperance, and I have noticed that, while the enthusiasm of the middle and the lower middle, and what are sometimes called the working classes, has been growing strongly in favour of greater measures of temperance reform, there has not been a corresponding impetus given to the movement by the upper classes. I often notice, when I go about among my friends, that the subject of temperance is not a very congenial one with them. The reason simply is that too many ladies and gentlemen do not find it convenient to give up the habit of taking wine or spirits or beer at their meals, and, in too many instances, on other occasions also. I do earnestly appeal to the ladies and gentlemen before me, and especially to my brother clergy, that they should not be ashamed or afraid to speak out boldly to the members of the upper classes as to the duty which lies upon them of setting an example in the matter of temperance. Many years ago, dining at the table of a gentleman, and venturing, as a young curate, to broach the subject of temperance, I was asked by my host, "Why should I give up my glass of sherry because the working-man does not know when to stop drinking his beer?" I have never ceased to deplore the spirit exhibited by that question. I am afraid too many look at the question in that light. Need I say that is not the way in which a true Churchman ought to regard any great social or moral question. It is perfectly true that every man is a free agent; and God forbid that anyone, least of all a clergyman, should attempt to fetter the liberty of any free agents; but what I think we want is, that the consciences of men, especially of the upper classes, should be stirred deeply. Something has been said about the horrors which prevail in London, horrors which, because they are secret, are made light of. It is because, I believe, many of the upper classes are not aware of the miseries which are caused amongst working people by drink that they do not see their way to deny themselves a little more in this respect.

The Rev. F. LEWIS DONALDSON, Rector of Nailstone, Nuneaton.

PREVIOUS speakers have sufficiently dealt with the question of licensing reform and other matters which concern temperance reformers. But temperance reform is but a part of social reform, and can only be rightly considered in relation to the latter. Mr. Martin, finding himself able to control a public-house, tells us that he abolished it. I would rather approve the course taken by Mr. Mordaunt, of Hampton Lucy, who, instead of abolishing his public-house, reformed it, and keeps it still as one of his best parish works. A reformed public-house seems to me to be a better symbol of temperance than a public-house abolished. This will indicate to Congress the line I should take in regard to the question of prohibition. Ten years' work in London convinced me that prohibition, complete or partial, simply means the multiplication of clubs. If, in reply to this experience, you say, "Clubs must go too," I aver that this means a battle royal between temperance advocates and the English people at large, who will never consent to so great a degree of arbitrary interference with their rights and liberties. I speak as a sympathizer with the enthusiasm of temperance reformers, but I am bound to testify to the fact that prohibition, in any large degree, will not be tolerated by the mass of our fellow citizens. We have heard a great deal this evening of curative plans of reform, but little of preventive ones. I believe that at least half of the intemperance we deplore is caused, either directly or indirectly, by the bad conditions in which vast numbers of our people still live. We cannot lastingly achieve temperance in drink unless we touch environment. I am sure it was easier for me to live in London a temperate life than for the people amongst

whom I worked; and I find the cause, not merely in the religious, but in the social circumstances of my life in comparison with theirs. The conditions which normally make up the outward circumstances of the poor in London, and in other great cities, tend largely to make temperance difficult for them. Therefore I conclude that, in the long run, in alliance with, and not excluding, purely spiritual effort, the best temperance agent in the world is social reform. Our efforts must be not merely curative, but preventive.

MUSIC HALL.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF S. ASAPH in the Chair.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY MINISTRIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR HOME MISSION WORK.

PAPERS.

The Rev. A. F. WINNINGTON INGRAM, Head of the Oxford House, and Rector of Bethnal Green.

In introducing this subject to the Congress, I take for granted that what the ministries in question are to supplement is the parochial system of the Church of England, and it is best, therefore, to make it clear at the outset that those who speak of supplementing the parochial system have no wish whatever to supplant it. At any rate, for I must speak only of myself in this matter, and not commit the other speakers, anyone who had the privilege of having for his vicar in his first curacy the late archdeacon of Salop, in this very town of Shrewsbury—a man who, if he had survived another year, would have been part of the life and the soul of this Congress—no one, I say, who had watched the method, the punctuality and the thoroughness of such a true parish priest, would be likely to underrate the boon to the country of the parochial system of the Church of England. There is no doubt about it, the great burden and heat of the day will always fall upon the parish clergy; step by step and inch by inch they have to stem the tide of sin and ignorance, and one by one by daily visiting, by individual influence, by prayers and preaching, to rescue the victims of drink and vice.

I.—But there are several reasons which force us to ask the question, “Is it impossible to supplement their work?”

(1) In the first place, the vast size of modern parishes in great towns makes the old house to house visiting by the parish priest himself almost an impossibility. I had two thousand in my district in Shrewsbury, and they used to dust the chair for me; I have ten thousand in my new parish in Bethnal Green, and I had to practise the “foot and door trick” to get in at all on my first visit.

(2) Then again, we have no right to sit down under the paganism of

our population. In June and July we had nine garden parties for men only, averaging eighty apiece, and drawn from different streets each time, and on each Saturday out of the eighty men not more than one or two ever went to church or chapel at all. The correspondence in the *Church Times* last year showed that we are living in a fool's paradise if we ignore the fact that the great mass of working men "go nowhere."

(3) Then again, however much we may believe in the parochial system, who can deny the danger of parochialism? How disappointing it is that even good parish priests do not take more interest in one another's work, and you may even find in the very heart of the catholic Church men who will cheapen and belittle the work of others at the very time that they appeal for their own.

(4) Then again, look at our unused material; every member of the Church has been baptized into a missionary Church, and every time a man comes to the Holy Communion he repledges himself to an active part in advancing its cause; but what percentage of our baptized laymen are on active service at all? And how many Christian girls are there eating their hearts out at home for lack of a sphere of useful work? Can we over-estimate the enormous additional force generated in the Church of England if that unused material were really fired by Divine enthusiasm, and the latent spark fanned into a flame.

(5) For notice, fifthly, the special force there is in voluntary lay work. Poor as the payment of most clergy is, who can doubt that working people are apt to look on the parson's work as a business as much as their own? "He never came near us" said a very stout woman indignantly of her late parish priest. "Why! it was his living to visit us." Permanent, organized, unpaid lay work has therefore a special power of its own. And to show that this is not merely my own opinion, I am allowed by Canon Body to quote a private letter, asking me to a meeting in Sunderland, in which he says, "We are convinced that only associated workers (in some form of association) can meet the needs of the case."

II.—Then comes the question, "Can such a supplementary ministry be organized in the Church of England to-day? And in answering that question I designedly leave on one side definite Brotherhoods formed by those called to vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. I leave out such bands of Evangelist Brothers as have worked with such success for so many years in this diocese, and of whom I hope we shall hear more from some other speaker; and I pass over the Van Mission work, such as has been carried on in this diocese and the diocese of Salisbury with happy results; and further, with regard to women's work, I leave to others the work of sisters and deaconesses, and the well-known usefulness of the ordinary district visitor. I think you will agree with me that it is better for each speaker to restrict himself to that of which he is personally acquainted, and so make his own contribution to the Congress, without claiming for a moment that his particular bit of experience is of special value over and above the experience of others. My own special piece of experience then, which may be of value to the Congress, is simply this, that I have seen during the last eight years a settlement of laymen consisting of three or four, go up to thirty, and a settlement of two or three ladies branch into two

houses of twelve or fifteen each. Let us admit at once that they have had special advantages.

(1) The laymen's house has been connected directly with the Universities; of the ladies' houses, one is connected with Oxford, and the other with the ladies' college at Cheltenham.

(2) They are all in East London, to which there is a greater force of gravitation than the slums, say, of the Potteries or Middlesbrough.

(3) We have had exceptional advantages in the two kind and sympathetic vicars in whose respective parishes the houses have grown. But when all this is discounted, have no principles been discovered which will admit of universal application, and which should be useful to the Church at large? We may note at any rate one or two.

(i.) Laymen are readier to work in a body at some joint and common work than as isolated individuals in parishes. We can scarcely wonder at this. The natural *esprit de corps* of a number working together; keenness for the honour of their "house" and its work; the immense advantage of companionship in bearing up against the depressing influence of sad stories and sickening sights, easily account for the fact that time after time men who have failed to find a congenial sphere of work as isolated workers in parishes, have settled down with zest and pleasure to work at a "house."

(ii.) So again, such organized work attracts senior laymen who do not feel drawn to give in their name to teach in a Sunday school, or read the Bible to old women, or be practically under the orders of the junior curate. Take such a man as I have in my mind at this moment, the head of a great business, accustomed to control and order large undertakings; is his power of organization and large experience to be lost to the Church? It often will be lost, unless we can contrive to give him a freer hand than he often has; and I contend that a laymen's settlement gives a scope for his "supplementary ministry" which nothing else can do. It is these elder workers who have been eight, ten, or twelve years at the work who are the backbone of every settlement, and train and inspire the younger men.

(iii.) Then again, though extra parochial, such settlements can be of immense help to the parochial clergy. In my own parish I have a dozen as district visitors; but only those who have no other professional work in the day time can do that. Others teach in the Sunday schools, manage cadet corps and Church lads' brigade in the evenings, work the children's country holiday fund, and superintend clubs for men and boys. It is quite true that in the vast population in the midst of which we live, we have started so much of our own for the general good of the district, that we have less time than we could wish to help the clergy with their individual work; but there is no necessity for this elsewhere. Such a "house" might, if more useful to the Church of the district, start and work in individual parishes those very institutions for which each parish felt most need.

(iv.) A fourth use which such a "house" serves is a Church centre for the district. Many a town feels the need of Christian evidence work, Church defence, lecturing to working men; it is a waste of power for each parish to have its separate lecturers when a combined effort would secure a better lecturer and better audience. The laymen's

"house" becomes the natural centre where these things are organized and carried on.

(v.) But would such a "house escape friction with the parishes round?" And here, again, I speak from experience. Nothing could exceed the friendly relations between the Oxford House and the surrounding clergy, or the generosity and kindness with which its efforts are welcomed.

No doubt it is impossible absolutely to please everyone; this clergyman may think boxing in clubs is wrong; this one may wish very eagerly for help which we cannot give him; another may think us wrong on this or that line of policy we are adopting in the district; but if the house backs up hard work of all schools of thought in the district, and acts with common Christian consideration for the feelings and work of others, you may be certain that it will be welcomed with the same kindness and consideration as the Oxford House has been welcomed by the parish clergy of Bethnal Green. And if this is true of laymen's houses, it is equally true of the ladies' houses.

(1) There is even less danger of friction with the parish system. They naturally and quietly settle with the clergy in which parishes they shall work; if there is more than one "house," they arrange between themselves their respective parishes, and I am certain that the hard-working clergy of the surrounding parishes would pass a very full vote of thanks to the S. Margaret's and Mayfield Houses in Bethnal Green.

(2) So again, they can form a centre for wider Church work. Miss McArthur's little settlement in Lambeth has been most useful for women's diocesan work in the South of London; lectures and discussions on social questions are organized by our own ladies' houses.

(3) It need hardly be pointed out how such work supplements and assists, among women and girls, the work of the men's houses among the men and boys.

III.—Lastly, then, we come to the really pressing question, How are we to get at the material out of which these houses are to be formed?

(1) The *Guardian* is perfectly right in saying that it will not be done by motions in Convocation or resolutions in committees; it must be done by individuals, if it is to be done at all. It is certain that the material must be to hand if we can get at it. Where are the boys at public schools who listen with evident interest to accounts of mission work? Where, as I asked last Congress, are thirty-eight out of the forty undergraduates in a college meeting, only two of which perhaps come to the Oxford House or Toynbee Hall, or their school mission. They must be all round you, my friends, up and down the country, in offices, in their fathers' houses of business, in banks, as rich men with plenty of time and plenty of money, as poor men with service to give, after their work, which is more valuable than any money. They must be sought out and found and organized, and you are the people to find them; if there can be a Surbiton house in Lambeth, why should there not be an Edgbaston house in Birmingham, and so on throughout the country.

(2) For notice, secondly, the basis of the work must be local. It is impossible to import from the Universities sufficient men to stock settlement houses up and down the country; once rouse up the desire and spread the idea, and the money and men will come. You will be

surprised to hear how many old public school men, now clerks in banks in London, have started on their own initiative clubs for boys, which they carry on night after night after their work. And I am told that at one settlement just being started in Manchester, though not, I believe, definitely on Church lines, six city men have guaranteed the expenses, and have secured a member of Oxford University as their first head. A meeting, therefore, should be called together of the old public school men and others of the place; a plan should be thought out in outline and put before them; as free a hand should be given them as is consistent with Church order and discipline, and with the blessings and prayers of the Church of the district they should be started on their work.

(3) And if this is possible with regard to the men, it is even easier with regard to the women. Every large high school or ladies' college should have its house as a matter of course, and as near to it as possible. I hear rumours that the large high school in Sheffield is thinking of starting in the slums of Sheffield; and, at this very moment, I am allowed to announce that a ladies' settlement is being planted this autumn in the Isle of Dogs, and the spirited young lady who guarantees all the preliminary expenses is now looking to her sisters to back up her lead and help her with the immense work she has undertaken. What she is doing for the Isle of Dogs, will no one start at once and do for Hoxton?

And so I throw out this suggestion to the Congress as, at any rate, one form of supplementary ministry—certain that not only will it do much, if carried out, to win the hearts of the people to the Church, but that it will also win to enthusiastic loyalty the hearts of her sons and daughters who have at last found under her banner a service that is at once loyal, free, and satisfying.

Dr. J. AURIOL ARMITAGE, Waterloo Road S.,
Wolverhampton.

LAY missions have been authorized and employed by the Church from the earliest times. Moses ordained seventy elders, who prophesied in the camp; and Old Testament history abounds in examples of laymen who were also prophets, that is, delivered God's message to the people. But these laymen were prophets, not because they were good men, with a gift for speaking, but because they were authorized by God, either directly, or indirectly by His representative on earth. Our Lord Himself did not commence His public ministry till after His baptism, when the Holy Spirit descended upon Him like a dove. So one of the first acts of the Christian Church was to duly authorize seven laymen of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, to assist the Apostles; and that the preaching of the Gospel was included in their commission we learn from the histories of S. Stephen and S. Philip. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles gives a remarkable testimony to the value of lay help in the Church, for he concludes his account of the appointment of the seven deacons with this significant statement, "The Word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith."

Such has been the experience of the Church in all ages. When she has recognized and employed laymen, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, the result has been a strengthening of her faith and an enlargement of her borders. When she has failed in this respect, there has been a diminution of her strength and schism in her ranks.

There has, thank God, been a wonderful revival of Catholic faith and evangelical preaching during the latter part of this nineteenth century, and side by side with this has arisen a growing appreciation of the assistance to be obtained from lay missions. We have still much to learn in this respect, for it is absolutely appalling to think of the numbers in many of our large towns still practically unreached by the Gospel. Many of these could be better reached by properly qualified laymen than they could by the clergy; but if the work is to be lasting it must be by the Church proceeding on Apostolic lines, and duly authorizing men to preach the Gospel. Much good, no doubt, has been done in the past, and is still being done, by individuals and agencies, who believe that the sole requisites for a lay preacher are faith in Christ and love for the brethren. Their success should surely be an encouragement to the Church to emulate their earnestness, to emulate their faith and their love, and to add to these virtues knowledge and authority.

I am anxious to bring before your notice an agency which has been working on these lines for some years, and which deserves to be far better known and supported by the Church than it is at present. The Evangelist Brotherhood was founded by the present Archbishop of York in 1887, and was originally intended for the supply of evangelists to the Diocese of Lichfield. Under his and our present bishop's careful supervision and interest it has far outgrown its original intention. There are at present forty-four evangelists connected with the Brotherhood. Thirteen of these are at work in the Lichfield diocese, seventeen in other dioceses at home, six in our colonies, and eight are still under training.

The special features of this agency are—

(1) The exceedingly careful training that the men receive. They come to the home good, earnest young men, drawn from all ranks of society, anxious to give their lives to the work of evangelists. Every care is taken in their selection that they should be men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost. They are then thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic Faith. They are Churchmen, and are taught to know why they are Churchmen, and to give a reason for the faith they profess. At the same time, while they receive definite Church teaching, they are also taught to preach, both in the open air and in mission rooms; and many a parish in Wolverhampton has reason to bless the day when the headquarters of the Evangelist Brotherhood was placed there. The warden, Mr. H. A. Colville, who is the diocesan lay missionary, is one of the most powerful mission preachers that it has been my lot to hear, and he also has a wonderful gift of instructing others in the art of attracting and winning the masses. It is under his supervision and, with his example before them, that the brothers learn to preach; and if anyone is sceptical as to the result I should recommend him to attend the annual service in Lichfield Cathedral, when the country people flock from all the neighbouring districts, filling the cathedral

from end to end, and testifying by their presence and earnestness to the reality of the work done amongst them by Mr. Colville and the Evangelist Brothers. But I have not yet touched on what I believe to be one of the greatest elements of success in the training of the evangelists. It is hard to express in words what needs to be seen to be thoroughly appreciated. What I allude to is the wonderful personal influence that the warden has with each inmate of the home. During the twelve months, or two years, that he is there the warden takes every opportunity of studying his character, of strengthening the weak points and encouraging the strong in each individual case, and at the same time he draws each man close to himself by ties of personal friendship, so that I cannot conceive it possible for an evangelist to go out from the home without having impressed on him in a wonderful way the deep earnestness and enthusiasm of the warden.

(2) No man is sent out until he has satisfied the bishop that he is ready for the work, and this is no formal matter. For his first three months he is on probation; the bishop then admits him to the Evangelist Brotherhood, by a most solemn service, and points out to him the duties, privileges, and responsibilities of the office he seeks. When he has completed his training, he has to satisfy the bishop that he knows, and is qualified to teach, the cardinal truths of the Catholic Faith. He then is dismissed to his work by the bishop, with another solemn service, accompanied by many words of encouragement and advice, which cannot fail to be of great assistance to the evangelist in his new sphere of work.

(3) When he goes to his work, he is still a member of the Evangelist Brotherhood; he is still in touch with the bishop and with the warden. No change in his sphere of work can be made without the knowledge and sanction of both, and once a year all who are in England or Scotland meet for a retreat and conference, from which the bishop is never absent. There is not an evangelist who is not in frequent communication with the warden; there is not one in whose work and difficulties he does not take the keenest interest. The letters that I have seen from vicars, in all parts of the country, and from South Africa, abundantly prove that the influence of the Training Home is not lost in the change of surroundings.

(4) The strictest obedience and loyalty are rigidly enforced. A man goes where he is sent, and is expected to be perfectly loyal to the vicar under whom he is working. I have scarcely known an instance where such expectations have not been amply fulfilled. And where there has been any failure in this respect it has been promptly dealt with.

I think I have said enough to show that such an institution is a most valuable handmaid to the Church, and is deserving and capable of a far wider sphere of influence than it at present possesses. In theory it is almost ideal; in practice it falls a little short, it is true, but this is in great measure due to inadequate support. For instance, the ideal of the Evangelist Brotherhood is that the men should live a community-life, and what grander object-lesson could there be in these times of luxury and self-indulgence than the simple community-life of a priest and two brothers, helping one another, each supplying what the other lacks, going forth a strong, united band, to fight the battle for the Lord, and coming home to find mutual sympathy, encouragement, and support.

But how is this to be brought about when funds scarcely suffice to send one brother to a parish? And yet it is only £1 a week that is required; and the work languishes and the evangelist is disheartened because the Church has not yet grasped the fact that the money is the Lord's, and is to be used for the furtherance of His kingdom. Appeal after appeal is made for help for the very districts where help is most needed. "Send us men to live with us" is the cry of the parish priest. "We will welcome them gladly; the work is ready to their hand; we will welcome their support, their sympathy, the opportunities of spiritual communion that their arrival would afford." All we ask, are the bare necessities of life. You cannot know, as I do, how appeals like this wring the warden's heart, when he has to reply, "We have the men anxious to go, but we have no money to train them, no money to support them when trained."

At present the Training Home is not at all suited for the requirements of the Brotherhood, and if the work is to continue a new Home is an essential. The site is chosen, the land is purchased, and the warden, in his simple faith, is daily expecting the money necessary to commence building. It is hard that his expectation should be in vain. He works night and day himself, writing to brothers, of brothers, arranging for this one, pleading with that, helping a third, but the hardest work of all is to persuade those who can give that it is their privilege, as well as their duty, to support such a noble enterprise.

And now during the last few months an appeal has come from the Bishop of Zululand for four men to go out to open a new station and work amongst the heathen. They are to have no salary, nothing but the bare necessities of life, and are to live in community with two priests who know the country and have done good service there. The appeal is too urgent, the call is too surely from the Lord for it to be refused. The men must go, but they will have to learn something of various trades before they go, knowledge that we hope future generations will acquire in the workshops attached to the new Home. The men must go, but they will, I fear, have to encroach upon the small funds of the Zululand diocese for their support. It is a grievous disappointment, for I had hoped that at any rate this work amongst the heathen would have appealed to the Church at home, and that out of her abundance she would have supplied the necessary funds to send and keep the men there.

In conclusion, I would urge those to whom this work is unknown to pay a visit to the Training Home at Wolverhampton. I feel sure that they would be amply repaid, and would come away saying that the half had not been told them. Under God's blessing, this agency is going to be a great power for good in the future. It is on right lines; it is in right hands, and only requires to be known to be appreciated. People look at the small numbers, at the small subscription list, and wonder whether it is worth supporting. Gideon had only three hundred men, but they overthrew the hosts of Midian. Let us see to it that we do not partake of the curse of Meroz, which "came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

The Rev. HENRY SUTTON, Vicar of Aston-juxta-Birmingham.

ON such a well-worn topic as this one cannot hope to say anything new, striking, or original, even if one were capable of saying such things under other circumstances. But if I can, by giving the results of pretty wide experience, be of some small use to any of my brethren, I shall be well content. Home Mission Work. What is it? It is that for which our blessed Lord came into the world, "to seek and to save" that which is lost. By "seek," I understand, follow till you find; by "save," bring into the fold, guide, guard, feed; by "lost," for our present purpose, I understand, all who, though they may have been baptized, confirmed, and may even at one time have been communicants, are now living "without hope and without God in the world."

Under "supplementary ministries" I should include every effort put forth to provide for the physical wants, the mental aspirations, the social instincts of our people, so far as those efforts aim at and are subsidiary to their spiritual needs. I take it as beyond question, that unless we sympathize with people's present-day needs they will give us small opportunity of ministering to their eternal interests. I take it as equally certain that the best way to benefit the body is to convert the soul.

(1) (a) Amongst ministries for physical wants I place high the work of trained nurses. It would be well if every large parish had one or more nurses as part of its parochial machinery. When the nurses are not only clever, skilful, patient, kindly, but have a real desire to witness for Christ, they are, both directly and indirectly, a mighty power for good. It is well that they should live together under the wholesome influence of a wise lady superintendent, and have under them probationers, who, even whilst they are being trained, are a great help to the regular nurses. A special dress is desirable, partly because in some places it is an important protection; partly because it is an appeal to the eye, and does not permit people to forget that the Church does care for their physical wants. (b) If I had time I should like to speak about convalescent homes, especially for children, and the splendid work done now in many of our large towns in finding holiday homes in the country for poor children; I should be able to show that the benefits go far beyond the original intention of those who founded the homes, or originated the holiday scheme. But this is a universal law, all good work well and wisely carried out blesses in ways unforeseen, unexpected. (c) Gymnastics may hardly seem to come under the head of physical wants. A gymnasium, however, is not only a benefit to the body, but may be made a supplementary ministry of an important kind. "You see those nice, well-mannered, neatly-dressed, clean-looking young fellows," said one of my clerical helpers to me one evening in our splendid gymnasium, "I remember them as the most fearful cubs—dirty, disorderly, disreputable, as bad specimens as even Aston, and that is saying a good deal, could provide." How had the change been wrought? Mainly by the gymnasium. I do not mean merely the gymnastic exercises—and these are good; they turn superfluous energy into a harmless direction. But it is the discipline, the order, the fact that they must be clean and tidy before they are allowed to take part in the exercises, that they must pay their small sum towards expenses, are

not allowed to use bad language, must control their temper; but far and away above everything else, that they have been under the kindly care and wise supervision of one who has made the work amongst young men much more than a hobby. He is not rich, he has no gift of speech, he has little leisure, but he gives largely for this special work, and, indeed, for other things; he has the power to say a word in season privately, so that it wins its way to the heart; he is content to give up much of his time in order to see that the wisely laid down rules of the gymnasium are duly observed; last, not least, all the young fellows know that he is their friend. Without the gymnasium he could have done comparatively little; without him the gymnasium would never have been a success.

(2) I shall omit much that I wished to say about the duty of sympathizing with the mental aspirations of our people, and merely remark that Church people are generally far behind chapel people in pushing pure and useful literature. Lectures—scientific, historical, literary—should form part of our winter programme, and, in my judgment, the more such lectures interest and amuse, the better.

(3) As the Americans say, there is “a deal of human nature in a man,” and we must remember that social instincts are part of human nature. The working-man’s parliament—the public-house—owes part of its popularity to the fact that it provides an opportunity of social intercourse. Working-men’s clubs are an important aid in providing for such intercourse in a harmless manner. My experience in Aston is as yet limited. We have beautiful rooms, well furnished, bright, cheerful—including a room for games—a library and reading-room, and a smoking-room. We exclude cards. The committee considered the question carefully. Many of the men were strongly against them. They said, “If you have cards, you cannot keep clear of gambling.” I am bound to admit that the exclusion of cards means that many men who would have joined keep aloof from us. So far, I should say the club is a help and pleasure to the better sort of men, but has not done much in the direction of winning outsiders. But we are young, and hope for better things.

Another means of gratifying the social instincts of the people is found in the Saturday night entertainments. These may be advocated on many grounds, and I have reason to know that they are very truly a supplementary ministry in our mission work. One of my much valued clerical helpers said to me one day, “I have reached a larger number of men through the Saturday night concerts than by open-air services.” I ought to add that he is keen about open-air work. “Men stroll into our mission room when there is an entertainment out of curiosity, or because they hope to be amused. I go up, shake hands, have a chat, ask them to come on Sunday night to the service. Some of my best helpers to-day were first of all brought in in that way.” When entertainments are carefully managed and used as a means to higher ends, they become a true supplementary ministry.

I come now to more direct, but still supplementary work. The early morning school on Sunday is a great institution in Birmingham. The Friends were, I believe, the first persons to take up the work warmly; but there are several such schools throughout the town. We have one

at Aston. Reading and writing are taught. The reading book is the Bible, and the words of the copy set are from the Scriptures. Thus the minds of the men are familiarized with the letter of God's Word. The teachers who are really in earnest take care to explain what is read, and do their best to make the reading and writing lessons spiritually profitable. School closes with singing and address and prayer. Men come to the morning school, which opens at 7.30 and closes at 9 o'clock, who are never seen in any place of worship. Coming to the school does not expose them to ridicule or persecution, or, at any rate, only to a very limited extent. It is true that many when they have been to morning school, like some who have been to early morning Communion, consider that they have done their duty for the day and may spend the rest of Sunday as they please. It is also true that not a few find their way, through the morning school, to Bible classes, mission services, full Church membership. The work is done entirely by laymen, but clergy are asked to give the address and close with prayer. It is a grand opportunity for giving a straight talk, which, well used, is, as experience proves, abundantly blessed. Given an earnest, active, spiritually-minded superintendent, a good staff of teachers who keep well in mind the spiritual needs of the men, and a supply of varied and vigorous addresses—and these early morning schools are a very valuable ministry.

Sunday afternoon Bible classes are a still more direct part of our mission work. It requires a certain amount of courage to attend a Bible class. Yet I have known professed infidels, and men who openly derided religion, attend them. Why? Partly because they got a chance of hearing their own voices—a form of amusement which has a charm not only for the clergy; partly because they were at a loose end on Sunday afternoon, partly because some mate went, partly because there was some secret desire for better things. The Sunday afternoon Bible class ought to have a secretary, who may in some cases be treasurer, a committee elected by the men themselves, as well as the conductor of the class, who may be either a clergyman or a layman. Some opportunity should be given for discussion, but such discussion must never be allowed to degenerate into desultory conversation. Once a month there should be a service in Church, to which non-members may be invited. The Bible class serves at least a double purpose. It keeps together, is a means of instructing and building up in their "most holy faith," those who are decided Christians; and it draws in many who do not attend the services of the church. Those who come from no desire for spiritual blessing do often get a blessing. I have in my mind's eye a man who long attended a Bible class to which I gave a monthly address. He was a decent man enough; not a drunkard, though more free with drink than was desirable, the sort of man who found a difficulty in saying "No." A change came. I cannot tell exactly how. He began to be in deadly earnest about his soul's salvation. I noticed him at morning service, at a week-night service, and I heard that he was never absent from the evening service in the mission hall. He became a candidate for confirmation, and, after his confirmation, was a regular communicant. One day he came to me, and said, "I'm going to sign the pledge, because one of my mates says he will if I will. Now I know *he* can't keep from the drink if he takes any, so I'm going to sign." He did.

There was seldom a Sunday that he did not bring some new member to the Bible class. His mate, a much more powerful man, kept his pledge, and he and his formerly sad, melancholy-looking wife, now cheerful, happy, and hopeful also, became regular communicants. Those two men are keen in every good work. Did time permit I could tell many a story to show that whenever supplementary ministries, even though they seem little adapted to produce spiritual results, are carried out with a desire to honour God in the salvation of souls, they are not unblessed by Him. The longer I live the more hopeful I become, for experience proves that when "Christ is lifted up He does draw all men unto Him"; that when the Holy Spirit is honoured He blesses effort; that the very worst, as we think, are not beyond the reach of the Divine. Be sure of this, "in due time we shall reap if we faint not."

HUGH HOLMES GORE, Esq., Bristol.

(ABBREVIATED REPORT.)

THE previous speakers have called attention to special phases of organized work. It has to be sadly conceded that such ministries reach only a few and seem to detach at most a handful from the outskirts of the crowd. The great body of Englishmen is indifferent to the Church, her sacraments, and her offices. These supplementary ministries, so carefully organized, seem, too, to fail of winning the sympathy of those whom we so much wish to win. The newness of them seems to frustrate their generous purpose.

I intend merely to speak of one or two unorganized supplementary ministries, which I am not ashamed to claim as such, because I have the precedent of S. Augustine of Canterbury. If my memory serves me rightly, he it was whose mandate directed that such Saxon institutions, customs, and festivals as were not repugnant to the Faith should be recognised and utilized for its furtherance. To-day it would be better if we kept more clearly in mind that splendid policy and looked around at the existing institutions, striving to adapt and utilize them in furthering the Gospel of Jesus Christ, remembering how our Master said, "He that is not against us is for us."

The public-house is to-day the centre of social intercourse for the great body of Englishmen; it is there that we find such fellowship as exists among the great working classes. We want to illuminate that fellowship with the Holy Ghost. Centuries back our forefathers in the Church controlled the public-house, the house to which all had access; but gradually the modern public-house has usurped the place formerly occupied by the hospice or clergy-house. We have got to recover our possession of the public-house, make it a centre of our work, and not ignoring or being actively hostile towards it, but meeting it in a friendly spirit, find that through it we may enable some to realize their duties as Churchmen. Even those slate clubs, or benefit clubs, want the assistance of educated secretaries, who would sit in the public-house, collect their subscriptions, and advise members as to the temperate use and enjoyment of alcoholic drinks. For I have not imbibed the Manichæan heresy, which possibly is being expounded in the Congress Hall hard by at this very moment. God's good gifts are for our use, not abuse, and it is worth while to give emphasis to this by the

judicious recognition and employment of the public-house. If some of the clergy, instead of passing the public-house by as something abhorrent to the Church, would try to reclaim it as one of the supplementary ministries, I am sure a great portion of the population who now know nothing of the Church or the splendid gospel of redemption she has to offer would be won to it.

Let me refer to another ministry—the athletic world. There were 40,000 people present at a football match at Everton on Saturday, and at nine other matches the attendance averaged 15,000. How many of those people on the Sunday morning were going to Church. We can guess how meagre a proportion of all those thousands went to Church; but athleticism, the strengthening of the body and the clearing of the eye, and the consequent enlightenment of the mind, is part of the ministry we have to accomplish here. We have to make the body worthy as a temple of the Holy Ghost. We need athletics to give us strength of body, and chess clubs to give us clearness of mind. All these supplementary agencies are ministries, and we have to try in the spirit of the instructions given to S. Augustine, to use them and to bring them more into conformity with the views we hold as strict Churchmen. If the clergy would try and make athletic clubs what they wished them to be, there would be a great difference in them in a short time. How many of the clergy foster cricket clubs personally? It is by associating with them, and taking part in what interests them, that men will be won to the Church. I am extremely anxious to see the clergy taking advantage of the education they have received at the University—the just mind and clear head they have obtained there—to become referees in football matches. I know it is a dangerous occupation, and that vicars' wives sometimes object; but if they cannot be referees, at least they can take a touch flag and run along the line. The least they can do is to go to the football matches and be able to talk to the young fellows about it. It is by such means as these that the ordinary citizen realizes that the clergy have some interest in them.

What is at the bottom of the failure of much of the mission work of the Church is the neglect to sympathize with those who are not distinctly within the pale, a failure in developing the goodness which is implanted in every man by God Himself. Facing the matter honestly in our own consciences, we must generally admit that we have played the part of the priest who passed by on the other side, and drawn a distinction of respectable Church-goers on the one side, whom we fraternize with, and of unrespectable sportsmen on the other, against association with whom we warn our attenuated flock. Some try to justify this on the grounds that those who go to the public-house and attend sports are such a poor set. Such an argument is not such a one as would win the sympathy of our Master. I mind very clearly an incident last winter. A team for whom I was refereeing behaved very badly, and showed a distinctly unworthy spirit. After the match I took aside the one man who seemed to realize how badly his men had behaved, and asked him to point out to them at his leisure how unsportsmanlike their behaviour was. He turned to me and said, "Mr. Gore, I shan't play for them again; they are such a poor lot." I gave him the answer, the only possible answer, that their very meanness

was the greater reason why he should stick to them and try to leaven them with the generous spirit. He was a vicar's son, and down from Oxford for the vacation. I believe he has never played for the team since. Forgive the illustration, but it points the moral of what I am driving at. As our Master has told us that "He came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," we, with stedfast purpose, should try to associate ourselves with those whose lives are not satisfactory, in order to exemplify to them how to live decently. It is because good people dissociate themselves in all our supplemental ministries from those whom they do not think quite good or respectable that so much harm is done. The fields are still white to the harvest, but the reapers are thinking too much of what they shall wear to reap in, or are so busy in devising new machinery wherewith to gather in the harvest, or else they are so intent in fostering some little patch of prize wheat, that we are like to find that the harvest is past and we are not saved. I plead that we shall employ the supplemental ministries that are at hand, not fearing to soil our hands, nor nailing up fences, nor attempting to judge (lest we be judged), but realizing the divine immanence in the light of the Incarnation, and so furthering the Gospel of the Kingdom.

The Rev. E. R. FORD, Warden of the S.P.C.K. Training College for Lay Workers, Stepney.

"To every man his *work*." This is our Lord's own description of His appointment for the members of His Church during the dispensation in which we are now living, while He Himself is in a "far country." Each member has something to contribute, not only to the life of the Church, but also to the work of the Church. And, "to every man"—to each one individually—"his work," his own proper work, for which he is fitted, and to which he is appointed. The needs of the world, and even of the Church herself, are so varied and so infinite that there is ample scope for the employment of the endless variety of gifts possessed by the Church's members. And no branch of the Church is putting forth its full power unless it is seizing hold of all the varied gifts of devoted men and women, and finding opportunities for their exercise. While giving their due place to the three Orders of the regularly Ordained Ministry, we ought to avail ourselves of every possibility of employing in "supplementary ministries" workers of all kinds, and of sending them out to that particular sort of work for which they are best fitted.

I shall naturally be expected to deal chiefly with the work of men as Evangelists and Readers, as that is the only branch of which I have had any special experience.

It is often said that the clergy have been making a great effort in recent years to teach the laity that the clergy alone are not the Church. Do not some of us clergy need to learn that lesson ourselves? One of the best ways of learning, and of teaching it, will surely be to invite laymen and women to take their due share of the *spiritual* work of the Church, and thus to exercise the spiritual, as well as the mental and the physical, powers with which God has endowed them. There are *diversities* of gifts among the laity, as well as among the clergy. Many of them have special powers which are not fully employed if the only

kind of work offered to them is the keeping of accounts, or the supervision of business matters, or secretarial work. Several have had bestowed upon them the gift of public speech, often in a remarkable degree; and many possess large sympathy and quick insight, and are well fitted for dealing with individuals in regard to their spiritual condition. Their hearts are burning with love to Christ; they long to serve Him by proclaiming, by lip as well as by life, the message of the gospel, the realization of which has brought new life and new hope to themselves. And their words often have great power in cases where the clergy are regarded with suspicion and distrust. The working man goes to his fellows, and they are ready to listen to him, because he speaks to them in their own language; he is accustomed to their own habits of thought, and they know that his experience of life has taught him something of their own difficulties and trials. Restraint is removed; they open their hearts to him; and often they receive his message as that of one who has a *right* to speak to them as a brother. And this is not only true of working men: it holds good in other grades of life as well. I believe that we want representatives of all classes—the miner, the mill-hand, the docker, the engineer, the shop-assistant, the clerk, to go out and labour in this way. This is only the same principle as is being increasingly contended for in the work of foreign missions: we ought to aim at having—here, in this country—a *native ministry*, taken out from among the people whom we are seeking to evangelize.

I cannot refrain from calling attention to the seriousness of the absolute *necessity* that something of this kind shall be done on an increasingly large scale. It is not so widely known as it should be that during the last few years there has been a great decrease in our branch of the Church, in the numbers of those offering themselves for Ordination. Up to 1886 there had been for many years an almost regular increase, and in that year 814 deacons were ordained. But since that time there has been a continual and almost uniform decrease, until in 1894 the number had fallen to 684—only five-sixths of the number eight years earlier. The average for the last five years was forty-five less than the average for the previous five years. And all this time the population has been growing at a rate that may almost be called alarming. So far as I can ascertain, the numbers in the whole of the country districts taken together appear to remain almost stationary. But in the towns of England and Wales there is an annual increase of nearly one-third of a million—300,000 every year. From the ranks of the working clergy we are of course constantly losing those who fall out through death, or resignation from bodily infirmity or other causes. The number of those ordained year by year still exceeds the losses, but only very slightly; that is, by less than one-third per cent. of the whole number of working clergy. So that in the past ten years, while the population in the towns has increased by about seventeen per cent., the number of clergy engaged in parochial work has only grown by about three per cent. And if the recent rate of decline in the number of those ordained continues, in four or five years' time the total number of clergy will actually begin to shrink. I know that there are particular districts, such as East London, for example, where the proportion of clergy to the population has been improving. But there are also many towns and districts in which the population has enormously grown, where it has not been found possible

to proportionately increase the staff of clergy. Looking at the situation as a whole, we are distinctly losing ground in the towns in this matter of the proportion of clergy to the population : and there do not seem to be any reasons for expecting a sudden growth in the supply of clergy. Indeed there are those who do not hesitate to say that, even if it were possible to largely increase the number, it would not be advisable to do so, in view of the general fall in clerical incomes, and of the fact that already a considerable proportion of those ordained can never become incumbents of parishes. The pressure of the necessity of encouraging "supplementary ministries" becomes all the more apparent when we consider how impossible it is for the clergy, even as matters stand now, to do enough spiritual work by themselves. Think of our great towns. If sixteen out of the twenty-two clergy of Shrewsbury were withdrawn to-morrow, the town would not be left in a worse position than some of our large centres of population at present. Or think of the rural parishes, often with their scattered hamlets, where distances rather than numbers prevent frequent individual contact between the pastor and the members of his flock. Is it possible that there are any parishes, except quite the smallest and most compact, in which the clergy are satisfied that the needs are met by the amount of spiritual work which they find themselves able to do? What, then, are we to do, if we wish to keep our hold upon those whom we at present influence, and to keep pace with the growth of population ; and, beyond that, to overtake the neglect of the past by winning back large masses of people who are now indifferent to the claims of Christianity and of the Church? We *must* fall back, of necessity, upon the spiritual ministrations of laymen.

The realization of this necessity (though I suppose it was never so pressing as at present) has led to the establishment of various organizations and institutions to encourage the employment of laymen in Home Mission work.

The Church Pastoral Aid Society seems to have been the first to set the example, nearly sixty years ago, by making grants to parochial clergy to enable them to secure the services of paid laymen, who should give their whole time to working under the direction of the clergy. This new departure was at first strongly opposed ; but before long it justified itself.

After a few years it was followed by the establishment of the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association. This Society again collects funds, and makes grants to parochial clergy in aid of the regular employment of paid laymen in spiritual work. And it does more : the Clerical Secretary holds a weekly instruction-class, which the men attend for two years after they are appointed on the staff. A sick and burial benefit society, and a pension scheme, are also open to the Readers, of whom there are now about one hundred and thirty. They employ their time in visiting the sick, and from house to house, in holding cottage meetings and mission services (both indoor and outdoor)—in short, in doing whatever Church work the vicar of the parish may think well to assign to them. This Association confines its operations almost entirely to metropolitan parishes in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and St. Albans.

Its foundation was followed by the formation of many similar societies in large centres of population in the provinces ; and Bristol, Liverpool, Norwich, Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Warwickshire,

and the diocese of Ripon, all have now their own Scripture Readers' societies.

In 1882 the Church Army was founded by the Rev. Wilson Carlile, as an outcome of some remarkable mission services which he had held as assistant-curate of Kensington. It is essentially a working people's mission to working people. The idea from the first has been to send forth men to carry on aggressive evangelizing work, under the superintendence of the clergy, among the roughest and most degraded ; and, before doing so, to provide them with a few weeks' instruction and training. The length of this period of preparation has gradually increased, until it now stands at three months. The number of parochial evangelists at present employed is one hundred and fifty-eight. These men are usually able to raise the greater part of their stipends by means of the liberal offerings of the poor among whom they labour, helped by occasional donations from richer friends and sympathizers. Experience shows that where the clergy are willing to take pains in superintending the work, encouraging results generally follow ; hearts and lives are won for the cause of Christ ; and the numbers of Confirmation candidates, of communicants, and of the Church congregations, are increased. The stirring methods adopted often seem to gain the attention of the careless and indifferent, who have remained untouched by quieter efforts. The usual plan adopted is to have a succession of evangelists in a parish, the stay of each extending over six, or nine, or twelve months. After this kind of work had been carried on for a few years, Mission Nurses began to be added to the staff. These women are not what is technically called "trained nurses," but they all receive some training in hospital and ambulance work, and in various parochial agencies, and pass through a course of Bible and Prayer-book study. There are now one hundred and ten of them at work, and their services appear to be highly valued by both clergy and people. Under the energetic and resourceful management of its founder and those associated with him, the Church Army has developed many new departments, too numerous for detailed mention, and is fast becoming a very large organization indeed. Reference must, however, be made to its thirty-two Labour Homes, scattered over the country, accommodating from twenty to twenty-five men each, by entering which a man who is "down in the world," but is willing to work, can generally obtain a fresh start in life ; and also to its Mission and Colportage vans, which provide a diocese or district with itinerating lay missionaries, and supply a means of distributing and selling large quantities of sound religious literature. By many means, and in many places, the Church Army has shewn itself able, under the blessing of God, to reach and help some of the lowest and most hardened characters.

I had intended next to give a few details of the history and plan of work of the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood ; but after Dr. Armitage's Paper I need not do so. I will only add one remark. It is, no doubt, a great strength and help to the Evangelists, and a safeguard, to some extent, against the discouragement which sometimes arises from isolation, to feel themselves to be members of a Community, and to be able to return to the Home occasionally for a period of quiet devotion and further instruction. This, of course, is only made possible by the natural rule that all members of the Brotherhood shall be

single men—a rule which shows that it is necessary for some other additional plan to be adopted, if the Church is not to be deprived of similar service offered by those who do not feel called upon to join a Brotherhood, or by married men, many of whom are strikingly suited for the work.

I will venture to mention in the next place the Church Training College for Lay Workers at Stepney, with which I am connected, and which was established by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1889. It is a theological college for those who wish to do Home Mission work as laymen. There are two clergy in residence, who devote their whole time to the work. The course lasts one year, in three terms—a period which allows of sufficient instruction being given, and a habit of study sufficiently acquired to make it probable that a man will not be “pumped dry” in a few months, but will be able to continue to work acceptably in the same parish for several years. Candidates for admission must be communicants of the Church of England, between twenty-one and forty years of age. The only payment required for board, lodging, and tuition is a very small fee; and all the rest of the expense is most generously borne by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Instruction is given in the Bible, the history and doctrines of the Prayer-book, general Church history, and English Church history, and Christian evidences. The educational work is tested by periodical examinations held by the Archdeacons of London and Essex; and by the annual public examination of the Christian Evidence Society, in which considerable success has been attained for several years. Opportunities are offered in neighbouring parishes for the men to gain experience in visiting, mission services (both indoor and outdoor), class teaching, catechising, Band of Hope and Temperance meetings, and services in workhouses, infirmary wards, and common lodging-houses. All the usual branches of parochial work are also discussed in the lecture-room. And, most important of all, is the spiritual preparation. The college chapel affords many opportunities for deepening the spiritual life, with its frequent celebrations of Holy Communion; its regular quiet services four times daily; and the devotional addresses, given twice a week by the students in turn, and on Friday evenings by clergy. The work was begun on a small scale with seven resident students. The numbers have steadily increased, and we can now receive twenty-six. For the past eighteen months more applications have been made than our accommodation will allow us to accept. On finishing their training the men have passed out into all parts of England, and a few into Wales and Scotland; and one hundred past students, drawn from all classes, are now devoting their whole time to Home Mission work, employed by individual clergy or by societies. In order to provide as far as possible against the dangers of isolation, an Association for united prayer and correspondence has been formed; a small magazine is issued three times a year; and an annual re-union is held, lasting a day and a half. The men are encouraged to join a sick and burial benefit society, and to provide a pension for their old age by purchasing a Post Office annuity. But there are some for whom such a step is almost impossible, owing to the smallness of their stipends.

I hope that it is not necessary to enlarge at any length upon the

great desirability of all men who work in this way receiving special instruction and training. Zeal, though one of the necessary qualifications, is not enough by itself. There is a zeal which is "not according to knowledge." As the Bishop of London has forcibly pointed out, there is a real danger of the uninstructed giving their own message instead of God's message. The religious experience of any one Christian is not necessarily the Gospel, the true breadth of which is not to be altogether understood by those who have not had the opportunity of studying it. The mind requires to be broadened, and the sympathies to be enlarged. Misunderstandings of the language of the Bible and the Prayer-book need to be removed. It is often astonishing to find how expressions which, to a highly educated mind are perfectly clear, are entirely misinterpreted. I was startled to discover, a few years ago, that a somewhat prominent lay worker, of more than twenty years' experience, employed by a well-known Church society, had always thought that the Ember Collect praying that the bishops "may lay hands suddenly on no man" was a prayer that their lordships might keep their tempers in the streets, and not be guilty of unprovoked assaults—as the man himself expressed it, "not go up to anyone and punch his head for nothing." Ignorance of the history and doctrines of the Church may cause a man to unwittingly strengthen Dissent. Inability to deal with any of the frequently advanced objections to the Bible and the Church may result in the deepening of scepticism in some minds. And a man's spirit, as well as his mind, needs preparation by earnest meditation and quiet devotion; and the character requires to be disciplined and developed. Not the least advantage results from a number of men living together. Friendly chaff and candid criticism soon make each one conscious of peculiarities of temperament or of manner, and help towards their correction. I am sure that all who have to do with the preparation of men for work of this kind must be constantly receiving from the men themselves, as we are at Stepney, expressions of their sense of the great benefits which have come to them through their training.

In connection with the employment of men as paid lay workers in the manner which has been described, there are, as it seems to me, two matters in which improvement is urgently called for.

The first, the less important, has to do with money. Though the stipends paid have improved to some extent in recent years, there are still many clergy, and some societies, who seem to expect to secure the services of a first-rate worker for almost nothing. A man who devotes himself to this trying work should be paid sufficient to provide himself with the necessaries of life; to be able to buy a new book occasionally; to take an annual holiday; and, if he is not a member of a Brotherhood, to secure a pension for the years when he will be past work. If we are not careful, we shall have to face in a few years' time, in connection with lay workers, a state of things almost as distressing as the problem which now exists in regard to our elderly unbeneficed clergy. Cannot more Diocesan Funds be induced to make grants in aid of the stipends of such men, if necessary altering their Constitution in order to be able to do so? If the wealthy would give liberally for this particular object, either to individual parishes or to central funds,

they would be doing a splendid thing for the Church and the cause of Christianity generally.

The second matter has to do with the *status* of the workers. We plead for greater uniformity in episcopal recognition. To a right-minded man who believes in authority, and appreciates order and discipline, it is a real support and strength to know that he is working under the direct sanction of the Church's chief minister for that part of the country in which he is called to labour. In some dioceses, the men can obtain a satisfactory licence, and receive every encouragement. In others, the mere fact that they are paid prevents their obtaining even the licence which is given to the voluntary lay-reader, and they can obtain no official recognition whatever of their position and their work. Might it not be possible, without exactly reviving any of the ancient Minor Orders, to institute a somewhat similar new Order, combining the functions of several of the old ones; so that, while not permitted to take part in the ministration of the Sacraments or to officiate at all in consecrated buildings, the men might still feel that the Church recognized their position as a regular Order in her ministry?

Such, then, are some of the needs for "supplementary ministries of the Church of England for Home Mission work," some of the chief agencies which exist for encouraging men to devote themselves to such work, and some of the developments for which one hopes. Thank God! the day is past when zealous men were made to feel that the Church of England offered no scope for their efforts, and coldly checked their enthusiasm; when, if laymen desired to speak out the message which they believed God had called them to deliver to their fellows, they were tempted to connect themselves with other religious bodies. May our Church, as needs and opportunities grow, always have the wisdom to initiate and encourage suitable "supplementary ministries," and to direct and control enthusiasm without repressing it!

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. J. WYCLIFFE GEDGE, Rector of S. Anthony's,
Stepney.

My only claim to speak to-night is, that I live in the centre of an equilateral triangle, on one side of which we have one of the ladies' settlements, and on another side the other ladies' settlements alluded to by Mr. Ingram, and at the apex the Oxford House. I therefore am in the midst of one of those supplementary ministries of the Church of England. There are two or three points which occur to me, and which have not been touched upon. With regard to utilizing laymen for mission services, there is a class which, for the present, has been scarcely at all tapped for this purpose, and that is the class of business men in London. Such a party came down to us every week last Lent; one, with the gift of eloquence and a heart full of love, conducted the mission services both in the streets and the mission room. The rest of the party—young men engaged in business—brought with them flute, cornet, etc., and led the singing. They went into the streets and held short services under the flaming gas lamps of the public-houses, and they brought the people to the mission services in a cheerful room, and that has been a means of usefulness, as several have been brought back to God. Well, this may be developed a great deal more than it is. These business men—many of them—have the love of God in their hearts, and a zeal for souls. This morning I was delighted by receiving a letter from one of these gentlemen to say that they were so pleased with their reception in the East

End of London, that they intend coming down this winter with a party, six strong, for three nights a week. With regard to work of this kind, I should like to suggest three things. The first is, that when they come they should have a hearty welcome; secondly, they should be given a free hand (I mean as regards details—though, of course, general arrangements would be talked over in a friendly conference), and be allowed to do their work in their own way; and thirdly (what is a very practical point), do not forget that business men who leave the city, and spend the evening in the East End, want a good meal. The next point is that we in London have a vast industrial population in Board Schools who have never learned their Catechism, and we are developing by degrees in different parishes Saturday morning classes for teaching the Church Catechism, with a considerable amount of success. Where do you get your teachers from you will say? I reply, we get them from the ladies, both from those who live in these settlements, and also in response to a letter in the *Church Times*, one or two coming from the other side of London to help us. Then another supplementary aid is what is called "the Catechism," that is, the S. Sulpice method of teaching Church doctrine. That, by degrees, is making its way in the East End of London. The rector takes the older children in church, a layman the younger in the schoolroom, and a lady the infants. Then we come to what Mr. Ingram, our chief, alluded to, namely, clubs; he naturally, being the head of Oxford House, spoke of clubs for men. You may like to know that, besides those immediately connected with Oxford House, there are about twelve other clubs called Teetotums in the East End, and they are all doing very good work. No working man need say that he has nowhere but the music hall or the public-house where he may find his relaxation. These clubs are open from seven to eleven, and no intoxicating liquors are sold there, but I can assure you that those who patronise the clubs find that they can spend their evenings pleasantly and rationally without taking intoxicating drinks. I certainly have never heard any of the members grumble on this account. Another thing is, that we allow them to play cards; but there is one game we are obliged to prohibit—it is that called "Nap." This is prohibited because we are told that the game cannot be played without betting; but they play whist, and we go and take a hand with them. Our young men in the University settlement, and others, give a helping hand in the athletic sports of various kinds. You will say that we are merely providing amusements for them. I do not think it is so. We get into touch with a great many of them, and at the Quarterly Club service may be seen a congregation of between three and four hundred young men who have been brought under religious influence more or less by the clubs. A great many ladies also are interesting themselves in clubs for young women. We call them all girls—junior and senior. In my own parish we have two or three very flourishing clubs of this sort. The senior girls stay with us until they are about thirty, and the junior girls are those who have just left school up to the age of fifteen. I will pass on to the social evenings. I have a great belief in them. We had one last week to begin our winter work, at which two hundred were present. We charge threepence, which includes a concert, and as many cups of tea and pieces of cake and bread and butter as they like, and we find that the threepence just pays the expenses. We are starting, for the first time, to send magazines all round the parish. We found that such very objectionable literature found its way into some of the houses that we started this with the view of counteracting it. We wrote to the publishers of one of the best illustrated sixpenny magazines, and they sent us fifty copies of each month of last year, so that no fewer than six hundred copies are going to be circulated through the parish. May I just allude to what ladies in the country could do, namely, to work for East End periodical sales—squires' wives and daughters, servants in country rectories, children in well-to-do middle-class families. Garments old and new, to be sold cheap, are an inestimable boon to the poor, and help to attach them to the Church. Of course, in ten minutes, one can only touch very briefly on these different subjects. May I wind up with three suggestions. First, "*Festina lente*," do not attempt more than you have strength and support to carry out. Secondly, if one of these agencies begins to wane and wither, as Bishop Wilberforce used to say, "Kill it, and do not let it die." Thirdly, there must be a high spiritual tone amongst Church workers if the work is to be begun and ended to the glory of God.

The Rev. J. HOWARD SWINSTEAD, lately S. Andrew's Missioner
at Fairs in Diocese of Salisbury.

WE hear much of and cordially applaud special ministrations in parishes which have classes of people requiring peculiar treatment. A similar necessity occurs when we find extra-parochial districts or people, and I venture to ask a few minutes' consideration for the case of those who are extra-parochial, not because of their geographical limits, but by reason of their manner of life. They are the wanderers on the face of the country, who form the miscellaneous nucleus of country fairs—gipsies, hawkers, showmen, and van-dwellers in general. They are, practically, an unexplored people, and it is little wonder that they are unaffected (I do not say disaffected) towards a Church which only attempts to influence them in a few centres. If our sailors, who only return to their parishes about once a year, were left without religious care both by land and sea, they would possibly be as careless of the God and Church of their fathers as these van-dwellers are. About thirteen years ago there was brought into Wilton from one of the downs of Salisbury Plain the corpse of a gipsy, absolutely without covering of any sort. The rector was requested to bury the body. The circumstances so struck him with the ignorance and barbarous state of these people that he persuaded the late bishop to appoint a missionary to the cure of their souls. The problem has ever since brimmed over with difficulties, solutions of which are slowly but steadily developing. There is one way that is certain to fail in teaching them civilized life and the love of God, that is neglect. With this they have been most generously served. Fairs are institutions which, we are told, "are best left alone." I dissent from this opinion. I believe they and their people are at their worst when they are left alone. We hear that fairs have an "evil influence in the parish." Then there are only two alternatives—(1) abolish them; (2) control them. A comparison often arises between evils caused by riotous parishioners and those which follow on the stormy behaviour of the fair folk. The conduct of the parishioners is the clergyman's concern—that of the fair folk is, he thinks, not his concern. Allowing, as I freely do, that van-dwellers have vices which affect public morality and religion, I find a choice of two things: if their influence for evil is inherent in their mode of life, we must eradicate that livelihood; if, however, as is more probably the case, anything short of annihilation is possible, the Church will find it her duty—not privilege, nor choice, but absolute duty—to gather up those whom the Priest and Levite have passed by. Few will acknowledge the severity of the task more readily than I do. But the parish clergy can do something; it may look very small, but a very transitory kindness is magnified because it is unexpected or infrequent. Instead of imprisoning themselves indoors or leaving the parish during the fair, parish priests may effect some good for their people, as well as for the travellers, by offering a simple welcome, by inviting the children of van-dwellers to some sort of schooling, by a friendly visit to each van or show, by giving a concert to the visitors the night before the fair, or by inviting them to Church to a service, and providing seats there. A couple of hours spent in and about the fair in such ways will be remembered till the next year brings the wayfarers round again, and then they will expect and welcome a repetition of the kindness. In the dioceses of Salisbury, Winchester, Chester, Lincoln, and perhaps others, an organized attempt has been made to gather up these efforts by means of an itinerant mission. The duty of the missioner is to place himself in the hands of the incumbent (he would be intolerably rude not to do so), and ask permission to become his curate for this special work so long as the fair lasts. My grateful experience has been that the incumbents always offer a hearty reception, and very often themselves join in some part of the work. By means of a mission van and tent, which serve as a dwelling-place, pulpit, lecture-hall, and schoolroom, where better accommodation is not provided, we have been able to hold at suitable times Sunday services (always fully robed), in which the lantern and slides dispense with the necessity of books or light in the late evening. The children have been regularly taught, and have proved most fascinating, if somewhat turbulent pupils; books and tracts have been freely distributed; holy baptism has been administered, and a roving "Parish on Wheels" is already forming itself. What is in operation in Wessex should not be impossible in Mercia, Northumbria, or East Anglia.

The Rev. T. P. RING, Rector of Rawmarsh.

I HAVE such a very sincere respect for Mr. Holmes Gore, and have heard so much of his self-denying work in Bristol, that it pains me to run the risk of his displeasure by confessing, as after his speech I feel bound to confess, that twenty years ago in this town I signed the pledge of total abstinence, and that I have never felt any misgiving of being involved in that terrible and, as it seems to me, imaginary bogey, the Manichean heresy. I still believe the Church of England Temperance Society to be among the best and most successful of the supplementary agencies which have been employed in the evangelization of the people. I still believe the outside of the public-house to be the best side, and I am convinced that many a young man has signed his death warrant when he has allowed himself to be persuaded to enter its seductive doors. I have listened with great delight to papers which have been read by Mr. Ingram and others to-night, and if I call special attention to the speech of Dr. Armitage, it is because he has dwelt particularly upon an organization which from its foundation I have watched with vivid interest, viz., the Evangelist Brotherhood at Wolverhampton. I believe that these men have a great work for God to do in this land, and that by their position as genuine working men, and by their training in the definite doctrines of the Church, they are qualified in a remarkable degree to bring the truths of the Gospel of Christ home to the hearts and minds of the people. It has been said to-night, and rightly said, that the great masses of our people, especially in our large towns, are outside the influence of the Church; but, judging from my own experience, I make bold to say that they are by no means hostile to Christianity, and that they are rather ignorant of than opposed to the Catholic faith, and that when that faith is presented to them in all its divine power and human sympathy, there are many among them ready to open their hearts to welcome and accept its teaching. I am afraid that in some respects our mission work is not being conducted in that evangelical spirit which characterized it some years ago. There is not the same direct and personal dealing with individual souls. How often, for instance, our parochial missions sink down into "courses of sermons," and a number of beautiful and edifying instructions. They are called "teaching missions," and are supposed to be more helpful, because addressed rather to the intellect than to the emotions. I am inclined to think that teaching the faith in all its fulness is the work of the parish priest, and not that of the missionary or evangelist. Teach, of course, he must, but his special work during the short ten days is to awaken the conscience, to bring the soul by the power of the Holy Ghost into living union with Jesus Christ, to bring men out of darkness into light, from the power of Satan unto God. Then the catholic faith will flow into their hearts, as it were, in a natural and ordered course, truth following truth in a divine sequence, not as dry, dogmatic statements uttered with the cold and chilling voice of authority, but clothed in the warm language of a living conviction, as revealing new beauties in the life and work of Jesus Christ. We want also a fuller and larger Gospel than we sometimes get—a Gospel that covers all human life, and wide enough to minister to all the varied needs of our many-sided life; and if, as we have been told, our younger clergy would do well to take an interest in football and cricket, and sympathize with the young men in their natural and healthy love of sports and athletics, I would urge that there is another and a graver side of human life which ought not to be neglected or ignored. I would plead with the clergy not only to feel, but to express warm and loving sympathy with the working and toiling classes in their just endeavour to improve and better the conditions under which they spend their lives. Too many of our people never have a fair chance in the struggle of life. Too often, alas, they are unfairly treated, and while the great capitalist grows rich the poor workman, down-trodden and despised, can hardly keep body and soul together. No wonder that there is much bitterness, much disappointment, much suspicion. No wonder that there has grown up an alienation between class and class, and if a hopeless, helpless sense of injustice seems to fall as a blight upon the peace and happiness of our land. The Church can do much to soften, if not to heal this smarting evil. The clergy, without becoming partisans, can at any rate show clearly that the Gospel of Christ has a word to say upon the relations between employers and employed, and it is our duty to proclaim in no uncertain voice that the surroundings and condition of this power are often quite contrary to the spirit of Christianity. I should have thought it was the question of all questions, and that no question touched us so deeply as how to improve the material condition of our people. At any rate it seems to me an elementary proposition that if we are to convert them to God we must make it possible for them to live. I am quite aware that our human

life and our earthly work are only a part of the Gospel, but they are an important part, and are sanctified by the Incarnation of the Son of God, Who came down from Heaven to live among us as a working man, Who toiled in the workshop of Nazareth to teach us that work is holy as well as prayer, and that if the whole man is to be developed and matured, no department of life must be left uninfluenced by the Gospel of Christ. I believe profoundly in the work of the Evangelist Brothers. They have felt the power of God in their own lives, and are able to speak with living conviction to the souls of others. When I conducted, as it was my privilege to do, their Retreat last week, I saw sitting before me one of the brightest intelligences and one of the most earnest and devoted men I have ever known, and fifteen years ago he was picked up in the streets of Hanley the most wretched and degraded of the world's outcasts. Converted to God, strengthened by the Holy Ghost, fed by the Blessed Sacrament, he has gone on from grace to grace, until he is now one—not the least—of these Evangelist Brothers. Two words, in conclusion, will express what I mean by mission work. First the Cross, then the Altar. First the ever-growing and ever-deepening repentance as a man lays down the burden of his sins before his Saviour's feet; and then the rising up to walk in newness of life side by side and in living union with his risen and ascended Lord, and yielding himself more and more a willing sacrifice to be used in the Master's Service.

The Rev. HENRY J. WATTERS, Church of England Scripture Readers' Association.

I AM afraid after the stirring speech to which you have just listened, that what I shall have to say may appear to you somewhat in the nature of an anti-climax, but I thought it might interest the meeting to hear something of the experience of one of the Church's supplementary ministries, through which are employed one hundred and thirty lay workers, to assist incumbents of London parishes with populations amounting in the aggregate to a million and a quarter, and which has been engaged in this work for more than half a century—I mean the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association. I will first say a word about the readers themselves. I am frequently asked the question—"Where do you get your readers from? Is there a constant supply of men willing to come forward and leave their other callings to give themselves to this work for Christ?" My answer is, Yes, there is a fairly good supply of men, and men of the right sort, coming from nearly all classes—artisans, office clerks, shop assistants, gardeners, ex-policemen, and so on. Sometimes it happens that a clergyman who is in need of an assistant himself knows of a working man amongst his congregation who is willing to devote himself to the work, and who has perhaps already had experience in it for years. But recently we have been able to tap a spring from which there flows a pretty constant stream of excellent quality—I refer to the men trained in the college established by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at Stepney, the warden of which has read a Paper this evening. From that college we get men who have gained experience in practical parochial work in neighbouring parishes, who have been trained for a year at the college, and who have received instruction in the Bible, Prayer-book, Church doctrine, Christian evidences, and other matters concerning which men who are to be engaged in that kind of work ought to be informed. After they have been appointed upon the staff of the Society they are required to attend a series of weekly lectures, by which the information already given them is more deeply impressed upon their minds, and other knowledge is imparted to them. Every candidate before appointment is carefully examined both orally and by means of written papers by clerical examiners appointed for the purpose by the bishops of the respective dioceses where the Society is at work, and thereafter he is placed in charge of the incumbent of a London parish, where his duty is to assist the clergy in all classes of work in which the incumbent may think it expedient to employ him. I am aware that it is sometimes said that in these days of universal and compulsory education the necessity for Scripture readers no longer exists. But my reply to this will be, in the first place, that it is the experience of all who are engaged in Christian work, especially in London, that there are thousands and thousands of persons who can read well enough for themselves, who possess a copy of the Scriptures, but who never think of opening the Book and of reading it at all, and it is of the utmost importance that there should be someone who will remind them of their duty in this matter, and who will read to them when they neglect to do so. But the work of Scripture readers

is by no means confined to this, important though it be. They undertake mission services, address meetings in the open air and in common lodging-houses, they visit factories and workshops, speaking to men face to face, reminding them of their immortality and their responsibility to God, and telling them what Jesus Christ has done for their own souls. I would only like to say this in conclusion: the Society is working on absolutely non-party lines, the platform on which it stands is as broad as that of the Church of England itself. It exists solely for the purpose of assisting the clergy who are working in the poorest and most crowded parishes, and who are unable to cope with all the work without lay assistance. When the incumbent of such a parish makes an application for a grant and for a reader, no question is asked as to his views. Our sole concern is as to the needs of the parish seeking our aid, and our response is conditioned solely by the means at our disposal. The Society works in closest harmony with the bishops of the dioceses, and is indebted to them for much encouragement and practical support. Such a supplementary ministry as this, which is certainly destined to extend and develop as time goes on, is one which I cannot but think deserves the cordial recognition of all Church people.

The Rev. C. WILSON CARLILE, Rector of S. Mary at Hill, Monument, London; Founder of the Church Army.

I AM not going to beg for money. I think our friends are under the impression that I cannot get up at a meeting without begging for the outcast. Some twelve or thirteen years ago I tried to press the lay ministry of working men at the Reading Church Congress, and I was shouted down from the platform. It is therefore very delightful to think that the sympathy of the Church has turned right round; and now it is seen that there is scope in our dear old Church for a man who drops his "h's" and has no "ings," and also for a woman in the same way. The help I ask for is not money, but for men and women, who are ready to work as well as to talk. If we can get the clergy kindly to give us the best of their young men, of the age of eighteen, nineteen, or twenty, we will put them in some of our colportage and mission vans, similar to the Welsh van which you can see in the Quarry. We will board and lodge them for a year or two years on wheels, and we will give them experience. When they have finished their van work they will come to the training home to be touched up and have the angles knocked off, and then we will send them forth as evangelists under the direction of the parochial clergy. This class of man must be raised from within the Church. Thirteen years ago, seven hundred Methodists, exhorters and local preachers, applied to me in writing to return to the Church to be evangelists in the Church's ranks. We took a small number of them. Most of them turned out well, but some not so well as we should wish. We do not want great talkers, but godly, holy, loving young fellows, ready to give up, say, £1 or £5 a week to come along with us. Nearly all our central staff work without any salary whatever. My second plea is for your tramps and your beggars. Do not give them money. Send them to the Church Army Labour Homes, which are spread about from Newcastle down to Plymouth. We will supply you with tickets with the addresses of our homes freely. Send the tramps on to them. Do not pay their fare, let them tramp, if necessary, fifty miles to a home. This will be nothing to them, and if they will work we will give them the chance to work; we have no shelters, but small houses, where there is a mother, and where there is a father, and where there is a heart. First I ask you to find us the right sort of candidates; secondly, to find us the worst and most hopeless that everybody gives us; and thirdly, if you know of any gentlemen or ladies who will come and give us a lift in this work, we shall be glad to welcome them, perhaps some with private means. If they do, they will find it will give them the greatest delight. It is the happiest work to make men to be good members of society; and this is essentially the supplementary agency of the Church for the outcast. For this class of men we have the doors of our labour homes open. You would do more good if instead of giving a man alms you would start a labour test in your parish. It is the duty of every Christian to try and decrease the amount of tramps in this land. May I say, in conclusion, that if any young man or young woman would like to enquire about this work, that we are in the tent in the Quarry. If you will come to breakfast, dinner, or tea to-morrow, we shall be very pleased to welcome you, and give any information you may require as to dealing with the lowest form of society in our land.

**H. A. COLVILLE, Esq., Warden of the Evangelist Brotherhood,
Wolverhampton.**

THANK God the conditions of things are looking up, and have vastly changed since I first gave my heart to God, now twenty-five years ago. Then I was told that it was sin for a layman to think of preaching the Gospel. I was at that time engaged in business in Liverpool, and during a great revival many young men whom I knew were drawn from the Church because there was no active work for them; and they went to Methodism, Plymouth Brethrenism, etc. But, thank God, I have lived to see this wonderful increased recognition of lay work in the Church. Surely one who, like myself, was in the beginning of the fight for lay work in the Church, and who at first got far more kicks than halfpence, can say that there is great cause for thankfulness. We are in danger of now becoming fashionable, and we must take care that, by the grace of God, praise does not spoil us, for it is dangerous when all men speak well of you. The great need now is a revival inside the Church and amongst our communicants; for I pray you remember that there are still thousands and thousands around our very churches who are still untouched by the Gospel. I believe I am well within the mark when I say that quite seventy per cent. of the men in our great centres of industry are still outside all religion. Now it grows upon me more and more that now or never is the Church's opportunity with the great body of them; and on what the Church does during the next twenty years will depend its future as regards these men. The class who in former days would say to me, "Bless thee, brother Colville, I cannot tell the B from a bull's foot," is dying out; the people are now being educated, and you would be astonished at what they read and the studies they take up. The great bulk of them are not against Christ; but alas, they are not on His side. They are waiting, so to speak. To win these people we want men and women who have been themselves to Calvary, and not only sing—

"Love so amazing, so divine,
Demands my soul, my life, my all,"

who have presented, not only their souls, but their bodies, their whole lives, to Him, and have been baptized with His Spirit, which is the Spirit of Love. For if we do not love our fellow-men, depend upon it we shall never understand them, and therefore never win them. Our workers must be full of sympathy with the people and their aspirations; and must not contentedly continue ministering to people in houses where you would not keep your pet dog. One such man is worth more to the Church to-day than a hundred Church Defence Lectures; for, careless of self-interest, he will not disgrace his calling by prophesying smooth things and crying Peace, peace, when there is no peace. He will be first in the van of every battle with wrong, and every movement for the good of his fellow-men. Such a man is a true follower of Christ and the apostles, who turned the world upside down, and helped to turn it right side up. Such men will draw the people back to the Church which historically sprang from the people, whose Founder was a Man of the people, and the Friend of the poor. Of such men and women the Church now wants, not only hundreds, but thousands.

CONGRESS HALL.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD in the Chair.

THE BEARING OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION
ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

THE subject we have met to discuss this morning is, it need hardly be said, a very difficult one. It is a subject on which those experts who are shortly to read and speak to you would confess themselves to be learners, and most of us must be content thankfully to accept their conclusions. Before I call upon the first reader, remembering that we are here in Shrewsbury, the birthplace of the man whose name must always be indissolubly connected with this question of evolution before all others, I feel it would hardly be proper to begin without a single word of reference to him. The name of Charles Darwin is one of the greatest names among the great in England. We have admired him—it may be with some amount of fear and trembling—in Shrewsbury and elsewhere, but even at this early stage we are beginning to feel that the thoughts of such a man tend to bring us nearer to the true light in God. It may be said of him, as of so many humble seekers after truth, in the language of the Lord through the mouth of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets: “I have guided thee though thou hast not known Me.” And more and more my belief is that as time goes on it will be found that he was ordained as one of those doorkeepers in the vast temple of the universe who open to us new vistas, every one of them leading to the throne of God.

PAPERS.

The Ven. J. M. WILSON, Vicar of Rochdale; and
Archdeacon of Manchester.

THIS is a subject on which the final word has not been spoken, and cannot yet be spoken. The bearing of the theory of evolution on Christian doctrine is not a thing that can be defined once for all. New points of view in one science suggest new points of view in another, and new points of view in their turn reveal the significance of new facts. We must learn to recognize evolution in our faculty of appreciating historical records.

The theory of evolution correlates, I suppose, the greatest quantity of knowledge, and has effected the greatest transformation of thought, that the world has witnessed. It is the contribution of this century towards the progressive mastery of the idea of the Creator as displayed in nature. We ought, therefore, of course to welcome it. Theology, if it is living, must be progressive. It is the application of all, as it

becomes known, to the elucidation of the relation of man to God, and to the bringing of man to a closer approximation to the highest we can conceive. Theology must therefore be affected by the theory of evolution. But evolution must be applied to theology by theologians, not by biologists.

The theory of evolution will be defined and explained fully by a later speaker. I will here only say that, according to our preconceptions, it may be combined with materialism, or with theism, or with neither, and remain purely agnostic. In other words, the fact of continued development may be explained as arising from purely mechanical laws, which is the theory of materialism; or from the presence of a universally acting mind, which is theism; or one may frankly say that it is beyond human knowledge to assign any cause, and this is agnosticism. But in each case it is science, plus a theory which we bring to it, whose bearing on doctrine we must consider. To-day we are only concerned with one theory; that which explains evolution by the hypothesis of a mind universally acting in nature. How does this theory of evolution affect the Christian doctrine of God?

In the first place, it has made it, at first sight, more difficult to attribute personality to God. Any theory of evolution which is not dogmatically materialistic or agnostic assumes the universal immanence of God as mind and will in nature. This is the religion of the theistic evolutionist. Evolution thus deanthropomorphizes God, and therefore comes perilously near depersonalizing Him. Evolution seems at first to divest the God of the evolutionist of everything that he can love, of every definable or imaginable relation to the individual soul. God seems lost in the dim infinity of law which science has revealed.

This then is the first effect of the theory of evolution on doctrine; it makes our thought of God more difficult. At the same time there is nothing in this difficulty which is not familiar to theologians in the doctrine of the Eternal Word, which has taught us of a Personality without the limitations of the human mortal individual. In our thought of the personality of God, however, lies, I suspect, the problem which will tax the next age. For ourselves, we have to acquiesce in an imperfect solution. We must be far remote, as yet, from perfect knowledge. If indeed, as the theistic theory of evolution declares, nature is the inchoate self-expression of God, we must be still in early stages of that expression. God transcends nature and pervades it, as the mind of man transcends and pervades his body. But no cell of a body can interpret the personality of the whole: and similarly we cannot grasp the personality of God and His love and Fatherhood when we are thinking of all nature as the expression of His living and acting will. Nevertheless, since reason and righteousness are in man, there must be a rational and righteous reality, evolving Himself in us: and since love is the best in us, there must be love in God. The loving Father must exist, though our undeveloped minds cannot simultaneously focus His loving Fatherhood and His immanence, or harmonize the uniform working of His laws of nature with His providential care. We must be content with knowing in part and in piecemeal.

How far does evolution affect the Christian doctrine of the creation of man? I think not at all. It is no part of the doctrine of the Church—it is a comparatively modern theory of the naturalists, rashly accepted by

the theologians of two centuries ago—that man is a special and unde-rived species. No doubt it is to some of us still a novel and even a repulsive thought, that man may be physically related, however remotely, to other animals. But to those who have looked the thought in the face it appears in a different light. We are what we are, whatever our origin may have been. I can imagine no sublimer conception of the nature or the dignity of man, than that which sees all nature as the self-manifestation of God rising into self-consciousness in man. Of course in all continuity there is a difficulty—at what point do consciousness, reason, conscience, soul, begin? But there is no more difficulty in this question as applied to the evolution of the myriad forms of life, than as applied to the myriad increments of the individual from the microscopic embryo. Christian doctrine can adopt the evolutionary view of creation of man; it is pledged to no other.

What is the bearing of the theory of evolution on the Christian doctrine of sin? Here we approach less familiar ground.

Of course, if the scientific theory of evolution is held to imply pure determinism, while religion demands the reality of freedom, there is a fundamental opposition between evolution and Christian faith, for sin would be impossible. But I assume that evolution is not necessitarian; that freedom is itself one of the products of evolution, and that it is real freedom. But even then the question remains: Is the Christian doctrine of sin affected by the theory of evolution?

I think the popular view of sin as connected with a definite fall of the head of the race is considerably affected.

Man fell, according to science, when he first became conscious of the conflict of freedom and conscience. To the evolutionist sin is not an innovation, but is the survival, or misuse, of habits and tendencies that were incidental to an earlier stage in development, whether of the individual or the race, and were not originally sinful, but were actually useful. Their sinfulness lies in their anachronism: in their resistance to the evolutionary and divine force that makes for moral development and righteousness. Sin is the violation of a man's higher nature which he finds within, parallel to a lower nature. Under the law of evolution God has given men conscience which condemns certain actions; and under this law such actions pass through the stages, first of disapproval by the finer souls, then of condemnation by the ordinary conscience, and, at last, of punishment by the action of society. Average society now punishes murder, adultery, theft, and slander as crimes; and hangs, ostracizes, imprisons, or fines those who do not come up to this lowest standard: it condemns as wrong hatred, lust, spitefulness, cheating, and the like, which are below the average standard; and the finer souls disapprove all action that does not spring from love to God or man. So the evolution of morals is carried on. The organism of society, in its collective conscience, under the law of evolution, is advancing slowly towards righteousness, and condemns first as sin and then as crime, actions which it once tolerated or approved. The survival of these actions is sin.

Now this conflict of freedom and conscience is precisely what is related as "The Fall" *sub specie historiae*. It tells of the fall of a creature from unconscious innocence to conscious guilt, expressing

itself in hiding from the presence of God. But this fall from innocence was in another sense a rise to a higher grade of being. It is in this sense that the theory of evolution teaches us to interpret the story of the Fall. It gives a deeper meaning to the truth that sin is lawlessness.

Where, however, with this theory of sin, are the doctrines of Redemption and of the Atonement; of the Incarnation, and of the Trinity—the characteristically Christian doctrines? Are we here on solid ground? or does the expression of these doctrines need similar transformation before they can be harmonized with the theory of evolution? It is needful to face these questions if the subject before us is to be handled at all, and it is the Subjects Committee, not I, that is responsible for my trying to lay before you in twenty minutes a subject that requires a volume.

In brief, and as far as at present I understand the matter, even if the theory of evolution and of continuity were the final word of science—and scientific results are merely provisional—I do not think that it makes these doctrines, except in their crudest statement, otherwise than more natural than before, and even inevitable. To the evolutionist with the preconception of theism—to my mind the only reasonable preconception—the world is instinct, alive with God. To such an evolutionist the world is destined to unfold perfect reason and perfect righteousness, of which we have at present only the foretastes. In the fulness of time the Christ must appear, as He has appeared; not indeed evolved by the mere circumstances of His time, but sent, as we can only express it, by the will of God. Such an advent is the completion of much that has gone before, the inauguration of much that is to come. This is alike the doctrine of the theologian and of the evolutionist. The essence of the doctrines of the Incarnation and of the Trinity is that there is no barrier, no opposition, between God and the creation: He is not a Deity enthroned far off in impenetrable mystery. He can interfuse Himself, identify Himself with men. The orthodox doctrine is this as opposed to Arianism. As opposed to Pantheism the same doctrine teaches the intimate relation of a personal God to man, and His continued uplifting force.

It is scarcely too much to say that the theistic evolutionist cannot be otherwise than practically a Trinitarian, and cannot find a difficulty in the Incarnation, or in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The theory of evolution is indeed fatal to certain quasi-mythological doctrines of the Atonement which once prevailed, but it is in harmony with their spirit. It has become impossible to regard redemption as an afterthought, as a plan devised by a resourceful Creator, in Miltonic fashion, to meet an emergency. It has become impossible to the evolutionist to retain what was once the ordinary view of the supernatural as an interference with the natural, as an interposition from another sphere. Such dualism is repugnant to him.

To the evolutionist again, all progress being the result of struggle and sacrifice, the Atonement is God's identification of Himself with the human race in that ceaseless struggle, manifested especially in the supreme sacrifice of the sinless Christ, but also in all human life lived in the spirit of Christ. This identification is the Atonement, the reconciliation: and in it the evolutionist, not less than the theologian, finds new hope and power, a release from sin, a real forgiveness and redemption. For in

this Incarnation, this identification by God of His very self in the struggle of man, we have the pledge of ultimate victory. Moreover, the Incarnation restores to us just that anthropomorphic element which is necessary to us, and which at first seemed lost. The Divine Christ in the form of man has enabled us to realize the tendency and stream of impersonal righteousness as no other revelation of God could have done. The Word became flesh and dwelt among us. This doctrine is natural to the theistic evolutionist.

I do not know whether this changed point of view will strike many men as unfamiliar or strained. It is not a greater change in point of view than that which infused Greek philosophy into Oriental mysticism, or Roman legalism into Greek speculation. Thought is being transformed by scientific method, and along with thought theology must change in form on some such lines as these.

There is much else on which I can barely touch. How does the theory of evolution affect the Christian doctrines of reward and punishment, and of immortality? These are most difficult questions, and I do not pretend to see my way through them. "A black beetle cannot be expected to formulate a theory of the milky way." But it seems plain that if sin is a transgression, and goodness the fulfilment, of the law of a man's higher nature, the consequences of sin and of goodness are not arbitrary nor external; they are in ourselves. They are the being what we have become; the sinking to the lower or the rising to the higher. That is the penalty, and that the reward—a very real hell or heaven. And forgiveness is the getting rid of the sin, not of the penalty—for with the sin disappears the penalty.

The doctrine of personal immortality, apart from the special assurance involved in Christ's resurrection, seems to me rendered much more difficult by the theory of evolution, because human life is by that theory so closely correlated with animal life. The difficulty of continuity comes in here as everywhere. At what point in the chain does consciousness, freedom, personality, conscience, soul, immortality, come in? I cannot say. But the religious consciousness of the devout believer is a fact and phenomenon that science cannot disregard, and its testimony to immortality won by struggle is unwavering. We have no scientific right to disregard the testimony of the saints, and of the most thoughtful and noblest men and women that have ever lived. We must be content with knowing in part.

A very few further remarks may be made. It will be seen that evolution does not look, as materialism looks, at the past as implicitly containing the future, as the acorn contains the oak; but it looks to the future as the key to the present, as the end and purpose of God which we may already dimly trace. The prophets were the first evolutionists: they discerned a teleology in history. But from this follows the possibility and the inexhaustible joy of co-operating with God. Men have risen to the stage of conscious, deliberate evolution; we can direct events within certain limits to the end which we believe to be God's purpose—righteousness. Free will is now a factor in evolution. There is no stronger stimulus to duty than this conviction; it makes duty as wide as life; it fixes our thoughts on the evolution of goodness, and on the antiquation of bad customs; it makes society a living organism, to whose life we are contributing. Moreover, if we are in

any degree, however imperfect, the manifestation of the divine, does it not explain and define the Church as the society of those in whom the presence of God is specially felt and formally recognized by her sacraments?

Whatever the effect of the theory of evolution may be on special doctrines, this is certain—it has made all lower forms of worship ultimately impossible. The evolutionist may perhaps be a materialist; he certainly may be, for many a long year, an agnostic; and are we not all agnostics to some extent? but he cannot have an unworthy and childish conception of God. The theory of evolution is a very wholesome and much needed study for us along with our theology.

One final word. The needs of the human heart remain much the same as they were four thousand years ago. Evolution has not, in the historic period, appreciably altered human nature. Christ, moreover, is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Christian doctrine, apart from the statement of historical facts, is the attempt to create, out of Christ's teaching, a philosophy of life which shall satisfy these needs, and it will, therefore, remain the same in substance. But the form in which doctrine will be presented must change with man's intellectual environment. The bearing of evolution on Christian doctrine is, therefore, in a word, to modify, not the doctrine, but the form in which it is expressed.

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of Manchester.

WHAT do we mean by these two phrases "theory of evolution" and "Christian doctrine"? This preliminary enquiry is indispensable, for both the phrases, and the former one especially, are often used rather vaguely. Evolution is a name denoting a process; it is expressive of an inference which is founded on a number of observations in botany, zoology, and palæontology, which have been collected by scientific men. Thus evolution, properly speaking, is no more a theory than gravitation, attraction, polarization, and the like. Attempts, no doubt, have been made, as in the case of them, to account for the process. These, however, are quite distinct matters. We might be convinced evolutionists, and yet decline to commit ourselves to any explanation of it at the present time. Many of us take this position. We think that the "how" of evolution has not yet emerged from the stage of hypothesis; the "why" of it probably is beyond man's powers of discovery. As is well known, Charles Darwin—a name not likely to be forgotten in Shrewsbury—who was the first man to rescue evolution from the category of vague speculation by shewing that it was supported, directly and indirectly, by a large number of well-ascertained facts—Charles Darwin, I say, attributed it to "natural selection." This phrase indicated the result of a kind of automatic process in nature, whereby the individuals of any race were, so to say, sorted out. Those who were placed by their organization (to whatever this might be due) in a more favourable relation to their environment, would increase and multiply more than the rest. The peculiarities which gave this advantage would be transmitted to and intensified in their descendants, and these would

gradually replace the progeny of the less fortunate varieties. The race in this way would be slowly altered, so that in the course of time one species (as a naturalist would call it) would be transmuted into another.

You will not expect me to recapitulate Darwin's arguments, for you can find them in his well-known book, the "*Origin of Species*." Since it was published, almost forty years ago, modifications of Darwin's explanation, or other versions of the "how," have been propounded; but on these I shall not dwell, for, as I have already said, we are concerned with the fact of evolution more than with any particular explanation of it. Suffice to say that the one put forward by Darwin is generally admitted to be, if not the whole truth, at any rate, an important part of the truth. Still, though strictly speaking there is no theory of evolution, the meaning of the phrase is plain, so that I should have let the matter pass, did I not know that people often confuse the process itself with particular explanations of it, and are thus led to suppose that it either stands or falls with them, or necessarily leads to the same consequences as they do. This, then, I presume, is the meaning of our thesis: Suppose we admit the existing order, at any rate in the organic world, to be the result of a process which we designate "evolution," what effect will this admission have upon our belief as Christians? That it would not disturb the faith of a theist may be inferred, I think, from the words in which, after calling attention to a common instance of the marvellous diversity in nature, Darwin sums up his arguments: "These elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by the laws acting around us." Then, after enumerating these laws, which we may summarize as "growth, reproduction, inheritance, variability, struggle for life, with divergence and extinction from natural selection," he concludes, "Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows. There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved."*

Thus we mean by evolution that what is now living is intimately related to what has lived; the forms of life, past and present, constituting a kind of genealogical tree, which has grown up and developed under the action of so-called natural forces. Our choice lies between evolution and the process called "special creation," for I am not aware of any third explanation of the facts worthy of serious consideration. Special creation at one time undoubtedly held the field. It was in accordance with the words of the Bible, and thus was supposed to have received a divine sanction. But serious difficulties were quickly discovered when geology passed from the stage of crude hypothesis to that of inductive science. So long as men assumed that the life history of the earth had been divided into a number of chapters, that, from time to time, an epoch of catastrophe had swept all living creatures from

* "*Origin of Species*," chap. xiv. (conclusion).

its surface, and that each of these general destructions had been followed by a fresh exertion of creative force, those difficulties were not felt; but when once it was ascertained that the convulsions were imaginary, and the continuity of life was unbroken from the earliest ages, it became obvious that the hypothesis, to say the least, stood in need of very important modifications. It was no longer possible to insist on understanding the words of Scripture in a strictly literal sense, though it was still maintained that each species, or closely allied group of species, had its origin in a special act of creative force. A discussion of the arguments for and against these explanations—evolution and special creation—would be a needless loss of time, for the literature is ample and generally accessible. It will be enough, I hope, to express my own opinion, and it is founded on some personal knowledge of the subject, that though there are still difficulties to be cleared up and defects to be supplied in the argument for evolution, these difficulties and these defects are due to negative rather than to positive evidence, and that the number and the importance of both have been largely reduced since the time when Darwin wrote his masterly chapter on the "Imperfection of the Geological Record."

Perhaps, however, before proceeding to the second question, I should point out that the acceptance of evolution does not necessarily lead, as is commonly supposed, to either of the two following consequences, for the notion that it does often creates strong prejudices :

(1) Evolution neither limits nor repudiates the power of God. This as it is the statement of a process, it can neither affirm nor deny. No more is implied by it than by such terms as "birth," "growth," "action, chemical or physical," "the order of nature," and the like, which we constantly employ without fear of being misunderstood or of incurring theological censure. Speaking for myself, I know of but one source of force, or of energy, or of life; so that the growth of the simplest organism, no less than the development of a species, are to my mind processes equally natural and equally supra-natural. A believer in evolution may be a disbeliever in God; but there is no necessary connection between the two opinions, so that this fact is no more a legitimate objection to evolution than the occasional absurdities uttered by individual theologians are to Christianity.

(2) Evolution does not exclude a belief in the existence of design in nature. It obviously necessitates a new statement of the teleological arguments, for in their old form they no longer hold good; a statement which I think we must be content to defer till we have a more complete knowledge and a better understanding of our facts. For instance, it may turn out that though development is dependent on environment, yet the directions in which it can take place may have been restricted from the very first. The genealogical tree may have been potentially latent in the monad, much as the actual tree is in the seed. If we had to admit this we should not be taking refuge in the hypothesis of special creation, for it would permit of the possible ultimate types, if I may so call them, being co-existent in the primal form. The absence from the monad of any visible differentiation of structure is no difficulty; at the present time, though the vertebral column is potentially present in the earliest stage of the ovum of a mammal it cannot be distinguished by any power which is at our command.

We may now pass on to the second question: What do we mean by "Christian doctrine"? This can be more briefly answered. The phrase is not equivalent to Church doctrine. It does not mean the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Tridentine decrees, or the Westminster Confession, or the formulary of any particular body of Christians, but simply that which is generally held in common by all Christians. As a convenient summary we may take the Nicene Creed, notwithstanding the obvious difficulty arising from the *filioque* clause. What effect has evolution upon the doctrines of that summary? Some would say it virtually denies that God is "Maker of earth and of all things visible." I have already shown that this is a mistake. Others, that it repudiates the authority of the Bible, and thus cuts away the foundation on which the Creed rests. But can you prove that the Bible is intended to be a text-book of science, and that every phrase bearing on that subject must be understood in its strict literal sense? If so, you will be in conflict with more sciences than geology and biology; and then, if you once admit that some phrases either are figurative, or express no more than what was known at a particular epoch, you have abandoned the only position from which your attack can be made. But at the present time I suppose we may assume that we shall hear no more of this objection; though it would have been thought formidable when this Congress held its first meeting—so I pass on to the remainder of the Creed. With most of the clauses evolution has no more connection than the history of England has with four-dimensional space. The being and nature of God are matters with which science cannot deal, to which her tests and methods do not apply. The student of science, if questioned about them, can only answer, "Concerning them, the means of research at my command can teach me no more than I could discover about electricity by learning how to mend watches. Of such doctrines as the Trinity in Unity, the Separate Personalities and their work, the order of the Spiritual Universe, no scientific demonstration can be given. I may feel sure that there is a power at the back of all phenomena, but my study of them cannot disclose to me the nature of that power. The belief which I entertain in regard to such questions, whatever it may be, is not the outcome of any scientific inductions."

But it may be asked, Is this a legitimate distinction? Are there not points of intersection in the two lines of thought? For instance, in that Creed you express your belief in the incarnation of the Son of God and in His resurrection, and more than this, in a general resurrection of the dead. Are these questions which can be excluded from the province of science? The first and second belong to it only so far as they are questions of evidence. The third is an expectation. In regard to it science can only reply that immortality, or a conscious personal existence after death, either should be a property of all living things, in which case an embodiment of some kind seems essential, or of none, and that the latter seems the more probable. This, however, is not equivalent to saying that it is impossible as a special gift or endowment; indeed, the natural world presents us with one analogy which diminishes the improbability. A study of it forces us to admit the idea of beginnings. Matter, and life, in a sense, each form of matter and each individual in life, have a beginning; and that beginning, so far as we know anything about it, is the result of a synthesis. By this, new properties are acquired,

and the effects, unless there be some external intervention of an exceptional kind, are permanent. To take a very simple instance to illustrate my meaning: let two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen be forced into combination by some external stimulus; the molecule of water is permanent. It can only be destroyed, as it was formed, by a special agency. Matter itself, if we do not believe it to be eternal, must have had a beginning, so that here also, in a sense, there is synthesis—viz., the action of the existent on the non-existent. But if this be deemed to be too transcendental, I will be content to claim every other stage in the development—or evolution—of matter, as I have just indicated, as a synthesis. Life also must be the result of a synthesis. Two hypotheses are possible; either it was some unprecedented combination of two or more inanimate things, or it was the action of an unknown external force on inanimate matter—which is tacitly admitted to be the more probable. In either case we must fall back on a synthetic process. For the individual also there is a beginning, and this is the result of a synthesis.* So if we believe that another synthesis between the creative force and the creature, between the Divine and the animal, is possible, whereby man is made an heir of immortality, we take but one step farther—though a very important one—in a direction to which many analogies point. If, then, it be urged that in admitting a process of evolution to be manifest in the history of this globe we cannot logically exclude our own race, we reply that we are not concerned so to do in anything which man has in common with other animals, because his immortality, his spiritual existence, does not belong to the order with which science deals, and cannot be proved by any of its methods.

Thus, as it seems to me, evolution—or what we call for want of a better term, the action of laws—produces little or no direct effect on Christian doctrine, because when we regard man as more than a mere animal, we quit the province of inductive science (except so far as there may be phenomena, which are more simply explained on the supposition that he is not only an animal); but evolution does, or at any rate ultimately will, produce very important indirect effects. The two great foes to spiritual and religious progress, apart from the obvious failings of human nature, may be briefly designated Shamanism and Anthropomorphism. The one amounts to a belief in magic; the other regards God as a magnified or idealized man. Both are so deeply rooted in human nature that they hardly can be eradicated, and they constantly crop up in unexpected places and under novel aspects. For instance, when we are told that an ordinance benefits *ex opere operato*, that a vestment or a ceremony has any importance, except as conducive to order and reverence in worship, that particular men have any power of tampering with the eternal laws of right and wrong, there is the Shamanistic spirit. Again, when the conceptions of finite beings like ourselves are taken to be the full measure and complete revelation of the Almighty, when we estimate Him only by human relationships, limit Him by human definitions and fetter Him by the procedure of human

* It is not a valid objection to reply: the result of synthesis in the inorganic may be stable, but it is instable in the organic, for the individual dies. This may mean no more than "assumes an invisible condition." Water is not less existent when it becomes vapour.

tribunals, there is the leaven of Anthropomorphism. I know well that we cannot think of the infinite except by the instrumentality of the finite; that we are compelled to employ symbols, borrowed from our own experience and environment, but it makes all the difference whether we frankly recognize them as symbols or make them objects of almost idolatrous worship.

Evolution teaches that progress is a condition of healthful life; "onwards and upwards" its rule; it also teaches that excessive specialization, which means loss of adaptability, or any form of morbid development leads to extinction. Evolution brings a vast mass of phenomena, once deemed disjointed, into the realm of law, by showing how causes, seemingly simple and familiar, have produced results of the utmost complexity; it discloses an orderly sequence of living forms, advancing gradually towards perfection, yet each good in its time and for its circumstances; it manifests God, not as some mechanic of preternatural skill and activity, but as the world's support, the world's energy, the world's life. It brushes away a thousand thaumaturgic tales and superstitious fancies, while it reveals to us One so awful in power, wisdom, and majesty, that we can only bow the knee in humble adoration; crying "Be merciful to me a sinner, for I alone in this universe seem to be in rebellion against Thee." It was once said by one of our great divines, "Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world"; * might not he have adventured a little farther and said, "Law is the manifestation of God; it is heard in the harmony of the universe"? Evolution then, if it be true—and this I believe it to be, though, we have very much to discover and to learn concerning it—cannot clash with any Christian doctrine, unless this has been defectively expressed, which I, for one, shall not venture to assert. But it does show us that law reigns in a vast sphere, of both space and time, in which hitherto its presence was unsuspected. Hence we may await in calm confidence farther unfoldings of God's mode of working, doubting not that "through the ages an increasing purpose runs."

The Rev. CHARLES GORE, Canon of Westminster.

No doubt the idea of evolution is a dominant idea in our time. In order to render anything intelligible to ourselves we need to regard it as part of a connected process, either as a result, or as a stage which "looks before and after," and which is to be viewed in the light of that out of which it has grown, and that into which it is passing. In other words, we expect with reference to all subjects an answer, not to the simple question, "What is it?" but rather to the threefold question, "Whence comes it," and "whither goes it," and "by what law?" The effect of this idea of evolution on theology is necessarily important. I may illustrate it by three examples.

(1) It changes our natural way of thinking about God's revelation of Himself. It makes it harder for us to think of revealed truth as a detached and definite body of propositions of equal value given within

* Hooker: "Ecclesiastical Polity," Bk. I, sec. 15, s.s. 8.

a certain area of time and space, and it inclines us to think of God as revealing Himself by a gradual process which embraces in a certain sense the whole world, and the whole of human history, which has its initial and imperfect stages, but which has also among the chosen people its region of special intensity, and in Jesus Christ and Pentecost its point of culmination. But in this respect it is perhaps truer to say that modern modes of thought tend to make us, not adopt a new way of thinking about revelation, but recur to an older one.

(2) It modifies our way of thinking about eschatology or "the doctrine of the last things." There are two ways of thinking about the results of human lives. You may think of men as receiving beyond the grave rewards or punishments, given from outside by the Divine Judge; or you may think of each human life as perpetually occupied in fashioning its own character, and thus also, according to inevitable law, its own ultimate destiny. These two ways of thinking are not inconsistent. The inevitable outcome may be also the divinely allotted reward or penalty, but in any case the idea of evolution forces us first of all to the latter of the two modes of thinking about the issues of human lives. Whatever is to be our state hereafter, we are quite sure it will only be the natural outgrowth of what we are or are making ourselves here and now.

(3) The idea of evolution has resulted in that way of studying Christian doctrine which is specially exemplified in German "Histories of Dogma." Dr. Hatch used to complain that theologians would quote all ancient fathers as if they were isolated atoms on a uniform level, whether it were Justin Martyr, or Leo the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, or Gregory of Rome. But this way of quoting the fathers must vanish even from regions where it still flourishes. To each writer must be assigned his "value," by having always in mind the place he occupies in the development of theology in some particular part of the world.

Evolution, then, has taken hold of theology. It has modified our way of thinking about it. It will not be dislodged. But before it became thus broadly an established principle of theological knowledge, it had received a certain controversial application; for in the book which first familiarized the English public with the application of development to theology, a book which we must remember preceded by fifteen years the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species"—I mean, of course, Newman's "Essay on the development of Christian Doctrine"—the idea of evolution (or development) in theology was used to justify the position of the Church of Rome. Quiet thought on the subject seems to me continually to deepen our perception of the varied application of the idea of evolution to theology—sometimes in ways which Newman would have refused to recognize—while at the same time it weakens the force of the particular application of it which Newman suggested. We may find an analogy for this conclusion in the history of the idea of evolution as applied to nature as a whole. There, too, we may distinguish between the general idea and one particular controversial application of it. The general idea has deepened and strengthened its hold on our minds in every region of enquiry; but the particular controversial application of it, viz., as a sufficient and final answer to the theist's time-honoured "argument from design," has from various causes been weakened rather than strengthened in lapse of time. So it has been in

theology; and it is to this particular application of the subject that I proceed to devote myself.

Newman's argument may be in general terms summarized thus:—Christianity came into the world as an idea or a germ. It was planted there to grow. It has grown, and in lapse of time has become the Roman Catholic Church, which is a result of a continuous organic growth over a wide area and on a great scale. And it is the only great growth. The Eastern Church represents a backwater as compared to a current, or a formula as compared to a living principle; Protestantism represents an individualist reaction rather than a growth; and Anglicanism a somewhat hopeless appeal to antiquity in place of a living grasp on the present. I have stated this argument in extreme form, only because for my present purposes I am going to grant all it claims, as if it were a fair statement of the case. Granted, then, for the purposes of argument that the facts are so, may we conclude that because the Roman Catholic Church is the main actual development of Christianity, therefore it is justified in claiming to be the authenticated representative of primitive Christianity? Is what an idea historically becomes, necessarily the true interpretation of it? The answer to this question, which may be derived from the history of religions, is a most emphatic No. Nothing is more conspicuous there than the tendency to deterioration, or the tendency on the part of a religion to change character by gradual self-accommodation to circumstances instead of moulding circumstances in accordance with its original idea. This fact is apparent in the history of Buddhism. No mistake could be so vital as to take the main existing developments of Buddhism as really interpreting the spirit of Sakya Muni. But it may be said the divine presence in Christianity guarantees us against perversion or distortion of the original type. We must look to facts: and first to the history of the Old Covenant. Devotion to the Mosaic law, as divinely given, reached its climax at the return from the Captivity. It was kindled into a splendid enthusiasm through the heroism of the Maccabean period. Then it developed into the Judaism of our Lord's time. That was beyond question its main and substantial growth. Thus when John the Baptist appeared, he appeared as a protestant against the actual development which the inspired religion had received; as one "throwing back" to an earlier prophetic type. Nay, more, when the Christ, the divinely intended result of the Old Covenant, appeared, the representatives of the actual development repudiated and crucified Him; and Christ had already interpreted this fact in His own attitude towards tradition. Tradition, He said, had misled the scribes and Pharisees, because they had not continually tested it by the "Word of God." "Thus have ye made commandment of God of none effect by your tradition." I draw from this a certain conclusion, namely, that a religion, because divinely inspired, is not therefore preserved from widespread deterioration; is not therefore prevented from receiving a development which, while it must appear as the chief historical development of the original, is in fact its parody. I apply this conclusion to Christianity. Christ indeed did promise that His presence and His Spirit, the Spirit both of truth and grace, should never fail in the Church, and that promise has been verified. The truth essential to make Christian saints has always been

shining in the world through the witness of the Christian Church, and the power to correspond with the divine requirements has always been communicated through the means of grace to the sons of faith. There has, therefore, been no failure of Christ's promise. On the other hand, it is only by a misapplication of Christ's promises, precisely similar to that on which the scribes and Pharisees of Judaism based their false and disastrous claim ("We have Abraham to our Father"), that the leaders of the Christian Church have lulled themselves into a perilous security against the possibility that the Church, short of substantial failure, may go far astray. There is no guarantee that the Church may not, if she neglects the means provided to keep her right, get upon a false line of development, and that almost universally. Thus, without stopping to dispute all that Newman says about the Roman Church in its relation to primitive Christianity, we may still affirm that the protest of the Reformation may have been as necessary to recall Christianity to its ideal as the protest of John the Baptist was to recall the Judaism of Israel to its right allegiance, and to interpret our Lord's strong depreciation of a mere, or unchecked, ecclesiastical tradition.

And what are the facts about the Roman Church? When you come to look at them it appears self-evident that the Roman development is a development with two characteristics. First, it is partial or one-sided, a development which has left out elements in the original type—the very splendour of its success in dealing with a particular situation, or set of situations, tended to make it this. Secondly, it is a development which is the result of an over-reckless self-accommodation to the unregenerate natural instincts in religion. I confine myself to one significant illustration of the latter proposition—I mean the development of the cultus of the saints in its mediæval and modern form. It is written on the face of Church history that this has resulted from Christianity accepting, not without preliminary protest, but finally even with enthusiasm, what is simply an almost universal phenomenon of untaught natural religion all over the world. If you travel in many a Buddhist, or Mohammedan, or Christian country, you see the same facts; the same devotion gathering round the tombs of departed saints, who are regarded as intercessors or mediators, and as patrons of particular places or trades or classes, and are approached with divine or semi-divine homage. The tendency, the exhibited devotion, the results of the devotion, are startlingly identical as one observes them in all parts of the world. Now this saint worship was quite alien to the original spirit of Mohammedanism. It was much more alien to the original spirit of Buddhism; but in both cases the dominant, popular instinct has overmastered the original idea, and the alien or repugnant element has taken its place, perhaps its place of supremacy, in the religion which still retains the ancient name of Mohammed or Buddha. Facts irresistibly point to the conclusion that exactly the same thing has occurred in Christianity. The half-converted masses passed into the Church with this dominant instinct of hero worship still in them—with the dominant demand for mediators and objects of worship less high and holy than God. The demand had met with a strong opposition in the maxims and principles of the Christian theology which belongs to the period when struggle and persecution kept Christianity at a high level; but when Christianity became popular, the incoming flood was too

large and too rapid to be resisted or properly educated. It had its way, and a saint worship, which belongs essentially to natural and not to revealed religion, and which exhibits all its old phenomena, has taken its place in Christianity. To say that it belongs to natural religion is to say something *for* it. Moreover, there is in revealed religion a principle of the communion of saints which is akin to it. Therefore I am not now saying that there is no legitimate human and Christian cultus of the saints. God forbid. And I am very far from denying that we in the Church of England have far too little of it. All that I am saying is that the actual development of that cultus as it appeared in the mediæval Church is a development of primitive Christianity, but a development in exactly the same sense in which exactly the same product is a development of Mohammedanism or Buddhism.

My first contention, then, is this : there exists in all religions a tendency to develop by way of deterioration, by way of a one-sided distortion, and by way of a too easy assimilation of elements in the natural instinct of religion which are really uncongenial—at least without deep transformation—to their original idea. My second contention is that these tendencies are indisputably manifest in the actual development of Romanism out of primitive Christianity. My third contention is that the fact that Christianity is in a special sense a revealed or inspired religion does not secure it against liability to fall into these tendencies, if it is guilty of neglect in using the means which would prevent such a disaster. My proof of this contention lies in pointing to the actual development of the religion of the Old Covenant, and to the significant warning of our Lord that ecclesiastical developments need checking by the Word of God. We are left, then, in this position. We might grant as fully as Newman, even in his most extreme moments, seems to require it, that existing Romanism is the only real living development of primitive Christianity on a large scale. And still we should have to reiterate that it does not therefore follow that a position of protest against it is not the position which makes us inheritors of John the Baptist and of our Lord Himself. Of course, in merely animal or vegetable nature, we may say that the existing development is the only, and therefore the divinely-intended, development ; but where, as in human history, the fact of sin comes in, we can say nothing of the kind. The existing development of no human society, not even of the Church, necessarily represents the divine intention. What the divine intention for human society in general may be we are left to ascertain, as best we can, by consulting our judgments and our moral ideals. But in regard to the Church we are provided with more definite guidance. The Church is a continuous society with its necessary "tradition," but it has, or ought to have, ever before its eyes a definite and fixed—because written—ideal to which it is to be continually recurring, the evangelical and apostolic type which is, or ought to be, the test of every doctrine, of every institution, of every moral ideal, claiming the allegiance of Christians ; and to abandon which, for any reason whatever, is nothing else than faithlessness to the divine word.

Briefly I would conclude by indicating the true idea of Christian development. In the Word made Flesh, in the Church in which God and man are at one, is the climax of all possible religious development. No disclosure of God to man, no union of man with God, can be closer than

is here attained. Thus the revelation of Godhead, the revelation of manhood, the deposit of truth and the deposit of grace which are original in Christianity, and find their witness enshrined in the original institutions and tradition of the Church and in the writings of the Apostles—this is final and Catholic. But it takes a special development according to the genius of each race and of each age—for example, in Alexandrian, in Russian, in Celtic, Gallican, and English Christianity, and, greatest of all, in Roman Catholicism. The vital point is that no one of these developments, each necessarily partial, should be allowed so to stereotype itself as to limit the power of recurrence to the original truths and institutions in order to a fresh development for a new race or the needs of a new age. This is the meaning of the “appeal to Scripture.”

The doctrines of the Nicene creed, the institutions of the apostolic ministry and the sacraments—these can manifestly make good their appeal to the New Testament. Christianity is a life based both on revealed truths and divinely inaugurated and inspired institutions. The dogmas and institutions that can really be called Catholic are the real interpreters of Scripture. They are no obstacle to the freest appeal to any really original feature in Christianity. These are the elements out of which development is continually to take place afresh in view of changing needs and requirements. And in the fact that, with all our weaknesses and all our failures, we in the Church of England have retained the essential Catholic elements, and, hampered though we are in hand and foot by the results of our past sins and our miserable subservience to statecraft and to wealth, are yet unfettered by any uncatholic dogma, and are pledged by our whole tradition to the appeal to Scripture—in this fact, I say, there lies the rational ground of a profound belief in the vocation of Anglicanism. The Catholic starting point is under our feet; the rich experience of the past is stored up to enlighten, but not to enslave us; its old examples of faith and zeal and love have lost none of their inspirations; the needs of the age are clamorous. Can we then “discern the time” we live in, and rise to our vocation?

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THIS subject is of vast importance, and in my case it is doubly difficult to deal with it adequately; for the view I hold as to “Christian Doctrine” will be novel to most, and—unlike my distinguished predecessors—I have but fifteen minutes to speak in. I should have been in despair had not Canon Bonney with characteristic courtesy acquainted me long ago with the line he proposed taking. His ample discussion of the *meaning* of “evolution” renders it unnecessary for me to spend time by enlarging on that; though I do not, of course, necessarily accept all his views.

There are two ways in which this subject may be approached.

We may make the Theory of Evolution practically the master-idea; and our determining thought would then be, “Can Christian Doctrine

find a place in that theory? In the light of the discoveries of modern science, can the Christian creed stand? Is there some rising ground on which the faith of the Gospel, like a man caught by the incoming tide, can take refuge and escape being submerged?"

But surely this mode of approach is intolerable for him who believes of Jesus Christ that "all things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made."

I do not say that it is intolerable to face evolution. Very far from it. The Christian believer, who holds that all laws of nature specially belong to Christ, is full of delighted interest in every scientific theory put forth by serious, candid, and careful investigators. For they—whatever fate may befall their cherished theories—are hastening the day when new trophies will be laid at the Redeemer's feet; and though we dare not expect that the mighty thoughts of the Divine Logos can be "thought after"—to use Kepler's glorious phrase—by us fully, yet that they are, in the highest and fullest sense reasonable, that title of His—the "Logos"—makes sure. And it is, by the way, interesting to note that the Greek words translated "made" in the passage just quoted (1 John i. 3), has (see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*) as its "radical sense, to come into a new state of being"; for a good authority, the late John Addington Symonds, wrote, "The fundamental conception which underlies the evolutionary method of thought is that all things in the universe exist in process."*

Let us, then, first consider what is Christian Doctrine, and then with its "search-light" examine calmly and hopefully the Theory of Evolution.

It is manifestly impossible for me to set forth the whole range of Christian Doctrine. It will suffice to consider the essential Being of God, which—as known adequately only through Christ—involves, of course, belief in Him also. But it seems necessary to say here that the idea of God which I shall venture to set forth, is much more in harmony with such dogmas as the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ, the Resurrection of Christ, Sacramental Grace, the Church, than that commonly entertained.

What, then, *is* the ordinary Christian conception of the Being of God? Is not its primary thought His solitary greatness? He is the Almighty, the All-glorious, dwelling in an eternal calm of bliss, incapable of suffering, and—but only so far as is consistent with the last two thoughts—infinately Benevolent. For it is of the very essence of the popular conception that God must be absolutely impassible—untouched, unaffected by any kind of suffering.

Now, if suffering be so essentially evil that it is the rankest blasphemy to suppose it can find place in God, it would seemingly be quite incompatible with His loving-kindness that He should create beings subject to it. His universe would be—for all sentient creatures—one of unalloyed comfort.

But such an ideal cannot be reconciled with the world as it is. Though, doubtless, of a very sceptical turn intellectually, Pascal and J. H. Newman were eminently religious. Yet the difficulties they saw—

* "Essays, Speculative and Suggestive." Vol. I. *The History of Evolution*, p. 8.

set forth in passages, as classical as they are terrible—in the reconciliation were apparently insurmountable; and every year adds to the difficulty.

As we learn more and more of the universe, we increasingly see it to be the scene of a perpetual process of change, in which, generally quite imperceptibly, one thing, or rather one group of things, passes into another, and in which the suffering entailed is often very great.

Seeing this, and believing in an unrelated and utterly impassible Deity, no wonder Christians feel, if they do not say, "Why did not the Almighty deal with each created object by itself? Why did He not place it in a relation-tight compartment, isolating it from the overflowings of outside evil, and ensuring that its existence, if sentient, should be one of joy? "Special creations," and ceaseless "special providences"—I do not mean Creation and Providence—naturally flow from the common idea of God's Being; though an equally large question remains, "Why did God, in the perfect contentment of His blessed isolation, create at all?"

Still, if the common conception of God were essential to Christian Doctrine, I should accept it, whatever the consequences were to my *logical* reason. Laying hold, as Christ supremely does, of our human life as a whole, no sacrifice of any part could be too great *if* He demanded it.

But at this point it is well to consider whether the popular conception of God is really compatible with Christian Doctrine of the most unimpeachable orthodoxy—I mean the orthodoxy of S. John the Divine. He is, *par excellence*, the theologian of the Church. To him, then, let us go.

He has given us three great sayings about God, the profundity of which is as remarkable as their brevity. In one he records the words of Christ, "God is Spirit" (S. John iv. 24), which seems to denote an intangible, unseen, inner principle of life; in another, "God is Light" (1 S. John i. 5), which certainly speaks of either holiness or manifestation, or both; in the last—which he says twice—"God is Love" (1 S. John iv. 8, 16), he tells us that the very life of God is Self-Sacrifice.

It is impossible for me now to deal at any length with more than this last great saying, though a consideration of the other two would certainly not weaken the argument of this paper. It seems strange that—almost universal as has been the eagerness to dwell upon the love of God—hardly ever has the real force of the original word been insisted upon. Benevolence, tenderness, loving-kindness, mercy, such have been the common rendering. Yet it is certain that nothing exhausts the meaning of ἀγάπη but utter self-forgetting, self-sacrificing love, going out of self into others, in full freedom of will.

All Christian saints—in proportion to their saintliness—have shown this forth; above all the King of Saints. In His case the bearing of the sufferings of others was limitless, and He Himself has told us that ultimate Deity is revealed by Him—"He that hath seen Me" (*i.e.*, Me in My infinite going forth into and identification of Myself with others, bearing their sins, and their woes) "hath seen the Father" (S. John xiv. 9). The mind of Christ is the eternal life of God. And this is the true glory of God; this His true blessedness. Our God is not like Brahma, the apotheosis of an intellectual Quietism, dwelling in a spiritual Nirvana.

Nor is our God the absolute as opposed to the related. Rather is He the infinitely related, for how could an infinite love be content with less than an infinity of membership? Isolated He may be, but not on His side, only because others dare to isolate themselves from Him. If He dwell "in a glorious privacy of light," it is because those, who might, do not respond to His unbounded offer of Himself to them.

And if this be the truly Christian, as it is surely the Johannine, conception of God, what shall we say of the character of His works?

First—That such a God should create would be seemingly morally inevitable.

Second—That the fundamental law of His handiwork would be a true, albeit dim, reflection of His essential being. Membership must be the fundamental law of the universe of ΑΓΑΠΗ (LOVE). Heredity, Environment, and Continuity would be natural to it. Every atom in it would be correlated and inter-related with every other—the explanation, perchance, of the law of gravitation—thus combining absolute unity with infinite variety.

Third—As God's own blessedness lies not in seeking His own happiness, but in self-sacrifice, so His very love to His handiwork would decree for it—primarily I mean—not comfort, but a sacrificial vicariousness.

Finally—What, then, is the bearing of Christian Doctrine on the Theory of Evolution? (For I have ventured to invert the title of this paper.)

In dealing with His creatures, whether in creating, or sustaining, we should expect that God's method would ever be to work, not in isolated acts, but in and through the whole—not *ab extra*, but *per intra*, this applying to Providence, Miracles, and answers to Prayer. His infinite exuberance of self-sacrificing love—that love which even in a human mother seems tireless (for love rather than knowledge is power, and solves the problem of perpetual motion)—would introduce new forces, new movements, new departures; but all these, because He is ἀγάπη, would be for the most part silent and unseen, being worked in and through the agencies already existing. Even the "Lord from heaven" was pleased to enshrine Himself in a "body" "prepared" through a long human ancestry.

Thus might we with confidence expect in the operations of the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" a ceaseless process by which the universe would, under the impulse of sacrifice, develop into a higher and yet higher state of membership, involving possibly an almost infinity of travail (Romans viii. 19-23)—for self-sacrifice is not easy to any, as it is least of all to God (S. John iii. 16; 1 S. John iv. 9-11), inasmuch as His giving up is infinite both in quality and extent—but to issue one day, not in the running down of an exhausted machine, but in the culmination of a perfected and universal membership, till, through the very *transcendence* of His love, He shall, by His Son and through His Spirit, become wholly *immanent*. Thus, as the final end of that Divine process which science calls "Evolution," "God shall be all in all" (1 Corinthians xv. 28).

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D., Lord Bishop
of London.

IT is not quite the business of a speaker in the discussion of such a subject as this to go elaborately into the details of the subject, as has been done by those who have written papers, and by Mr. Engström, who has just delivered a prepared address ; but it is a good thing that one or two points should be either controverted or emphasized, in order that what has been said should be the better understood and appreciated. I only desire, therefore, in rising to address you now, to say one or two things which I think will help the understanding of the whole matter in some degree. In the first place, although it was, I have no doubt at all, present to the minds both of the writers and of the speakers, yet it was never plainly said in so many words that there are, as it were, two different ways of looking at evolution. The writers seem very much to me to adopt one way, and that not the way which would ordinarily commend itself to ordinary Christian people. Evolution can be treated on the one side as if it were a kind of independent process going on of itself, and it is a very natural thing indeed that we should look upon all nature as working along its own lines by a sort of independent force given to it, we may say, by its Creator, but independent of that Creator. But, on the other hand, it is possible to look at evolution as being simply the method in which it pleases God to work, and I think that both ordinary Christians and scientific men would gain a great deal very frequently if they were willing to take that view of this most important fact. I speak of evolution as a fact, because whether it is as universal as men of science now generally regard it to be, or whether it is still, after all, partial in the working out of nature, I think that it has established its claim to be as wide as the great bulk of all phenomena which are presented to us in this present world, and it is, therefore, natural enough that we should think of it as if it were practically, for all ordinary purposes, universal, and I do not object to scientific men always so treating it, any more than I object to scientific men treating the law of gravitation as being practically universal. And there, of course, the scientific men themselves, if they were pressed, would be prepared to acknowledge that it is conceivable—though whether it is actual or not they are not able to definitely say—that there may be imponderable matter, which, of course, would be matter not subject to the law of gravitation. I do not say that imponderable matter does exist, and I have no reason whatever for even saying that it may exist, but it is quite clear that we have no proof that it does not exist, and for that very reason the scientific man is bound, in the last resort, to acknowledge when he looks into his science that he cannot say that gravitation is a universal law. And so, too, with regard to evolution. There may be exceptions to the doctrine of evolution, even though it may be very general, and so general that it is not worth while to consider the exceptions, and yet it may not be absolutely universal. But whatever it is the Christian will naturally always look upon evolution as simply one of the ways in which God is doing the work which is visible before our eyes. "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," said our Lord ; and so the Christian, if he studies this doctrine, will simply say, "You have set before me what was not so well known a hundred years ago. You have set before me a proof that God works in a particular manner which people did not generally understand." When you look at the whole of evolution in that way, I think that you will find that the acceptance of it, so far from being a trouble to Christians, will, on the contrary, be in many cases a very great help to Christian thought and the Christian life. There is so very much in the Gospel and in the kind of life that the Gospel requires of man, and particularly in the idea of spiritual progress which is more insisted upon in the New Testament than any other book that ever was written, that is akin to evolution, that it is very easy for us at all times to say, "When I look into my own life and my own character, I see that God is working in myself, but the work is done, as a rule, very slowly and very quietly, and my struggles and efforts towards rising nearer to Him are not, as a rule, characterized by sudden elevation of soul, but by a slow and definite process of internal development ; and that evolution which is within me I can well understand is also within the whole universe at large. I can well understand that, instead of special interpositions, it has pleased our Heavenly Father to be always working out according to a rule which we, when we see it, call 'a law of nature.'" I do not say this as, in the slightest degree, intending to modify what has been said by the writers this morning. On the contrary, though here and there I might differ, I went along with almost everything that was put before us by

them. But I thought that it would be well to point out that, for all of us alike, it is a good thing to look at this subject in the other way. And Archdeacon Wilson will excuse me if I say that, for that reason, I do not like the word "immanent," which seems very much to establish a kind of analogy between the human soul and the human body, and between the Creator and creation that He has created. I single out that word especially, in order to draw attention to the point that I am making—that, for all Christian people, it is much more easy to represent what the truth of evolution is by taking the other view of the best mode of expressing the doctrine so named. I wanted particularly to point out this, because I thought that it would be useful, and I do not know that I have very much more to say that could be useful to all. The writers were very guarded, and they pointed out that we were still, as it were, learners in this matter. We are very far yet from having acquired the position at which we can actually pronounce definitely upon the bearings of this doctrine of evolution on Christian doctrine; and a good deal, therefore, which has been said must be accepted as somewhat speculative, and as what, in scientific phraseology, would be called "a working hypothesis," until we can get something more than a working hypothesis by better and deeper study both of the facts, on the one side, and of the great doctrines of the truth, on the other side.

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Corporation of the Church House.

JUST about thirty years ago it was my privilege to have my first lesson in the theory of evolution from the lips of that great man who has been mentioned to-day, Charles Darwin. I remember, although I was but a boy, how in those days not only theologians, but also a very large number of scientists, bitterly opposed his teaching and thought that he was altogether wrong. The able papers we have heard this morning show what a very great change has taken place in public opinion. We are now able to believe in and to accept the great principle of evolution as a fact, although we may not commit ourselves to any one particular theory. Well now, what is the bearing of evolution on Christian doctrine? I think that four points have come out very clearly this morning. First of all, evolution removes a great many popular mistakes and misinterpretations of Christian doctrine; secondly, evolution restores to their proper place certain aspects of Christian doctrine which have been forgotten or neglected; thirdly, evolution confirms a great many essential truths; and fourthly, I believe that evolution throws new light on some important doctrines and helps us to interpret Holy Scripture more intelligently. We have already heard this morning how the great theory of evolution has completely changed our ideas of the method of creation. I can remember not twenty years ago hearing a very distinguished man say, that if we did not accept the old literal interpretation of six days' creation, the whole Christian scheme must collapse and disappear. I think from what we have heard this morning, we may feel that although evolution has given us nobler ideas of God's method of working, it has not changed one essential fact. God works slowly and gradually, but still it is *God* working all the same. Secondly, evolution has brought to the front certain Christian doctrines which were in danger of being neglected or overlooked. The Lord Bishop of London has objected to the word "immanent." I do not quite know what better word to use. There has been an idea in the past that the great God set the machine working, and that then He left it to go on very much by itself. Now the theory of evolution overthrows that mistaken idea. It tells as plainly as anything possibly can that God, or, if you prefer it, the "Infinite and Eternal Power" which made this universe, is everywhere present, and is always at work—that you can see it at work in the growth of a blade of grass, in the throbbing life of the tiniest insect, no less than in the revolution of mighty worlds. What Matthew Arnold said is perfectly true—that there is working within us and around us "a stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being," a "Power which makes for righteousness." But we hold that that power is no vague impersonal tendency; it is God the Holy Spirit working in nature, guiding the courses of history, and speaking to your heart and mine in the voice of conscience, leading us to righteousness. I believe that the theory of evolution has done very much to bring that old truth back into its proper place. Then again, evolution confirms essential truths. I believe I am right in saying—I am open to correction—that one great point in the theory of evolution is that there is in all the stages of life a

very remarkable correspondence and adjustment between the aspirations, wants and needs of living things, and the supply and fulfilment of those aspirations, wants and needs. Apply this principle to two fundamental doctrines—belief in God and belief in the future life of men. These are so general that I think I may speak of them as universal instincts. So far as I have been able to study the subject, I cannot find that at any time in the history of the world, or in any country, there has been a race without belief in God or gods, and without belief in some form of future life. According to the theory of evolution, these great universal instincts must have something to satisfy them. Evolution provides for man's bodily wants and instincts; can we suppose that it ceases to operate in the highest sphere of creation, and that it fails to provide for his spiritual wants and aspirations? The last point I have mentioned is that the theory of evolution throws new light on some of our central doctrines. For instance, take the great doctrine of the Incarnation. The theory of evolution shows us that the Incarnation was not an isolated event, depending solely upon man's sin, but was the crown and climax of a long process of development, which you may trace from the birth and growth of worlds up to the full development of human history. If you look through your telescope at night you may still see worlds and systems in the process of making, as our own solar system was made; if you study geology you may trace the process of life from the lowest to the highest forms; if you read the history of humanity you may trace how human truth has gradually evolved out of its lowest stages, working itself out in art, science, literature, morals and religion. Then there came a point when there was still further development, when the Son of God took human nature, and, to use the words of science, there was once more a new departure. And so, I think, if we look back over the whole history of the world we see evolution at work, gradually leading up to the Incarnation, the union of the finite with the infinite; the union of God with the creature. So, I say, we ought not to look any longer upon evolution with horror or suspicion, but ought to feel that it is one of the grandest and most comprehensive laws in God's great universe. In conclusion, I want to ask my fellow clergy not to leave their congregations, and especially their educated young men and women, to learn these new truths first of all from unbelievers and opponents of Christianity. A few years ago I was working in a large West End parish, in charge of a district where a number of scientists and literary men took part in our work. I shall never forget the day when a young doctor who had taken a high degree came to me full of trouble because his belief had been upset by recent scientific discoveries. When to the best of my ability I tried to explain from lessons I had learned from the great Bishop of Durham, Dr. Westcott, how the new ideas were not necessarily inconsistent with the old truths, he turned to me and said, "Why do you clergy leave us to learn these new explanations first of all from infidels and opponents of Christianity?" I hope that we clergy will take some means of bringing these new truths before our people. They see these questions discussed in the newspapers and magazines, and on such subjects they look to the clergy and recognized teachers to act as the leaders of thought.

The HON. AND REV. L. W. DENMAN, Vicar of
Willian, Herts.

I WISH to maintain that the revelation we have already received from God in Holy Scripture has been sufficient to save thousands and millions of souls from the earliest age of the Church to the present, and that however learned and subtle any human theory may be, it cannot alter, much less overthrow, our faith. God certainly intended His religion to be plain to all men, to the unlearned and unwise, as well as to the wisest and most learned. And it is impossible, at least for ordinary men, to know what "evolution" means. It has not been made clear even by the very able speakers we have heard this morning, and I think very few, if any, here present could really have understood it. The texts, both of the Archbishop of York, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," and of the Bishop of Ballarat, "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God," etc. (Deut. xxix. 29), are both very suggestive to us in regard to this subject, and I would quote others, such as: "The foolishness of God is wiser than men" (1 Cor. i. 25), "Avoid foolish questions" (Tit. iii. 9), and others. Evolution is a very uncertain theory, and the discussion of it seems to me to be more likely to weaken our faith in the Christian religion than to strengthen it. When I was a boy at Shrewsbury, I had the honour of knowing Mr. Darwin, and he was then a man of

great learning and perseverance in scientific pursuits. I can also bear witness to his having been a very kindly man, but I never could agree with his theories; and one of the best things he ever did was when, after having maintained it to be impossible to convert some savages, I think, in Patagonia, he found out his mistake. He candidly admitted it, and gave a subscription to the cause of missionary work. I should advise everyone at this meeting to be very cautious in allowing it to be of any authority in regard to his religious views.

The Rev. T. A. LACEY, Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge.

I WISH to criticise one point in the admirable paper which Mr. Gore has read to us. As an instance of abnormal development he adduced the worship of saints, which is found alike in Christianity, in Buddhism, and in Mohammedanism. But is the comparison altogether just? Is there not in Christianity an element, altogether wanting to those other religions, to which this practice may be referred? Mohammedanism is an essentially unprogressive religion; it has no living germ from which development may proceed, it knows no action of the sanctifying Spirit. But we believe in the Incarnation; and the Incarnation is the taking of the manhood into God. The effect of the Incarnation was not complete when the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us. It is continued unceasingly as those who are redeemed in Christ out of mankind are gathered into the unity of the Body of Christ, and are made partakers of the Divine nature. The saints whom Christians venerate are those who have most perfectly realised this exaltation of their manhood, who in the regeneration are to sit on thrones beside the throne of God, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And if they are thus taken up into the glory of God, how can it be an abnormal, unnatural development for Christians to render them a worship short only of divine. We know, indeed, that this worship has taken at times a grotesque and repulsive form. We know also that sometimes the local worship of saints has issued directly from the adaptation of local Pagan traditions. But may we not say that even this is but a part of that process by which the Christian Church lays hold of all that is naturally good in Paganism, and sanctifies those yearnings by which unregenerated man groped in the darkness feeling after God. Mr. Gore, indeed, admits that there is something to be said for the practice, just because it is the outcome of a natural instinct of humanity. It is one of those universal instincts of which Mr. Betts has spoken. The practice is indeed an unnatural abnormal increscence on Mohammedanism. But in the fact that we find it there, may we not see an insurgence of human nature against the cold and barren monotheism of that religion, a testimony of the *anima naturaliter Christiana*?

The Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester.

NO one can have listened to the discussion this morning without being struck with the absence of anything like panic or apprehension with regard to evolution, and I think that that itself may possibly raise in some minds a feeling of suspicion or criticism towards the Church. It may be asked: "How is it we are so happy and contented, and even thankful in the matter, when a short time ago, even during the life of the Church Congress, our tone would have been so entirely different?" I think it is perhaps worth while to quote a single remark which I once happened to have made to me by one who was, in his time, one of the greatest exponents, at once scientific and Christian, of Mr. Darwin's views—I mean the great American botanist, Dr. Asa Gray. I once had the privilege of sitting beside him and having some conversation with him, and he told me that, looking back upon the progress of the evolutionary doctrine in America and the attitude adopted towards it by the representatives of Christian opinion, he could not say that there had been any undue or improper delay on the part of the Christian mind and conscience in accepting, in such sense as he deemed they ought to be accepted, Mr. Darwin's doctrines. I have said that there is a great absence of anything like fear or panic here, but we know well enough the difference there is sometimes between what we feel in public when all together, heartening and encouraging one another, and the thoughts of the secret chamber, or those thoughts which sometimes come to us amidst the awful spaces of nature. We know how fears which sometimes seem nothing will at other times spring up and take shape and body. I suppose that what evolution has done has been to give a strength

and articulateness to the voice of nature, and an imposing and impressive character to the influence of nature over our thoughts, such as is beyond the experience of any other time. And I think, therefore, that the apprehension that it still arouses, perhaps in a much more indirect and sober way than formerly, in many of our minds, is that after all nature is our only guide ; and, again, is there room for anything which we may call revelation ? It is with reference to this apprehension that I wish to say one word. Is it not really the case that evolution has mediated, with such a mediation as never was before, between the voices of nature and what we call revelation ? Is it not true that evolution has made it necessary for us in some sense to understand how we are brought up to Christ, as Crown of all, in ways that those who went before us could not understand—in ways which of course it would be impossible to express at a moment's notice. In a thousand ways I think we feel more and more that evolution brings us up from mere life to life conscious, righteous, and good ; and so up to the spiritual in man, and from the spirit up to Christ. If that be the effect of evolution, nature must be interpreted by that to which nature leads. You have not as you had before to say, "What does nature teach?" and then, quite separately, "What does revelation teach?" Nature brings us up to the edge of revelation, and teaches us to ask what revelation has to say. All God's voices speaking through nature help us to interpret all that has gone before in the light of the climax ; and nature, after Christ, has no right to claim in the last resort an independent place and an independent voice. If you are dealing, say, with the question of immortality, you cannot go back to nature and say, "Does nature give any witness for our hope of an immortal life?" We cannot treat nature in that way. Nature itself has brought us up to Christ, has prepared us in many ways for Him and His Gospel of immortality, and He is—shall we be bold to say it—in a deep sense part of nature and her last voice. Therefore we will not go back to the rudimentary, the imperfect and the incomplete, but we will let God's voice speak through His completed work in Christ, and will rest on that our hope of immortality. I was asked just now, by one who is on the platform, whether nothing could be said in such a discussion on the question of prayer in relation to evolution. I could not, unprepared, speak on that, but I would say that to that point I would apply the same principle. If the development of the conscience and of spiritual consciousness has brought us to a state in which without prayer we feel that our whole existence is mutilated, I would say interpret boldly by the end and climax. Do not say, "Does prayer look congenial to the world of the imperfectly developed animal, or of the undeveloped man?" but be trustful of your own highest instincts, believing that you have behind you the whole Word of God in evolution.

The Rev. T. B. WATER, Curate of Holy Trinity, Marylebone.

ARCHDEACON WILSON mentioned to us the chief points at which evolution seemed to touch our Christian doctrine. He ran quickly over those points, but there is one point that has hardly been touched upon during the discussion, and which I cannot help feeling lies very deep in the experience of each one of us. I refer to the existence, not only of evil, but of sin in our own hearts and experience. I think that anyone reading a book on evolution, even if it be written by a Christian evolutionist, will be, in the first place, shocked by the fact that there seems to be very little room left for the Christian's conception of sin ; that is, what we have always learned from our Bibles of a definite evil which altered the course of human life, and of a leader of evil in the spiritual world against whom we have to fight. There seems, at first, very little room left in evolution for these things. The teaching of evolution seems rather to be that man simply failed to attain all the privileges which God had conferred upon him ; that He made him capable of knowing Him. But, surely, if we take evolution in its widest shape, we are perhaps at the beginning of what may be a solution of what has hitherto been one of the greatest Christian problems—I mean the genesis of evil. It has been impossible, hitherto, to account for evil in the world, except by saying that God, in some form, had made it ; otherwise we do not make Him the creator of all things visible and invisible. If God's plan of working by evolution extends not only to this world, but to all other worlds of which astronomy tells us, may it not be that he whom we have been taught is the Evil One was produced by evolution too ; that there was in his being a struggle for life, or, in some form, selfishness ; and a struggle for the life of others, or unselfishness ; and that, when he attained to the fulness of his being he deliberately chose to

follow the selfish principle instead of the unselfish one, and by that means became the spiritual power of evil in the universe. If we take this as the foundation thought, it seems to me that evolution may lead to the explanation of evil in the world, even according to the Bible view. If so, may we not conclude that when manhood was evolved up to manhood there were two contending principles in his nature—the struggle for his own life and the struggle for the life of others; and may we not deal with this point in the light of the beginning of the book of Genesis, find that he was tempted by the being who himself had been evolved, and had chosen to resist the inclinations of that Spirit of God, Who had been given to control these contending principles in His being; and that He chose the selfish principle as His guiding principle instead of adopting the perfect balance which God's Spirit held out to the spirit of man. If that be so, surely we shall find that our teachings as to the world, the flesh, and the devil, being the great force against which we must fight, are still true. I cannot help thinking that science itself would teach us that, at the great climax of man's being of which I have spoken, a change took place in the spiritual balance of man himself—a change which, by the law of nature, would be passed on to his children—and so his children would be involved in that which our Church calls original sin. Surely this matter lies very deep in our spiritual life. Those who have striven among the fallen and sinful know that the most difficult part of their task is to convince them of sin. They know the evil, but do not know sin. Surely nothing we think ourselves should lessen in our own minds our deep conviction of the sinfulness of sin in God's sight, and the deep conviction that the name of Jesus was given Him, not only that He might raise man greatly, but that He might save His people from their sins.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

It was suggested by one of the readers of the Papers that I might sum up the discussion, but I shall not presume to do anything of the kind. I have no pretension to sum up a discussion on such a difficult subject as this. Moreover, I think that it must be evident to all of us who have listened to the Papers that we have hardly come to a point at which any of us would pretend to sum it up. I will, therefore, confine myself to one or two remarks. In the first place, I desire to say that among scientific men there is still a discussion as to what is the right interpretation to be put upon what we call evolution, and its application to the life of the world and of humanity. I have here a note which I received only yesterday from Lord Kelvin, who, many of us have found reason to believe, is one of the greatest scientific intellects of our time, and I should like to read you one sentence of what he has written. He says, in answer to some of the postulates and inferences of materialistic evolutionists, "It seems to me that atheism and materialism are rendered infinitely improbable by proof which has been amply given." I will not detain you by going through his references, but I will only add this other word of his—"The latest attempts to disprove this proof have altogether failed." That is the view of Lord Kelvin. I desire only to make one remark by way of practical conclusion. So far as I understand the matter, we are left in this position. We, our own life and personality, are in the process of development, so that we can hardly better express our position than it was expressed long ago by S. Paul—"Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face." From another point of view I would venture to say that it is desirable that we should go away from a discussion of this kind to our ordinary lives with some thoughts that will help us to climb upwards, and that will keep our faces turned towards the light; and we can hardly do much better than take with us what I may call the parable of the chambered nautilus, which advances from chamber to chamber in its ever-expanding life, and we may say to ourselves, in the language of an American poet—

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll.
Leave thy low-vaulted past;
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea."

CONGRESS HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION—

- (a) PROPOSALS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE FINANCIAL STRAIN ON VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS.
- (b) DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES.
- (c) HOW CAN THE RIGHT OF PARENTS TO DETERMINE THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THEIR CHILDREN BE SECURED?

PAPERS.

Colonel MORRISON, Liverpool.

In the significant speech delivered at Colchester by the Vice-President of the Council on Education, he warns us of the dangers which, at this crisis in the history of our Church schools, disunion may entail. Every friend to the cause of definite religious teaching must pray, and strive, for such a consensus of opinion in the Church as shall produce a true settlement of our difficulties, and preserve to the nation her public elementary schools, Board and Denominational, in full efficiency.

In this humble contribution towards such a consummation, it is not my intention to examine the merits of particular schemes, for this simple reason, if for none other—that the time limit, necessarily imposed upon me, forbids. I shall, therefore, deal mainly with principles; holding that, if they be once accepted, experts may readily draft the plan to give them effect. I merely submit the suggestion, that the most hopeful course, at this juncture, would be to take the financial proposals of the Bill of 1896 as our starting point; and to press only for such amendments or additions thereto as are absolutely necessary.

Now, we are all, or nearly all, agreed, I think, that the 17s. 6d. limit should be abolished; that our school buildings should not be rated; and that our grant from the State should be increased. The main questions on which we differ are:—

- (1) Whether our difficulties can be solved effectually and permanently without aid from the rates; and
- (2) Whether rate aid will necessarily or probably induce dangers more serious than those whence we would escape.

To decide the first question, it is essential to grasp the relative facts, some of which are as follow:—

In the first place, the expansion of Voluntary schools has been checked; and almost, for the first time, a decrease in attendance is chronicled. On the other hand, the attendance at Board schools, and its proportion to the total attendance, both advance steadily. There is, however, no evidence that these developments result from declining

appreciation of definite religious teaching ; but much that the superior attractions of Board schools, and the more thorough and varied secular instruction given therein, are tempting children into them in spite of the wholesome preferences of their parents. These temptations are progressive and cumulative. Every Board school surpasses its local predecessor in costliness and elaboration ; and every year witnesses some progress in perfecting the Board's methods, in organizing its numerous and highly-paid staff, in the extension of its syllabus, and in its adaptation to popular demands. 79.]

With such attractions the average Voluntary school is helpless to compete. Not only has the cost of earning grants increased more than the grants themselves have been raised ; but the operation of the 17s. 6d. limit—which the 1896 Bill merely proposed to modify—prevents many schools from receiving that which they earn ; whilst upon numerous urban schools, especially in the north, the Act of 1891 has entailed a considerable and increasing loss.

From such and other financial troubles, the large School Boards, with their unlimited rating powers, are exempt ; and their expenditure on teaching is so largely above that of the schools around them, as either to mark gross extravagance on the part of men who hold the ratepayers' confidence, or else to imply serious injustice to teachers and scholars in Voluntary schools.

It is, however, impossible by figures to illustrate fully the advantage enjoyed by the urban Board school. Its superior size, its lighting and ventilation, its facilities for classing and grouping, the application to each school of all the skill which results from wide and varied experience, the stimulation of teachers and scholars alike by judicious prize schemes, and by the watchful oversight of experts whose advancement depends much upon the attainment of educational successes—these and other circumstances aggravate, to a degree difficult to appreciate, the stress of competition which the Voluntary school endures.

At the same time, it should be said that there are wide differences, not only between districts, but also between schools in the same locality. Even in Liverpool, for example, where the mass of Voluntary schools suffer such educational disabilities, there are a few, with rich patrons or collecting high fees, which are on more than equal terms with the Board. Again, there are Boards whose schools are in every way below the level of neighbouring Voluntary schools. And lastly, there are the districts in which no Board schools exist, where the pockets of the well-to-do are not depleted by school rates, where the relationship of the wealthy with the poor is much more intimate than it can be in a large town, and where not only duty, but obvious self-interest, plead on behalf of the school whose existence bars the rising of a Board. For such cases as these it may be that the provisions of the 1896 Bill suffice : indeed, in certain of them, no aid is needed.

But the conclusion to which I now invite this Congress to come is that, in the majority of the large urban School Board districts, an exceptional measure of aid to Voluntary schools is urgently necessary.

I next enquire whence such excess of aid can be drawn ; and I find but three possible sources, viz. :—(1) Voluntary contributions ; (2) the taxes ; (3) the rates.

Voluntary Contributions.—There may still be some who pin their

faith upon this resource. To test its hopefulness, take the case of Liverpool, where subscriptions are not much over one-half the average for England and Wales. But they are divided amongst sixty-three thousand children, and so reach the respectable total of £12,000 per annum, whilst considerably more has recently been found by the supporters of religious schools for new buildings and improvements. The same people pay the larger portion of our School Board precept, this year £107,000; and, as the difference between the average income of our Voluntary schools and the "maintenance" expenditure of our School Board is 17s. per child, a simple calculation will show that those who rely on subscriptions to place Liverpool Voluntary schools on equal terms with their rivals, must expect the friends of such schools to find, for the education of the children of their poorer neighbours, a sum which, inclusive of their share of the education rate, will exceed £125,000 per annum!

Analysis applied to other districts would doubtless yield similar results; and it is safe to say that no large addition to the subscriptions now paid in the large urban districts of the north can be looked for. On the other hand, were the future of Voluntary schools secured, liberal donations towards building schools and other capital charges might be confidently anticipated.

Before leaving this question, I venture to ask if it be not strange for episcopal lips to suggest that, in religious schools only, a specified contribution from private sources shall be a condition precedent to, and applied in reduction of, fair public pay for public work? Often the term "voluntary contributions" is the euphemism for a drain on the £130 stipend whereon seven thousand of our beneficed clergy and their families struggle for existence. Again, the right of the children of the poor to free secular teaching being established, is it fitting that their higher right to be taught the truths of our faith should be denied, unless bought with money?

The Taxes.—Those who advocate dependence on State aid are of high consideration amongst us. It would be pleasant to accept such a solution; and all Churchmen will welcome whatever State assistance the Ministry finds itself able to propose. Certain considerations, however, cannot be overlooked; for instance—

(1) It has been shown that the problem cannot be solved by a fixed grant, universally given; but it is extremely unlikely that Government would, directly or mediately, undertake to apportion aid according to the needs of localities and schools.

(2) It is equally improbable that Parliament or the country would acquiesce in such a proposal. It would involve taxing one district for the benefit of another; and, unless equal aid were given to both Board and Voluntary schools, a premium would be offered for the effacement of the former; whilst, if such equal aid were given, the object of the grant would in great measure be defeated.

(3) Granted that such arrangements are conceivable, it is difficult to imagine that the necessary amount would be forthcoming. Certainly, no grant hitherto suggested would suffice, and the Exchequer figures, so far, do not warrant sanguine anticipations.

(4) Lastly, supposing difficulties surmounted, and our schools placed for the moment in a condition of full efficiency, no reliance is possible

in the permanence or continued sufficiency of the aid. Its permanence would mainly depend upon the goodwill of the Administration in power from time to time; whilst its continued sufficiency would depend partly upon the future policy of the Education Department, and partly upon that of the various School Boards, influenced, as both must be, by the development of modern ideas, and the stress of industrial competition by foreign nations.

I therefore submit my second conclusion, viz.:—that whatever may be the case with country or non-Board districts, it is impossible to save the bulk of the schools in the large urban centres, into which our labouring classes are crowding, by any measure of State aid or of voluntary contributions which reasonable men can contemplate as probable.

If that be so, there is but one resource left, viz.:—Rate aid, which, if conceded, would reach the children of the poor, not as a favour, but as a right long withheld.

Funds raised from the whole community should not be expended for the benefit of a part only; and parents who, from conscientious motives, send their children to schools provided free of cost to rate-payers, may equitably claim for them there so much public assistance towards their secular instruction as shall in some degree compensate the parents for the sacrifice the law compels them to make towards teaching the children of others in schools built at the ratepayers' cost.

(2) Rate aid is the only remedy automatically elastic in character; inasmuch as the amount drawn from rates for "maintenance" by a School Board is always proportionate to the local cost of satisfying educational needs, as interpreted by administrators responsible to the whole community; and to give the Voluntary schools a share in this portion of the school fund of the locality would be at once the best check upon extravagance, the most effectual bar to harmful competition, and the most wholesome stimulus to real educational progress.

(3) Rate aid, once granted, could not be withdrawn without the concurrence of Queen, Lords, and Commons in an Act of Parliament; a contingency extremely improbable: for

(4) Rate aid would be popular. At the last General Election, amongst the most effective cries was, "A fair share of public moneys for our religious schools." Voluntary schools are not "popular because they are cheap." The eleemosynary element about them is unpopular, but, on the whole, their popularity is maintained because Englishmen, educated hitherto in religious schools, are a religious people. School Boards are unpopular with the working man because he suspects their religion; and because they represent, to his mind, a combination of compulsion and unfairness. Once give our National schools the means of attaining equal efficiency with Board schools, and their position, politically as well as educationally, would rapidly become impregnable.

(5) Rate aid would be economical. It is very easy to show that it is cheaper for a locality to supply a portion or even the whole of the "maintenance" deficiency in schools whereof the fabric is voluntarily provided and maintained, than to teach all its children in buildings erected and maintained by itself. In Liverpool it has been demonstrated that the proceeds of a rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound would more than

suffice to secure full efficiency of teaching for the sixty-three thousand children in Voluntary schools, whereas, if these children be driven into Board schools, rates must rise above their present level by fully 8d. in the pound.

(6) Rate aid would greatly assist schools—especially if associated—to obtain loans ; by providing them with a definite assignable security.

(7) Lastly, it does not require much reading between the lines of Sir John Gorst's speech to apprehend, clearly, that it is rate aid which the Vice-President of the Council recommends to us as the principal remedy for our troubles in Board school areas. In asking for it, therefore, we should be knocking at an open door.

Of course there are other elements in a wholly satisfactory settlement. For instance, facilities for association, which, rightly used, is calculated to add enormously to the efficiency and stability of our schools ; assistance towards forming central classes ; some just, but ready, method of utilizing the value of the sites of schools closed ; security that schools, built to supply a genuine demand, shall not be denied their share of grants—all these are important. But my time-limit prescribes that I pass on to inquire—

Whether the acceptance of Rate aid necessarily involves danger disproportionate to its benefits?

Now, such danger as exists springs from a cry raised by our opponents, but imprudently echoed by ourselves, that "rate aid involves ratepayers' control." Why? My schools have long been receiving say twenty-eight shillings a child, contributed by a set of men who are taxpayers ; and they have never even demanded more control than they exercise through the Education Department. It is now proposed that practically the same set of men shall, as ratepayers, give me, perhaps, eight shillings in addition to the twenty-eight shillings hitherto paid ; whereupon the sort of control now exercised is judged insufficient : and some of the ratepayers themselves, forsooth, must break through my trust deeds, and personally manage my school ! Wherein consists the majesty which hedges a rate, but is absent from a tax ?

It seems, moreover, to be forgotten that a control, precisely similar to but greater than that which has sufficed for the taxpayer, was offered to ratepayers by the thirteenth section of the 1896 Bill.

If, however, it be judged wise to concede to the theorists that for which there is no real popular demand, then we of the north say that we will welcome our fellow ratepayers—the majority of whom are, in opinion, one with us—under equitable and reasonable conditions. Those who fear their company need not accept rate aid ; but in the name of common-sense, still more of our brotherhood in Christ, why refuse to us that which, if you fear, you need not take, but which to us is nothing less than life ?

Of course the conditions under which we will admit ratepayers' representatives to our Boards—preferably the Boards of the Associations proposed in the late Bill—must exclude from them any control over religious instruction, and, consequently, the appointment of teachers. It is said that such limitations are impossible. Why? The taxpayer has never made such claims ; and the large contributions which, in buildings and administration alone, we make and must always make to

the cost of elementary education, equitably entitle us to such reservations as shall ensure the due execution of our trusts ; and commanding, as our cause happily does, decisive majorities in both Houses of Parliament and in a Cabinet pledged to establish, and not insidiously to destroy our schools, we shall be unequal to our opportunity, unfaithful to our Church, and guilty towards the poor, if we fail to obtain a settlement which, whilst placing our schools on an equality with Board schools in respect of secular subjects, shall amply safeguard that religious teaching for which the schools exist.

In conclusion, we are threatened with a *dies iræ*, when other men shall sit at Westminster. Such vaticinations do not alarm us. We claim to be the chief and the best-loved educators of the English people, by whose will laws are made and unmade ; and we believe that, given even a few years of vigorous life, our schools will have twined their tendrils so closely round the nation's heart, that no man shall tear them up. And even if there be risks, greater than we can recognize, that, some time, our work may be undone, we are content to do our plain duty to-day to Christ's little ones, and leave the morrow of our schools and of our Church in God's hands.

The Ven. J. M. WILSON, Vicar of Rochdale ;
Archdeacon of Manchester.

MOST men interested in education are too deeply convinced of the debt we owe to the Education Department to be enthusiastic for decentralization. Speaking generally, the impulse for better education has come from the centre ; the resistance from the circumference. But there are reasons which make some decentralization in the future very desirable. (1) If the establishment of any local elementary education authority, to treat on equal terms, as the Department now does, both Board and Voluntary schools, could thus put an end to the stupid and suicidal division of local interests, such an authority would be an enormous gain to education. The existing local authority, the School Board, is not now instructed or permitted to treat on equal terms the two branches of our national system. It is directly interested in one ; and only indirectly in the other. Almost inevitably it tends to push one at the expense of the other. There lies the root of the evil. Can decentralization put an end to the injustice and the hateful conflict and scramble for children ? All other reasons for decentralization seem to me relatively unimportant. Briefly, however, they are these. (2) To free the Education Department from masses of detail. (3) To give localities a freer hand in adapting education to their own needs. (4) To stimulate local interest in education. (5) To concentrate the local administration of secondary, technical, and elementary education.

The powers that should be given to the local authority must be considerable, or none of these aims could be accomplished. They must be closely limited in at least two directions. The nature of these limitations is plain. (1) The new local authority must not have power to fix low standards of age or attainment for leaving elementary schools, nor for regularity of attendance ; nor have they educational experience enough to make a new code, or to impose restrictions and obligations beyond

those of the Imperial code. They must, in a word, only administer a code under the Department, while the Department undertakes the whole work of inspection, and fixes through its code all that it now fixes. And (2) it must not have powers to decide locally, or by a side wind, on the imperial questions as to the relative rights and position of Voluntary and Board schools. These rights must be statutory, outside the sphere of the local authorities, as they are outside that of the Department. The local authorities must be purely neutral and administrative. It would be a calamity of the first magnitude to the cause of education if the question now before the country as a whole were referred to separate localities to settle for themselves by trial of strength and persistence and clamour. Under these limitations a large amount of administrative devolution might, I think, take place with advantage. To give details is scarcely the aim of this paper. But the details are very important.

The local authority must have one new power, which is not devolved from the Department. It must have the power of assigning, and be required to assign, under certain fixed conditions, a share of the rates to Voluntary schools. The harmonizing of the dual system must take place on the basis of rate aid, the conditions being fixed by Parliament, and the law administered under one local authority. It is desirable further that it should have the power of fixing a scale of salaries, with maxima and minima, for all schools within its area.

The next question is, What is to be the nature of the local elementary education authority? It is plain that it must either be the School Board, or the County Council acting with the advice of an elementary education committee, or an elementary education committee nominated by the County Council.

For making the School Board, at any rate in large towns or areas, the local education authority, it may well be urged: (1) That this proposal involves the minimum of change. It does not distract our attention from the main point, the maintenance of Voluntary schools. (2) That it does not wear the appearance of attacking any existing and powerful or popular institutions. (3) That it does not refer education to a body which might be described as less exclusively interested in education than the School Board. (4) That it will utilize the experience now gained by School Boards.

On the other hand we must consider (1) that a School Board, especially in boroughs where there has been strong antagonism, would be in a difficult position as managers of one class of schools, and only sharing in the management of others. It would be difficult for it to be fair to its children and stepchildren. A dual system seems to require an authority in the same relation to both sections. Mr. Acland insisted on this in his speech on the second reading (May 12th, 1896). The difficulty might, in part, be got over if the School Board delegated to bodies nominated by itself the entire management of all Board schools. It would then, in a county borough, be in the position of an education committee. (2) That a Bill for secondary education must be considered as not far distant. Is it desirable to entrust secondary education to School Boards? I think not. But would it be desirable to put secondary and elementary education under entirely different and unrelated bodies? Certainly not as a permanent arrangement; but

perhaps it might be tolerated for a time. (3) That it is desirable to diminish the number of elections; and to extend the principle of co-optation of members of committees of council for special purposes such as technical, secondary, and elementary education, or the management of free libraries, gymnasiums, etc.

In favour of making the County Council, acting with the advice of a committee (and in counties acting through existing School Boards and Boards of Education in connection with District Councils), the education authority, there are also strong reasons. (1) The County Council is the most popular and representative local body known to the constitution. (2) It has the power of raising and assigning rates, and deals with all other matters that affect local welfare. (3) It could command the services of the most experienced members of School Boards and others to assist them. Its committee might be more educational and less partisan than the present School Board. (4) If in education their power were purely administrative, the sectarian element would not enter into their election. (5) It would be in the same position with respect to Board and Voluntary schools. (6) School Boards would still be required to manage Board schools, a most important function now left too often to a few paid officials, and very imperfectly discharged. (7) This would be following the precedent set by the best educated nations of Europe, and add to the dignity of the council. (8) Technical, secondary, and elementary education would be easily correlated; they would be under committees of the same council.

The third alternative is, that the County Council should nominate the educational authority, not as an ordinary committee whose proposals are subject to revision by the Council, but as in the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. This proposal really gives us a School Board, but one that is indirectly, not directly, elected by the people. It separates the management of schools from the Education Authority; it puts the authority in the same relation to both systems; it secures the services of men interested in education; it abolishes the hateful sectarian element in the election; it leaves with the Education Authority for the time being the control of funds, but gives the County Council the power of altering the *personnel* of the authority if the county disapprove of extravagance.

I am in no position to offer an opinion which of these three courses is the best at the present moment. But these seem to me to be the elements to be considered. We, as Churchmen, have no reason to fear any of the three proposals. I do not know that Nonconformists have any reason to prefer any one of the three. It seems to me a matter for agreement between the two sides of the House, or for compromise, or perhaps, in county boroughs, for local option. There is nothing to fight about. Any one of the plans is compatible with justice and the maintenance of Voluntary schools and religious freedom, which is our immediate aim. It may be, perhaps, the wisest plan in the present sensitive condition of public opinion to make the minimum of change, to let the County Councils prove by their management of technical and secondary education, that they form efficient educational bodies, and then, twenty years hence, give them the charge of elementary education, and make our system a logical whole. However it is settled, let it be

settled with the view to securing local educational peace and efficiency, both of elementary and secondary education.

I will add a few remarks on special points. The secretary, I do not mean the clerk, of such an educational authority will be practically the chief adviser of a branch of the Education Department. He should be appointed as a member of the Authority, and paid as its secretary, by the Department. He will be a most important official. He should be avowedly in close touch with the Department, above all suspicion of local prejudice, with an independent standard of education. Unless this were so ruled, it would be inevitable that "somebody's cousin" would be appointed, in order to "keep the money in the borough"; he would not be impartial, or believed to be impartial; and education moreover might be retarded by local inertia, or prejudice, or ignorance. This would be fatal.

It is not the aim of this Paper to discuss the conditions on which, within School Board areas, or outside those areas, payment out of rates should be made to Voluntary schools. I assume that such payments will not be given either to individual schools or to associations of schools except on application, and on proved need; that they will be devoted to maintenance alone, and will be in some defined relation to the local maintenance rate in Board schools, and to the total local denominational contributions. In these should be included a rent for the buildings and the endowments, and, it may be, such annual contribution as shall make the total denominational contribution up to a prescribed amount per child. The inclusion of an estimated rent for the buildings is not only just, but it would stimulate the expenditure of capital on the improvement of buildings, and thus advance education. I assume that the local educational authority will be represented on the management of every association of schools, and of every rate-aided school, and I should wish to see it represented on the management of every elementary school.

I do not enter upon secondary education. Its objects, methods, finances, discipline, *personnel*, are so different that it requires separate administrative committees.

It will be asked what power the new authority will have over Denominational schools? I should reply, any power that may be decided to be in the interests of education, short of risking the undenominationalizing of these schools. "It would be evidently inconsistent with the continued existence of Denominational schools at all that the rights of the managers and subscribers over the religious teaching should be materially diminished."—(Mr. Chamberlain, letter of April 24th, 1896.) Every statesman admits that Denominational schools must continue to be Denominational; every educationist knows that the religious teaching must be in the hands of the teacher. It follows that the sole security for maintaining the religious character of the school, and of the profession of teacher, is that the appointment of teachers should rest with those managers who may lawfully regard religious qualifications in the teachers; but they must be limited in their choice to persons qualified as the Department requires. We have heard much of the need of adequate public control of Denominational schools, and it is conceded on all hands. But the one point on which our opponents have not spoken at all is whether the control they demand is such as would enable

a temporary majority to eliminate or alter the denominational character of the school.

There should be perfect publicity of management and control of all secular education. The influence of the representatives of the local educational authority on the boards of management, or executives of associations of schools will be, it must be remembered, out of all proportion to their voting power. Moreover, I would give the local authority power to introduce into any school aided out of rates, whether Board or Voluntary, where it is the only available school, the principle of the Industrial School Act, which permits concurrent denominational teaching at certain hours; and I would include in the Act the general principle that, so far as is practicable, it is the duty of managers to respect the wishes of the parents of children in the matter of religious instruction in Elementary schools. The managers should further be empowered by statute to appoint assistant teachers belonging to other denominations than that to which the school belongs if they think fit, whatever the trust deeds may say, by permission of the Charity Commissioners.

Any district of sufficient area that demands a School Board by a majority ought to have one; but all schools in that district should share alike in any education rate levied, whether county, district, or parish rate. And if a Board school is built, it should be built out of the rates levied on the district which appoints the School Board.

In view of the general increased cost of education, an additional average grant of three or four shillings should be paid by the Exchequer to all schools.

HOW CAN THE RIGHT OF PARENTS TO DETERMINE THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN BE SECURED.

The Ven. E. G. SANDFORD, Archdeacon of Exeter, Canon and Chancellor of Exeter Cathedral.

THIS paper comes last, but it deals with the root of the matter. Other branches of the subject have their place, but however keen the interest which gathers round them, for us Churchmen the central question in national education is the religious question, and upon our determination to keep it so, and to make it plain to all eyes that our interest in it is genuine, our ultimate success will depend. There are other sides of the question which just now are exceedingly pressing, and which tempt us away from this main issue, yet the promoters of the Congress have surely done wisely in drawing back our thoughts, before the discussion closes, to this, the supreme and essential element. This, and this alone, gives significance to our every effort. This is our cause, religious education, and we judge between friend and foe according to the attitude which men take up in regard to it. The late Government Bill was apparently in the eyes of its promoters a somewhat defective measure, but it had at any rate one great merit in the eyes of many who were not directly connected with it, for which they will always be grateful: it was the first Education Bill for many a long year which has treated religion, not as a thing to be guarded against and cold-shouldered, but to be recognized and welcomed. The positive encouragement to religious teaching was perhaps not much, but at any rate the

Bill was not perpetually warning us off from the religious side of the question ; it was not perpetually saying "don't" ; its spirit was not "you must not," but "you may." And it put the religious settlement on the true basis, namely, parental right and parental initiative. What is the essence of religion—of Christian religion at any rate—but the revelation of God's Fatherhood ? And therefore religion ought first to come into relation with the individual life through those earthly parents who represent the Father in Heaven. Responsibility for the child's religion is inherent in the parental relationship. The parents' responsibility goes even deeper and closer than that of the religious body, the Church herself. The Church of the Incarnation interprets and sanctifies human relationships, but it does not supersede them—"first that which is natural and afterward that which is spiritual." The State does not, either first or last, do positive work in this connexion at all. Yet she is bound to furnish favourable conditions for doing it. In every well-ordered State there must be free scope for the full discharge of the essential relations of life, and therefore in every sound and enlightened system of national education there will be a recognition of the parents' right to determine the religious instruction of the child. We have long been sounding and searching for a foundation on which to base religious settlement in national education ; we have touched bottom at last, and we base our settlement upon parental right—a policy sound in itself, and happy in the moment of its introduction, coming in to strengthen that sense of a parents' responsibility which recent legislation has not a little impaired. It is no argument against the principle to say the parents don't care. If the sense of parental responsibility is dormant, no time must be lost, in the common interests of all, in setting to work to revive it.

Parental right and responsibility ; that is the principle. The question how to apply it, is a question in the first instance for the Government and not for the Church. We make a double mistake when we go into details ; we give statesmen an opportunity for throwing off the responsibilities upon us, and attributing to us the failure ; and we give opponents an opportunity of imputing Church and Episcopal interference, and so we raise a prejudice in the public mind against whatever may be proposed, and, to revive a well-known Congress utterance, make Parliament "stand on its hind legs." Our business is to assert principles ; it is the business of the Government to frame measures. The failure of the past session was partly due to our being too much in evidence in the wrong way. We shall fail again if we make the same mistake.

But in asserting principles, we can point out how present methods fail to express them. Neither in the Voluntary school nor in the Board school, has the parent under the present system full freedom of choice. In the one case he may be presented with special tenets which he does not hold ; and in the other with a general absence of those tenets which he does hold. There is, of course, the conscience clause, but while the conscience clause gives protection, it does not give full freedom. There is freedom to reject, but not freedom to choose. The conscience clause is negative and not positive in its operation, and every parent ought to have the opportunity, under a well ordered national system, not only of protecting his child from religious instruction

of which he disapproves, but of securing for it the instruction which he desires. It ought not to be a choice between "take all" or "leave all." I know that it is said that practically the conscience clause is not worked in this way, and that while the child is exempted from instruction in formularies to which objection is taken, it attends the Bible lesson, and so gains the teaching which is acceptable. But in the eyes of a conscientious Church teacher the Bible is as full of the Church as the creed or catechism; and in teaching it to the children of Nonconformists he has an uneasy feeling all the while, either that he is suppressing the full meaning of the Bible, and is not true to the Church, or that he is imparting it, and is not true to the parent. The effects of such a system are bad, because it is not morally sound.

The Government Bill of last session provided a substitute or supplement. The words of the 27th clause are these: (1) "One of the regulations in accordance with which a public elementary school is required to be conducted, shall be, that if the parents of a reasonable number of the scholars attending the school require that separate religious instruction be given to their children, the managers shall, so far as practicable, whether the religious instruction in the schools is regulated by any trust deed, scheme, or other instrument or not, permit reasonable arrangements to be made for allowing such religious instruction to be given, and shall not be precluded from doing so by the provision of any such deed, scheme, or instrument."

(2) "Any question which may arise under this section as to what is reasonable or practicable shall be determined by the Education Department, whose decision shall be final."

Now there is ambiguity as to the precise meaning of this clause on certain points, and the ambiguity must be cleared away; *e.g.*, it must be made clear—

(a) That this separate religious instruction may be given during school hours.

(b) That the members of the regular staff of the school shall not be, *ipso facto*, precluded from taking part in it.

(c) Above all, that the Cowper-Temple clause is included in the terms, "trust deed, scheme, or other instrument," and that, therefore, the clause operates in Board as well as Voluntary schools. But, granted the removal of the ambiguities, Churchmen should accept the clause both because it is just—we give to others what we ask for ourselves—and because, however imperfectly, it expresses the principle for which we contend.

It is attacked from three sides, and on two main grounds. The Churchman and the Nonconformist raise objections of principle. The former contends that to permit Nonconformist teaching in Church schools would be to violate trust deeds, and to give a quasi-sanction to schismatical doctrine; but the answer is that the claim of the parent goes nearer to the heart of the question than the veto of the trust deed, and that when a moral and a positive law come into conflict, the latter must give way. We all know how recklessly that principle is at times invoked, but the mistakes which men make in using it do not get rid of it, or relieve us from the responsibility of deciding when we ought to use it. That is the reply to the trust deed objection, and the reply to the schism argument is of the same kind. Truth cannot be served by

denial of justice ; it is better that the Nonconformist teacher should come into the Church schools than that there should be no free scope for the exercise of parental right.

The Nonconformist must be met by the same answer—the parental claim. He, too, pleads the objection of principle, though the form is changed—the sectarian ogre taking the place of the ogre schismatical. He objects to sanctioning sectarian teaching in a national system. The proffered plea is not always the real reason ; the Nonconformist conscience is a bit canny, and it may be that the Nonconformist's shrewd sense that his minister will not always, or for long, take advantage of permission to enter the schools, and that so his party will get the worst of the bargain, has as much to do with his opposition as anything else. It may be so, but motives are for the most part mixed, and the truest wisdom is to meet the higher motive ; if that be mastered, the baser motive will not dare to show itself for long, or to act alone. And so we accept the plea as conscientious, and answer that, be the religious teaching which some parents desire for their children, sectarian or not, yet if the State insists upon the discharge of one parental duty, namely, the education of the child, she is bound to give full scope for the discharge of another which is indissolubly connected with it, namely, the child's religious instruction according to parental sense of what religion is.

The practical objections come mainly from the teachers, who fear for the discipline of their schools if inexperienced volunteers intrude. Yes ; discipline is good, but there are yet higher things. Practical difficulties have a wonderful way of going down before principle. In this case, the discipline and other forms of practical difficulty can only be regarded as necessary conditions of a problem which you have got to solve, and they disappear as you set to work to solve them. They have to some extent already been met in London, Manchester, Salford, and Birmingham. In London it has not been held inconsistent with the Board school system to provide Jewish teaching and teachers for the children of that religious persuasion, and the teaching includes—I quote the syllabus of the chief Rabbi, which is in use—"Systematic knowledge of Judaism, with special reference to its distinctive dogmas and to tradition." Shades of the Cowper-Temple clause ! True the Board does not expressly sanction—it only winks ; but claims the right to wink in a very decided fashion, and the wink is most solemn and formal, as befits so august a body as the London School Board. The same plan partly obtains in Manchester, as regards the Jews ; and as regards the Roman Catholics, in one school conducted by the Board it is the duty of the Roman Catholic teachers employed to give secular and religious teaching to the children in the Roman Catholic section of the school, and I have no doubt that the teachers take advantage of their opportunities. I do not object ; but why, pray, is the Christian Church and the National Church alone to be left outside the pale ? In the Central Higher Grade School at Salford special provisions are made for giving (out of school hours) both denominational and undenominational teaching : at Birmingham, where the Board School system is the Bible "without note or comment," the school buildings are let to volunteers for the purpose of giving definite and denominational religious instruction. In none of these cases, may be,

has a fully satisfactory solution yet been reached, but the experiments already made encourage further action ; and they confirm Churchmen in the resolve to press resolutely for an expression in some form or other of the principle which the Government has conceded. Having been brought within sight of the promised land, they will not tamely suffer themselves to be marched away.

And, without violating the principle laid down at the beginning of my paper, that we must not go into over much detail, I may conclude it by saying that there is "a more excellent way" than that of the 27th clause. While we follow that, we shall be always navigating, *κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν*, with oars instead of sail: it will never be more than the second best thing. A school is a compact unity, and its influence and moral force depend upon that unity. It makes its way into young life in virtue of a pervading tone, and because it speaks with united and collective voice. The isolated teacher, the *vox clamantis in deserto*, the man specialized to teach religion of a special kind to a special few, is a very feeble substitute for the whole *genius loci*; the religious specialist coming in occasionally is not the constant influence of a religious school. If we desire to find the real answer to the question of my paper, "How can the right of parents to determine the religious education of their children be secured?" we must multiply religious schools: and that means, for the present at any rate, Voluntary schools. It may be that some day the religious element in national life will be so fully recognized that schools in more direct connexion with the State may give us what we want in the matter of religious training; but that day is not yet, and our best hope of securing its advent is strenuously to maintain the Voluntary system. And, therefore, while we do not neglect opportunities of making Board schools more helpful to religious training, we must throw the real force of the present effort into the support of our Voluntary schools. They must be multiplied. We must continue to urge that the same facilities be given to Voluntary bodies to provide new schools in School Board districts as are at present given in non-School Board districts. We must favour the policy of providing several Denominational schools in a district, rather than one Board school. I speak from my own experience when I say that the best settlement of the religious difficulty in a country parish where Church and Dissent had each a vigorous existence, I found to be that instituted by my predecessor—the establishment of two denominational schools, each with its own management, each collecting a voluntary rate from its own supporters, and both under a common agreement on a few points of discipline and administration. I do not say that that system does not admit of improvement (for one thing it is somewhat expensive), but I believe it may indicate the direction in which the best solution of our problem is to be found; and if it were managed on the confederation plan, the chief difficulty, that of expense, would be met. We must deal with the Voluntary schools, not simply on parochial lines, but bringing in occasionally the wider view of the Confederation Committee to set them down where they are wanted; and above all we must make and keep them true to their own high aims. It is the spiritual faculty which really constitutes the man, and the spiritual faculty can only be trained into robust manhood by historic Christianity:—a Christianity of fact, and of doctrine which is part and parcel of the

fact. Bring teachers into your schools who truly believe that. It is the intelligent understanding supporting the spiritual faculty which makes Christianity strong: *keep* your clergy in your schools, because they believe that. It is the sympathy of the parent which gives religion its hold on the child's heart: get the parents into *touch* with the school, that they may more fully learn that. Voluntary schools have been made for all this work, they lend themselves to it, their whole tone and tradition are in tune with it. God has raised them up, and set them in their place, that they may do it. And if they do it, does any man doubt that they will hold their own? An educational system which took thought for the development both of mind and of spirit, and gave parent and home a hand in the work—this the very secularist would recognize as adequate—at least he would own that he could not overthrow it—and to the believer in Christ it would be as a means to the consummation of the purpose of the Incarnation, the making of the perfect man.

The Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of London.

THE subject which we are discussing of course derives its immense importance from the fact that it is concerned with the actual present, and we are to consider what it is that should be done and should be done now, or very speedily, for the great object of maintaining religious instruction in elementary education. And, of course, it is not only religious instruction that we desire. It is something much more than religious instruction as religious instruction is very often interpreted. We mean also that mode of instruction which penetrates into the conscience of the learner, which creates the conviction that what is taught really is the truth, and which issues in the life afterwards and is applied to the life at the time. And for this purpose the great desire which we feel in our hearts, I should say throughout the whole of the Church of England, is that not only shall the teachers in elementary schools be charged with the duty of giving religious teaching to all their scholars, but that they themselves should be religious men, believing what they have to teach, and believing it in such a sense as to make it penetrate their own life first, and the life of those whom they teach as a necessary consequence. This is the vital thing; this is the thing for which we contend. We wish to have religious teachers, but religious teachers who will be themselves religious. Of course, it is quite possible, and I have known it to be claimed as the right thing for men to do who do not believe a religion, nevertheless to teach it; and until a little thought is spent upon it the absurdity of such a suggestion is very often slurred over, and people think, "We have secured that there shall be the Bible read and the Catechism taught, and the religious formularies carefully implanted in the minds of the children, and, surely, if that is in our trust-deed, and care is taken to see that the children can pass a good examination in this instruction, that is sufficient." Is it sufficient? Is it sufficient if the man who has given the instruction himself is secretly despising it? Do you think it possible for any man really to teach children what he himself does not believe? Do you think that there is such a thing at all in human nature? Children of all persons,

however dull and stupid and slow many of them are in what we call learning, yet are wonderfully quick in perceiving what is the real side of character. It is with this view in mind that we must approach the whole subject which is now occupying not only our thoughts in this Congress, but, we may say, the thoughts of all the faithful men that belong to the Church of England everywhere. Now, in this matter we are to deal with the future ; and, of course, when you are dealing with the future you must to a very great extent depend upon your calculations of what the future will be like. You have to look carefully to see what will be the issue of any particular measure that you propose. When that measure has been at work for some little time, you have to estimate, as far as you can, how far the arrangements that you make will really secure the object that you have in view. And in estimating the future it is perfectly obvious that there will be, there must be, very great difference of opinion ; and, therefore, we must be not at all surprised if we observe that, with regard to this matter, there is now very great division amongst us, and that some are very earnest indeed in advocating one mode of dealing with the matter, and some in advocating another. I, for my part, have my own opinions, and I have not hesitated on late occasions to give them full expression as far as I have had opportunity ; and I hold the opinions, and hold them as convictions of my understanding, because I have thought about the matter much, and I have watched the development of our system of education from the beginning, and have personally taken a very large part in it. I hold, therefore, certain opinions which I do not hesitate to make known wherever there is a proper occasion for doing so. But, nevertheless, neither do I hesitate to say that in such a crisis as this I care much more for the unity of the Church than for any opinions of my own. Our security in the future will depend really much more upon the spirit which animates the Church as a body than upon particular details of any measure that shall be passed ; and if the body of Churchmen, calculating, as I have done, come to a different conclusion from mine, I shall be the very first to throw myself with all my heart into the line which is marked out when the time comes for definite resolutions to be taken. The archbishops have already made it public that they intend to submit these matters to a great meeting, to be held at the beginning of November, of the Convocations of both Provinces and of the Houses of Laymen attached to both, and so to see whether those who are the natural representatives of the Church may come to some one opinion, or, at any rate, come to some opinion so far as to be ready without hesitation to press that opinion on the Government. On the present occasion I do not propose myself to suggest any compromise, nor do I think that it is possible to in any way elicit from the meeting any suggestion that is likely to bring us all together ; but I wish to take the opportunity of giving some reasons for and against the view that I myself hold.

Now, in the first place, we see plainly enough that the course of events has caused the Voluntary schools to be in serious difficulty ; and, inasmuch as they are in serious difficulty, we naturally look round to see what would be the most effective method of putting them in a position in which that difficulty shall at any rate be so far overcome as to make it fully within our reach as Churchmen to deal with it. And

so it has been suggested that we should apply to the Government ; and the Government have answered the suggestion, and they reply that they are ready to take up the cause of Voluntary schools ; and, in fact, we may say that upon that point the whole country is at present really at one, even those who would prefer very much to have some one system of education only—even those who would prefer the system of universal School Boards. Yet, at the present moment, they hush their own opinion on the matter so far as to say that they will agree and acquiesce in a measure which shall really put Voluntary schools in a safe position in the future. Where, then, are we to look for the assistance which the Government has promised ? It is obvious enough that the assistance must be either of one kind or of another, or of both. We must either have State-aid or rate-aid, or both combined. For myself, I quite admit that there is a good deal to be said against State-aid, whilst, at the same time, it seems to me that a great deal of what is said is exaggerated, and that expressions are very often used which I find it very difficult to fit on to the circumstances of the case. I cannot understand, for instance, why it should be said that the money given from the taxes is a sort of dole which the schools ought to be rather ashamed to take, but that the money given from the rates is not of that kind at all. It is a dole if you receive money out of the taxes, but, even though you do not pay a penny of rates, which is the case with a very large number of the parents of the children in these schools, it is not a dole at all to receive money from those who pay the rates. I cannot see it myself. That kind of argument, I confess, I am obliged to put aside. The real argument, however, which is real enough, is that we shall not be likely to get from the Exchequer a sufficient amount to meet our need. That is the real argument ; but let me point out to you what is the cause that we have this suspicion, so that we may see exactly what weight ought to be given to it. There is in the Cabinet a very powerful officer, called the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is the representative of the taxpayer, and if any proposal is made to get money out of the taxes he is there to defend the taxpayer, and to refuse the money unless he is overborne ; and, of course, it is very difficult indeed to overbear an officer in that position, commanding that authority, and generally being one of the ablest men that you can put upon the Government bench. On the contrary, if you turn to the ratepayers, the ratepayers have no such representative in the Cabinet at all. There is not anybody there who is specially charged with the duty of seeing that there shall be no great burden put upon ratepayers. There is not anybody who will be up in a moment, the moment a word is said about adding to the rates, and say, " Oh no, we must not add to the rates, whatever we do. Do not let us add to the rates." I should like, very much like, to put a farmer into the meeting of the Cabinet when somebody was proposing to levy an additional rate, and when there was nobody to say anything against it except those who had no particular interest in the matter, though they thought generally that the rates were already quite sufficient. I confess that to me it seems that the rates, which are a very heavy burden, and which come upon about a tenth of the property of the country, are heavy enough, and that it is a very serious thing indeed that you should add more burden to this special kind of taxation which does not affect the great body of the

people, and which does not touch the great wealth of the country, and which, I must add, does seriously affect the great body of the clergy, and, as I have had opportunity to tell the Government in plain words, affects them most unjustly. I admit that it would be very difficult to get adequate assistance from the State, but I do not admit the impossibility of it; and I feel very confident indeed that, if we went to the State and said that we unitedly demanded that all the country should share in providing what was done for education, and not merely the ratepayers, I think that we should certainly get a great deal more than the four shillings.

It is said, and Sir John Gorst the other day rather hinted that he agreed, that the chance of getting money from the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very small, but that, further, it would always be in the power of the House of Commons, after an Act of Parliament had defined what money was to be given, to refuse to vote the money, and, consequently, to repeal the Act, without any regard to the actual state of the law. That is, no doubt, quite true. It is perfectly possible in this way for the House of Commons to repeal an Act of Parliament, but I will venture to say that it is what the House of Commons has never done yet; and, further, that it would require a very vehement and very resolute movement on the part of the nation at large before the House of Commons would do such a thing as that. It is undeniably in their power to do it, and, of course, therefore, it may be said that the objection to State-aid is that, in the first place, you will not get enough money, and, in the second place, you are not sure of keeping it when you have got it. But, on the other hand, look at the rate-aid, and, in the first place, ask yourself the question, "Is it quite a just thing that we should go on piling upon the rates what really is a national concern, and that we should leave altogether untouched the great mass of the wealth, quite nine-tenths of it, and put the burden all upon the other tenth?" Well, it seems to me that that argument is quite right. In the next place, if this was done, how long should we be able to keep it? I am old enough to remember what a very considerable number of my audience do not remember, the Church-rate war, and I remember all its bitterness and the spiritual mischief that it did. I remember how it put the Dissenters and the Church at variance with one another more than almost anything else that you can put your finger on in this century, and I must say that I contemplate with very considerable dread the possibility of a revival of this Church-rate war. And then, to go on, we have been told again and again that public money ought not to be used without public control. If there are any who really believe that the Nonconformists will be content to let us, when we have got a large majority as we have now, pass a Bill to help the Voluntary schools out of the rates, and, at the same time, to leave to us the appointment of the teachers, I must say that I think he is very sanguine indeed. I do not think that it is at all probable. Of course I know that this is one of the things in which you are estimating the future, and I am well aware that other people may say, "I think that, after all, we have probably done with quarrels of this kind, and we may look forward to a different state of things from what we have just now." Of course, I do not profess to be an infallible exponent of the Nonconformists, but I should ask you, before you throw your strength into this

proposal, to feel quite sure of what you are doing, because I think that you will find that, in the first place, the Nonconformists will press very hard indeed for a representation of the ratepayers on the management of our schools, which will seriously imperil our right to appoint the teachers. The utmost, I think, that we could get—and that I think we could get—would be a law that requires that the teachers, if appointed, should be members of the Church of England; but I am afraid that when you come to the vital question there will be difficulty. For instance, here are two men, candidates for a school. There is clear evidence that one of those men is a really religious man. He is a capable teacher, but he is more than that, he is a really religious man who will impress his religious character upon the school of which he is the head. But the other man is sufficiently religious to pass muster, and he happens to be much the cleverer of the two. Which will your managers and ratepayers' representatives sitting on the board be tempted to elect? Well, I have seen it. I have myself taken part in such an election, and I know how very easily the preference for intellectual superiority over religious superiority can have its way in a mixed board of that kind: and, therefore, I tell you fairly that I fear this representation upon the management of our schools, and I fear it more and more as the years go on. I have seen the working of these things, and I cannot but acknowledge that the election of the teachers, which is the vital question, is more and more likely, if you get it away from the hands which now possess it, to give us schools which shall be Church schools in name, but not in the higher sense of that term.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. JOSEPH NUNN, Rector of S. Thomas's, Ardwick;
Hon. Canon of Manchester.

OUR object this afternoon, I presume, is to come as far as possible to an agreement upon this most important subject. This is to be done by looking, not on our own things only, but on the things of others. It is not to be compromise, but mutual consideration. It is not to be done by the exercise of authority, but by the exercise of reason. We have already had two Bills before us under authority—the Bill of the Archbishops' Committee and the Government Bill—and they are both gone, and I do not myself much lament them. Either of those schemes would have been fatal to the Voluntary system. The way to arrive at an agreement is to inquire simply, "What is just?" And herein we must distinguish between things that differ—between schools in School Board areas and Voluntary schools in other areas. I take first the case of schools in non-School Board areas. There the Voluntary system prevails as it did before 1870. The Act of 1870 has practically left them unaffected. Let the Voluntary system continue as long as it can in those districts. What may be justly demanded in the case of such schools? We must look at the original agreement and understanding. Religious bodies and others have liberty to found schools, with full possession of the ground, the condition being that they should support them, with the aid of a Government grant given on results. The Government demands have increased from time to time, and the Government aid up to a certain year increased with them, but of late there has been no increase in the grant, but only in the demands. Further demands have been made and further are impending, and we need an additional Government grant to meet those demands. But while we have a claim for this, we have no claim for such demands as have been put forward, as, for example, for the payment of the costs of the whole of the secular teaching. We have no claim for the payment of the cost of the teachers. All these proposals are new. They are not in the original agreement, and will cast the whole thing into the furnace-pot, and who knows how it will come out? Therefore do not make them. We demand rate-aid in School Board

areas, and School Board areas only. Let the country clergy make a note of that. Rate-aid would be fatal in many non-School Board areas. Rate-aid means the provision of undenominational teaching either in a Board School or in the one school of the place. There would be danger, as his lordship of London pointed out, if you get rate-aid in a non-School Board area, and the rate would be a Church-rate in that case. It is quite different in the case of a School Board area. But rate-aid, some say, means the control of our schools, and so the loss of Church schools in towns. But is this so? I will tell you how the argument is conducted. They say, "Control equals management, and management equals the appointment of teachers, and the appointment of teachers means turning your schools over entirely to an undenominational system." But, you will see, there is a fallacy at every step, if his lordship of London will permit me to say so. We have not to consider what Nonconformists will say. Of course they will object to our getting our due and our fair share of the rates. That need not come into our account at all. We have to say what is just, and to ask for it, and demand it, and get it. The Bishop of London has rather frightened us with the idea that if we get the rates we shall have this control as well, and that we shall not be able to appoint our teachers, and that we shall not be able to secure really religious men. You have now, I suppose, the insight of the clergyman, possibly with the assistance of a churchwarden, or some other manager, if the clergyman is not too autocratic. In the scheme which has been shadowed out in Manchester, from whence I come, we propose that the parents shall have some share in appointing the teachers. Will the appointment be less secure in the hands of the clergyman and the parents, and possibly a member of the School Board or two, than it is at present? I throw not. If so, what we need surely is a security and a safeguard, not against teachers who shall not be thoroughly earnest men, but we want a security against inefficient clergymen. Rate-aid we must have in our towns. Rate-aid may be in the form of complete maintenance; in which case we must give up to the School Board the whole of the finance, retaining a certain share or portion in the management such as has been set forth in the Manchester scheme. Or it may be in the form of a contribution, and in that case I do not see, if the School Board simply gives us a contribution, why of necessity there should be any representation at all. It does not seem to be called for necessarily in the nature of things. I will only say, in answer to his lordship of London, that a dole is a sum of money given to a school because it is necessitous; and that was the dole of the late Bill. It was an altogether new proposition. Hitherto money has been given by the Government, not to those who are necessitous, but to those who had money. "To him that hath shall be given." That was a proposal to give a dole. We want no dole. We want rates. We want justice to ourselves. We want the rates that our parents pay, for they are ratepayers. They pay their rates in their rent.

The Worshipful P. V. SMITH, M.A., LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester.

We all agree that the system of aid to Voluntary schools, whatever it is to be, must be enduring, effective, and also equitable. Now let us test State-aid and rate-aid by those qualifications. Will State-aid be enduring? Sir John Gorst has said that it will not. No doubt we have heard from the Bishop of London this afternoon that it will; but I am afraid that in the present day the destinies of this nation are in the hands of the House of Commons rather than of the House of Lords. But even if it would be enduring, would it be effective? We know that the proposal of the Government in their late Bill would not have been effective. Can we hope that any effective proposal will be made? Even if a proposal was effective now, would it be effective a few years hence, when the growing competition and increased expenditure of the School Boards had rendered Voluntary schools necessarily more expensive and requiring more aid? Then, would it be equitable? Well, I think not, for the following reason. Under our present system each district has to pay for its own elementary education, and quite properly so. It either pays in the rates or in the form of voluntary contributions. But if a special State grant is made to Voluntary schools, that will be a bounty, and, as I venture to say, a dole, to District A, which has Voluntary schools, at the expense of District B, which has none, when both District A and District B contribute equally to the taxes. It is not so much a dole to the schools themselves, as a dole to the district in which the schools are situated. Well, now, as regards rate-aid, would it be enduring? I venture to think that

if Voluntary schools are once imbedded into the rate system of the country rate-aid will be enduring to them. If we had had in the first instance a rate for the maintenance of Dissenting chapels, and then a rate for the maintenance of churches had been engrafted upon it, should we have had a Church-rate war, and should we have had an agitation for the abolition of Church-rates? Next, will rate-aid be effective? Clearly so, because we can contrive, and we can insist that the rates shall be given, equitably and in due proportion, and in accordance with due requirements, to the Church Voluntary schools and the other Voluntary schools equally with the Board schools. Lastly, would it be equitable? Surely it would be far more equitable than giving aid out of the taxes, because it will redress the iniquity which at present exists that ratepayers have to pay their rates for schools of which they do not absolutely and without qualification approve, and at the same time some of them have to pay voluntary contributions as well to the Voluntary schools with which they are connected. There is, however, the objection that any system of rate-aid would involve the control of the ratepayers. But how will that control be required, and to what extent? Only to the extent of regulating the amount of rate which shall be given to the schools and of seeing that the education for which that amount is given shall be up to a proper standard. I admit that to this extent the ratepayers have a right to a voice in those matters, just as the taxpayers have a right to a voice in them in consideration of their paying taxes, and that voice is now exercised through the Education Department. Therefore, in some way or other, by School Boards or otherwise, the ratepayers must have control of the amount of the rate that is given to the Voluntary schools, and they will also have the right to say that those Voluntary schools in consideration of the rate must bring up their secular education to a certain standard.

The Rev. HENRY LOWTHER CLARKE, Vicar of Dewsbury;
Hon. Canon of Wakefield; and Chairman of the Dewsbury
School Board.

AFTER the noble declaration of the Bishop of London, that he at all events is willing to sacrifice his own judgment for the sake of the unity of the Church, the course of some of us is made very much simpler. I will confine myself, in the five minutes at my disposal, to pointing out some of the conditions of the problem before us at the present moment. We know that we may expect to obtain some further aid from the State, and I venture to think that the aid of even four shillings will be sufficient to provide for the necessities at the present moment of a very large number of our Church schools, especially those in country districts. The schools in country districts greatly benefited by the legislation of 1891, and for some time, with such aid as was proposed in the late Bill, they will be able to go on and do their educational work. I do not think, however, that any system of fixed aid from the State will be sufficient to provide for all the future needs of these or any other schools. At the present time the Education Department is practically interfering in the appointment of teachers, and by the exercise of its authority through the code it is prescribing for us at different times the necessity of adding new teachers to the staff. Now, duty and responsibility in such a matter must go together, and therefore, if we are to have codes which require us to put on new teachers because an increasingly smaller number of children will be allowed to each teacher, then the State ought to make its grants correspond with the increased responsibility. This was really the principle that was asserted by the report of the Archbishop's Committee—a report which, I think, has not received from the country the attention which it might have received, and which it deserved. The general conditions of the educational problem and of the Church's work in elementary education are so varying in different parts of the country that it is next to impossible for any one scheme to be put forward which will deal with all cases. The advocates of rate-aid this afternoon have been very careful to tell us that they do not propose to interfere with country schools, or with districts where no rates are in force at the present moment. Whether that will be the ultimate form in which the question can be settled, I do not venture to ask you to decide. But we are to accept the fact, I suppose, that if rate-aid is needed, for the present the Church will ask for it only in those districts where School Boards exist, and where the rates are available for the purposes of elementary education within the limits of their jurisdiction. I have been a consistent advocate of State-aid. But after listening to the Bishop of London, it would be useless for me to say that I should lift up my voice at all against any proposal of rate-aid if this is to be the ultimate policy of the Church. I, too, would accept

it if the Church, by means of this compromise on both sides, may be able to come to some agreement and propound some scheme which may be accepted by us all. The desire to have rate-aid has really come from some of our large towns, chiefly in Lancashire. They are most anxious for it. They assure us that, for them at all events, there is no danger to be apprehended in the matter of trust deeds or the religious status of their schools. Let them have it. *Fiat experimentum in corpore vili.*

The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON.

I SENT up my card for the purpose of giving a voice from the south which is rather different from the view which the south is supposed to entertain. I have considered the matter very carefully, and I think that a share in the rates in the large towns is the only real statesmanlike solution of the question. It is impossible for me in the short space of five minutes to answer all the points of that very able speech by the Bishop of London. One of his points was that, considering the mass of wealth that is excluded from the rates, it would be unfair to put more burdens on the rates. I would only, in passing, remind you that there is a commission sitting for the purpose of altering that unfair proportion in the payment of rates, and making the great wealth of the country pay more towards the rates than it does at present. Another point that I would emphasize is, that I have no fear of the ratepayer in our schools. We profess to trust the parents, and ask that the education be according to their desire. I say let us trust the people; and I go further than that, for I believe that if we could have a representative educational authority from the ratepayers on all our denominational schools, we should have a much better and more effective management than we have now. Our schools now, though we are obliged to have three men to sign the paper, really are managed by one man. In the case of my own school it is managed by myself. I cannot get the others to attend and help me. In other cases the schools are managed by the clergyman. And because the management is done by only one particular person, jealousy arises on the part of others as to the management of the schools. I believe that if we had a representative forced upon the schools it would induce our own managers to attend properly, and make the management of our denominational schools a reality.

The Right Rev. J. PERCIVAL, D.D., Lord Bishop of Hereford.

MY experience in school matters has, I believe, been somewhat different from that of every one of the speakers who has preceded me, and it has been tolerably varied. Before 1870 I managed a ragged school. I have been a member of two School Boards, one in a great city, and the other in an old city, and I have acted as manager on various Voluntary Church schools. In some cases, and in one case in particular, I have had only Church managers as colleagues, and I have had considerable difficulty to persuade my colleague, the rector, to call the school "our school," and not "my school." I am still a manager of certain elementary schools with a mixed board, and I am bound to acknowledge that two of the very best managers on that mixed board, even from the Bishop of London's point of view of a Church school with a mixed board, are Nonconformists. The result of this experience has brought me to the conclusion not to rely too exclusively on State-aid. I have not time to elaborate arguments. I barely state my conclusion. In the first place, I believe State-aid to be wasteful; and, in the second place, I think that it has already been proved to be inadequate. Well, then, what is my positive conclusion? It is the conclusion to which, I believe, one of the speakers (Mr. Lowther Clarke) has been brought by his experience, which is a different experience from mine. It is, that we should look, in the first instance, to an additional State grant which shall be given to all elementary schools, whether they be Voluntary schools or Board schools, or whether they be denominational or undenominational. That is my first point, and my reason for this is that I believe, with the Bishop of London, that the experts who are examining into the question will find that we have a larger claim than has hitherto been satisfied on State-aid for elementary schools. My next point is that I should desire to see, besides this additional State-aid, the power given to localities to levy a rate for all schools. But then we come to the conditions on which any such rate-aid should be given; and

here we come to the point at which, as I conceive, Churchmen have to a great extent gone wrong. They have resolved again and again that they ought to have more aid, but at the same time reserve their exclusive management. Now I do not myself see how that is based on justice. But upon what terms, then, can we have anything like representative management, and of what sort? I will endeavour to answer the latter of those questions first. My conviction is that it would be a just arrangement if with power to levy a rate we were called upon to acquiesce in these conditions—that the schools shall be managed by a board consisting partly, let us say, of the trustees or their representatives, and certain representatives of the parents of the children in the schools for the time being. We have heard a great deal about the rights of parents, and I agree that we ought to give the parents their full rights, but they should be the parents of the children in the school. And, thirdly, we should give a share of the management of the schools to the representatives of the parish or locality. Thus you would have a managing body consisting of three elements, and that, I think, would constitute a really good managing board. But then behind all that, Churchmen assembled here to-day have in their minds this question—How are we with such a board to safeguard the Church character of our schools? Well, here again I consider, if I may venture to say so, that Churchmen have made a mistake in their policy. They have been labouring all these months by the indirect method instead of pushing the question by the direct method. I would have the Church character of a Church school reserved directly; that is to say, I would retain to the trustees the power of determining the denomination of the head teacher, so that in a Roman Catholic school they would determine that he would be a Roman Catholic teacher, and in a Church school a Church teacher, and so on. Having done that, I conceive that justice requires that we should admit teachers of other denominations to the Church schools as assistant-teachers. ("No, no.") Like Archdeacon Wilson, I expected some "Noes." Further than that, I hold that justice requires that, at any rate, where there is only one kind of school, the office of pupil-teacher should be open to all denominations. Someone says "No?" ("No.") Well, then, I understand that no one says "No" to that proposition, and that we are unanimous. I hold that, at any rate, where there is only one school, the clever children—the children whose future in life depends upon it—should have free admission to the office of pupil-teacher without any interference with their conscience. My time is up.

HUGH HOLMES GORE, Esq., Bristol.

As a member of a School Board for some years past, I am anxious to stand here just for a moment or two at a meeting which is crucial indeed in directing attention to the question as to what is to be done in the next Session of Parliament with reference to elementary education. The wise address which was given by Archdeacon Sandford moved me to feel that I should like to come up here and urge upon this Congress the importance of remembering that what the Church has to do is to enunciate principles, and to leave it to the legislature to say how those principles shall be placed upon the statute book. The last few speakers have shown how there are divergences of opinion with reference to the proportion of State-aid to rate-aid, and the earnest address of the Archdeacon of Manchester showed how very easy indeed it is for us to personally emphasize these various divergences of opinion, that seem likely to wreck the Bill when it is brought in even on a second occasion. Under these circumstances I do venture to appeal that we shall keep principles clearly before us, and refer merely to the one that Archdeacon Sandford spoke about. I want to say one word in emphasis of the importance of maintaining Clause 27 of the last Bill. I speak from knowledge, as one who knows well our working-class population. The principle which Archdeacon Sandford stated is a principle which we ought really to stand to. Twenty-six years ago, when the Cowper-Temple clause was passed, there was a great deal of hesitancy in the minds of people as to whether or not the nation was really religiously inclined. Twenty-six years have satisfied us that the nation as a nation desires that the State shall, in addition to providing secular instruction, see that the children have some religious education. That, thank God, is a fact which no honest man can gain-say. But whilst that is true, opinion varies infinitely with reference to the character of the education that should be given, and it seems to me only fair that the principle that Archdeacon Sandford gave expression to should be really frankly accepted by the

clergy at the present time ; that is, if need be, even in our Church schools, children, if their parents desire it, be allowed to be taught the particular beliefs of the religious persuasion which the parent claims for his own ; and for this reason, that they are not in one sense our schools at all. They are State schools, in which we are allowed to teach, or to have certain religious teaching. They are State schools for the reason—I trust that the audience will allow me to state the reason. The reason is this : that if the State-aid were withdrawn to-morrow, our schools would be closed in three months. I do not want to enter into controversial matters more than is necessary. I want simply to try to see whether or not the principle upon which we must hope that a Bill may really become an Act of Parliament is one which we are prepared to adopt ; and I am going to say this, being a member of a School Board, and, oddly enough, the chairman of an Industrial school committee, I have found that we are able, as a School Board, to see that children of particular religious persuasions (as required by the Home Office in all Industrial schools) have their particular religious opinions respected. Archdeacon Wilson spoke as though he were anxious—probably from the narrow view of the Manchester district—to suppress School Boards ; I would remind you that in the city of Liverpool, which is near to Manchester, the School Board has under its control, side by side, a Roman Catholic school and a Protestant school ; and three other Roman Catholic schools are, I think, under the control of the School Board at Liverpool, and are loyally managed by that Board, which is the one democratic institution where the minority has a chance of representation, for the method of election permits a minority its voice.

The Right Rev. JAS. MOORHOUSE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Manchester.

You will naturally expect that I should say something in reference to the proposition that some assistance, at any rate, shall be granted from the rates to Voluntary schools in School Board areas. I was heartily glad to hear my dear brother the Bishop of London assert, with that grand liberality of mind which always distinguishes him, that he was willing, under the present circumstances, to forego much of his own opinion for the purpose of bringing us all together in a common demand. I am sure that I am equally willing to drop any peculiarities of opinion which may have distinguished me in order that we may all come together, if possible, and present a common front, and fight in the same line, and so exert an overwhelming force upon the existing Government. I am quite willing to grant that we ought to receive from the Government, in the form of a grant from the taxes, all that the Government can be induced to give us. We should all help those who go for grants from the taxes to get as much as they can. In the next place, we should never ask anybody to receive aid from the rates in districts where school rates are not collected ; and I trust that that will make the country clergy feel that our demand does not touch their interest in the least. But I have now only risen to say that you should be ready to adapt the measures which you demand to the peculiar wants of separate districts. The wants in certain districts of this country are totally different from those in others. Let me show you how, for instance, they differ in Lancashire, from those which would be felt in such a diocese as that of London. It is not that we do not give a large sum in the way of voluntary subscriptions. We, in Lancashire, give £104,000 a year in voluntary subscriptions : the diocese of London only gives £79,000 a year. So it is not that we want to be relieved from voluntary subscriptions. We already give more than you could naturally demand from us. But our circumstances are peculiar, and they are these. We were enabled, through the good circumstances of the working people of Lancashire, to charge large sums—or what would be deemed large sums at least in the south—as school fees, and they were cheerfully paid, because our working people are very well off, and they could easily pay them. In consequence of these favourable circumstances, and not because we think ourselves better men than they are in the diocese of London, we were able to get four hundred and forty-seven thousand children into the Voluntary schools of Lancashire, while there are only one hundred and five thousand in the Board schools. Now, does anybody want us to give up all the schools that are accommodating the children over and above the number educated in the Voluntary school in the diocese of London ? We should have to give up more than two hundred thousand children if we did that. You surely do not ask us to do that. But if you do not, you must

compensate us in some way for the loss, which the last Bill inflicted upon us, of our large school fees. Remember, you have made it possible for anyone who pleases to demand a free place in all our schools. A certain number have demanded free places, sometimes under pressure, I am sorry to say, from persons outside. Whenever that demand is made by a few of the working-classes, depend upon it it will soon be made by all of them, and for this reason: those who are most needy will first make it, and then, out of class sympathy, those working-men who are better off will say, "Jack So-and-so ought not to be shamed by claiming to have a free education given to his boy when I do not claim it for mine. I will claim it, too." And they will claim it. Now, remember you have made it impossible for us to go on for long collecting large school fees. Then, if we lose these, how do you propose to recoup us for our loss? Any grant which Government may make should be made to all the schools in common, Board, as well as Voluntary. You ought to relieve the rates in the Board school districts by supplying grants from the taxes. Well, if you do that, you will not meet our particular want, because you cannot get for the kingdom in general as large a grant as would be necessary to recoup us for our loss in Lancashire. I will only say one more sentence. Why do you want to prevent us from getting that aid from the rates for which we are perfectly willing to give any reasonable guarantee which the public may require that it shall be properly spent on the article for which it is given?

The Rev. CHARLES DUNKLEY, Vicar of S. Mary's, Wolverhampton; Editor of the Church Congress Official Report, 1882-1896; formerly Chairman of the Wolverhampton School Board.

I THINK that the Congress ought to be grateful for the masterly and unmistakable utterance of the Bishop of London; and I venture to say that the Bishop of London has voiced the larger part of this great Church Congress upon the schools question. One of the former speakers has declared that he has no fear of the ratepayer. I am not an advocate of rate-aid, and I have no fear of the ratepayer on the board of management; but I am perfectly certain that if an attempt is made to put our schools upon the rates, the first men to rise up against it will be the ratepayers of the great commercial communities of this country, and there is grave reason to fear the ultimate result of such a powerful opposition. Now what I imagine is the desire and aim of the authorities of this Congress is to bring into line the thoughts and judgment of Churchmen upon the education question, and it seems to me that it is not for us, at this particular time, to say what shall be the particular channel through which the additional aid shall reach us. In the Lichfield diocese we have practically declared that we will accept whatever decision is arrived at by the forthcoming conference of the Convocations of the north and south; and I think, if I may judge from the tone of this meeting, that this Congress will also agree to do so. What we have, then, to do to-day is to indicate certain ways in which additional financial help may reach us, and to leave that conference to recommend, or to declare its preference for, one over all others. Ultimately, however, the Government, and the Government only, must determine whether the relief shall come to us in the form of rate-aid, or in the form of an additional State grant. The first thing the Government has to do, is, I think, to discover which are the schools that need additional aid. Not all schools are necessitous, not even all Voluntary schools; and there are not a few Board schools that are equally necessitous with many of our poverty-stricken Voluntary schools. Whatever measure is framed, it must be a measure that will bring relief alike to the necessitous Voluntary schools and the necessitous Board schools. In my judgments this must come in the form of State-aid, and it must come on the lines of a sliding scale. It is not a difficult matter (at any rate for those who are conversant with education statistics) to discover and to define what is a necessitous school; and it is not a difficult thing to differentiate between schools that are more and schools that are less necessitous. In my opinion a school whose income from all sources other than the Government annual grant amounts to 24s. is not a necessitous school. And, further, it may be admitted that a school whose income from all sources, other than the Government grant, does not reach 16s. has not done its duty in the way of raising voluntary subscriptions. And therefore I would fix 16s. as the minimum limit of income from all sources, other than the annual grant, to be expected of all schools. Schools whose income from all sources other than the Government

annual grant falls below 16s. should not receive a higher grant in aid than the schools which reach this minimum limit. Thus a stimulus to local effort and sacrifice is supplied. And I would fix 24s.* as the maximum limit of income from all sources other than Government annual grant; and would recommend a sliding scale of grants-in-aid, beginning with 8s. for the school whose income from all sources other than Government grant is 16s. and under; 7s. for the 17s. school, and so on up to 23s.; decreasing the grant-in-aid by 1s. as the income from all sources other than Government grant (calculated on the average income of three years immediately preceding the application for a grant-in-aid) increases by the same amount up to 24s., at which point schools may be regarded non-necessitous. Then the question is asked, "What will become of your voluntary contributions?" Why, this very plan of a sliding scale will do more than anything that could be devised to maintain the contributions at their present level. And it is also asked, "What will your School Board friends say to the scheme proposed?" I am persuaded, and I have had some experience of working alongside Nonconformists and others not in full sympathy with the Church's day schools, that if a Bill on the lines now indicated were produced, bringing relief to Board and Voluntary schools alike, and in measure proportioned to necessity, that Bill would be accepted by Nonconformists as well as by Churchpeople as a reasonable and equitable settlement of a difficult and much disputed problem.

MUSIC HALL,

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

CHURCH REFORM.

PRACTICAL: THE APPOINTMENT, TENURE, AND RETIREMENT OF THE
BENEFICED CLERGY.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE subject which we take into consideration this morning, and in fact throughout the day, is that of Church Reform. This morning we devote ourselves to the practical aspect of it, namely, the appointment, tenure, and retirement of the beneficed clergy. I have the pleasure of calling upon Chancellor Dibdin to open the discussion.

PAPERS.

The Worshipful LEWIS T. DIBDIN, D.C.L., Chancellor of the
Dioceses of Durham, Exeter, and Rochester.

I THINK we may all be excused if we come to this discussion with some feeling of disappointment. Those who asked me to speak did so, I imagine, in the expectation that the Benefices Bill would by this time

* The cost of maintenance per child in England (excluding London), in Board Schools, is £2 4s. [Annual Report, 1894-5, p. xlviii.] The average annual rate of grant per child, in Board Schools, is 19s. 3d. [p. xxiii.] The income, therefore, from all sources, other than the Government grant, in provincial Board Schools is 24s. 9d. It is submitted that in order to place the Voluntary schools in a satisfactory financial position they should be supplied with an income from all sources, other than the Government grant, equivalent, as near as may be, to the like income of the provincial Boards.

have passed into law. Instead of that, however, we have still to go on pleading the old cause, and hoping that next year will bring us better luck. Of course the nearness of the thing, the sense of a rare opportunity lost, and the recollection of how long and patiently the Church has begged, and begged in vain, for this reform, do not make defeat more tolerable. Indeed, I observe with satisfaction that the collapse of the Benefices Bill has produced far more irritation than the failure of any previous Bill. I hope Churchmen will go on being irritated, and will say so very distinctly. If they do they will be attended to.

Meanwhile, let us consider what it is we want? The Benefices Bill dealt, as you know, with three distinct subjects of very unequal importance. The first, and I think without doubt the gravest, is patronage. It is not a pleasant task for a Churchman to have to state the plain facts about patronage as it exists to-day in the Church of England. I have read and I have inquired, but I must confess that, so far as I know, there is no other Church in Christendom which has to plead guilty to a condition of things so humiliating. I am ashamed to weary you with a repetition of the too familiar stories of scandals; and it is not necessary, for the substance of the thing lies in a nutshell. The law allows, and always has allowed, the advowson, that is, the patron's right of choosing an incumbent, to be sold. On the other hand it does not allow, and never has allowed, the cure of souls to be sold, that is, the incumbent's office. Further, the Church has always condemned this latter sort of sale as sinful, and, to quote the 40th Canon, "execrable before God." Certainly it is hard to conceive anything more shocking or more sacrilegious than that a man should pay hard cash in order that he may have committed to him, in the name of the Holy Trinity and with laying on of hands, the spiritual oversight of men's souls. Yet it is the simple truth that the law as it stands can be so easily evaded that men buy themselves, or their relatives, into livings every day. Benefices are shamelessly advertised for sale "with immediate possession"; and I am afraid, indeed I know, that purchasers are not wanting. The fact is that owing to various causes livings are cheap, and, as a mere investment, a clergyman with £1,000 or £1,500 in his pocket can do very well for himself in the advowson market. It is a standing temptation to thoughtless clergymen. Do not suppose that these cases where a clergyman buys an advowson "with immediate possession" in order to appoint himself, that is, really and truly buys the actual cure of souls, are exceptional. They are the rule. I will give you the evidence of the chief advowson broker in the trade, who advertises that nearly all the livings in the market (about 500) are in his hands. He says:—"Three-fourths of my transactions are with immediate possession, and, strictly speaking, they are nearly all illegal." And again: "The centre point of simony is the immediate possession."

So we have it on the best possible authority that in a large majority of sales of patronage the law is evaded or broken by means of a clandestine bargain entered into between two persons (probably both clergymen) to enable one of them to commit what his Church describes as "the detestable sin of simony," and then, having solemnly sworn that

* Report of Royal Commission on Sale of Benefices, 1880, p. 94, Q 2027, Q 2033.

he has not committed it, to receive as a sacred trust, with prayer and imposition of hands, the spiritual oversight of immortal souls! This horrible mockery is going on day by day, and year after year, and the evil is getting worse instead of better as the price of livings goes down. Can you wonder that the enemies of the Church doubt our sincerity while we tolerate such a system, and that the baser sort of Liberationist revels in the use of so excellent a weapon against us? The *Liberator* magazine has lately devoted a special column to what it calls "The Soul Market."

I do not think I am wrong in saying that we all, or nearly all, feel the sting and shame of the thing, and wish very heartily to see a remedy. Now, Reform may follow either of two lines, and, so far as I can see, must follow one or the other. You may prohibit sales of patronage altogether. That is one line. Or you may so control sales of advowsons as to prevent their being in reality sales of cures of souls. That is the other line. The difficulty of abolition is compensation. Where is compensation to come from, and who is to exercise the patronage after a patron has been bought out? Perhaps some day a strong Government will take the matter in hand and make a clean job of it. I for one should be very glad. But as things are, it must be admitted that the most practicable way, the line of least resistance, is that of applying conditions which may act as a sieve to let through sales of patronage made *bona fide*, but to catch sales, ostensibly of patronage, but really of the cure of souls. Part I. of the Benefices Bill was constructed with this object, being in substance the same as the Archbishops' Patronage Bill which passed the House of Lords in 1895, and all but passed the House of Commons in 1894. I will not weary you and lose myself in attempting a discussion of details impossible in the time allotted to me. It is enough to say that one and all of the provisions were directed, not to hindering a man from buying an advowson in order to become a patron, but to prevent a man from buying a cure of souls by means of an advowson. Speaking generally, the Bill only aims at preventing two sorts of sale, namely, (1) sales "with immediate possession," which the chief advowson broker tells you is the "centre point of simony"; and (2) sales to clergymen in order that they may present themselves; that is, cases of a trusteeship bought to be used for the personal profit of the trustee. Whether the precise machinery is the best that can be devised is, of course, a matter of opinion. This at least may be said, that it has been built up and revised again and again by men like the late Lord Selborne, Sir Richard Webster, and Sir Francis Jeune, and that it commands a greater preponderance of approval on the part of all classes of Churchmen than any other patronage scheme has ever secured. Its opponents are a motley group. There are the advowson brokers of course, and there are the Liberationists. These know what they are about, and have a definite object. But beyond, there are a number of people, like the oracular gentlemen of the Property Defence League, who have a vague notion that property is being threatened, but really know nothing about the subject, who stumble from one b under to another, and are only saved from detection by the equal ignorance of their friends. Then there are the people who see behind every Church Bill the dark designs of the Bishops. Finally, there are a not inconsiderable number of persons who, while professing the warmest zeal for reform in

the abstract, are somehow or other, year after year, found in open or secret opposition to every Patronage Bill.

I am not going to discuss individuals ; indeed, of some of them the less said the better. I desire, however, to give respectful attention to arguments. But if you throw aside mere misapprehensions and objections founded on mistakes of law or fact, it is surprisingly hard to find anything definite in the way of argument which can be grappled with. The point of most substance that I know of is that the restrictions of the Bill diminish the value of property without compensation. If that were true it would be a serious matter. But a fallacy lies in the term "the value" of advowson property. When, for instance, the nimble Mr. Foster uses such words, he means that his friends the brokers would not be able to keep up the prices now realized on sales, which they admit to be "nearly all illegal." Very likely not. In other words, men would not pay as much on a *bona fide* sale of patronage as they are now made to pay on an illegal sale "with immediate possession." So that when you get to the bottom of it, this claim for compensation is found to be really in respect of the loss of a chance of evading the law by making a simoniacal bargain. Can you wonder that in the House of Commons Sir Richard Webster, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Cripps, men whose experience in compensation cases is, I suppose, unrivalled, derided this impudent claim as utterly untenable. But if it were not so, there would still be the sufficient answer that patronage involves a trust as well as property, and that conditions necessary for the due administration of the trust can be, and have been again and again, imposed by Parliament without compensation, because in the eye of the law the trust is dominant and the property is subordinate.

I have now finished what I have to say as to the first part of the Benefices Bill. I think you will agree with me that the case for it is overwhelming, and the case against it very weak.

The second part of the Bill relates to the powers of the Bishop to refuse institution to unfit clergymen who have been presented, or have presented themselves, to livings. It is of scarcely less importance than the first part. The present system, which leaves the Bishop practically powerless to exert any control over unsuitable appointments, and the parishioners at the mercy of any adventurer in Orders who can buy the patronage, is not only absurd in itself, but greatly aggravates the scandals of simony. But I pass over this second part of the Bill in order to say something as to Part III.

The third part of the Benefices Bill deals with negligent incumbents, and provides that where the duties attaching to a cure of souls are not adequately discharged, either through the fault or the infirmity of the clergyman, he may be superseded in the oversight of his parish by a curate-in-charge. It will be observed that this is an entirely distinct subject from that of Parts I. and II. It has nothing to do with patronage, but is really a separate measure dealing with the discipline of the clergy. In 1895 it was in fact a separate Bill ; and, speaking for myself, I regret, as I have always regretted, that the Patronage Bill proper was so seriously increased in bulk and enlarged in scope by the absorption into it of this third part—longer than either of the other two, and neither so maturely considered, nor, in my judgment, so

practically important as the rest of the Bill. Do not let me be misunderstood. Nothing connected with Church Reform can be more important than the adequate discharge of their duties by the parochial clergy. But the point to be considered is how far this measure would practically secure this being done. I want to explain why I doubt the success of Part III. in its present form as a working measure. Neglect of duty, that is neglect of some definite obligation on the part of an incumbent, *e.g.*, leaving the dead unburied or the Sacraments unadministered, is an ecclesiastical offence for which the present law provides. But this sort of neglect of duty falls very short of what is in the minds of the originators of Part III. They want to reach the slack, the pleasure-loving, and the "cantankerous" parson, whose default is not one definite omission, but his whole manner of life. Well, it would be an excellent thing if all such men could be got rid of, whether parsons or laymen. What a relief it would be to many a clergyman if cantankerous squires could be placed under inhibition, and their neglected duties handed over to a squire in charge. But no sane man would ever propose such a law, even with the privilege of an appeal to the Privy Council. We must take things as we find them. Perhaps it was a mistake—I do not think so—to give the parson a freehold estate in his benefice instead of hiring him for one, two, or five years, as the Nonconformists do; but at any rate it was done, and this Bill does not attempt to abolish the clergyman's fixity of tenure.

The difficulty I feel is this. Is the neglect of duty which is to be the ground of inhibition an offence or not? If it is an offence it should surely be dealt with like other offences under the Discipline Acts. A word or two would extend the Act of 1892 to meet such cases. But if the neglect of duty is something which falls short of an offence, I fail to see how you can practically deprive a man of his freehold estate for something which you admit is no offence at all. The truth is that there always must be men in every calling—officers in the army and navy, civilians, lawyers, doctors, and so on—who have got into positions for which they are or have become inadequate, and from which it would be well for themselves and everybody else if they could be removed. But, as a general rule, you cannot apply compulsion to such cases. This fundamental defect in the basis of the third part of the Benefices Bill is really a matter of general jurisprudence which I cannot think that Parliament would allow to pass unchallenged. But even if it were otherwise, I gravely doubt whether the measure would have much more practical effect than the Pluralities Act of 1885, which, though not open to the criticism I am making, is nevertheless almost a dead letter. I feel the responsibility of making these observations, but I do not think I should be doing my duty if I kept them back. Unless a definite charge of some specific act or neglect were proved, it would be almost impossible to obtain a verdict against a clergyman. I am not making guesses, but I am telling you what I know from experience, when I say that general charges are useless against clergymen. The common sense of society recognizes, and, if I may say so, most properly recognizes, that before you can deprive a man of his legal freehold some specific and adequate offence must be alleged and proved.

The other point of capital importance in Part III. where I apprehend difficulty in practice is with regard to the proposed pensions. The

inhibited incumbent is to have a pension. If he is wilfully negligent he may get one-third of the income or less. If he is only negligent from infirmity, the minimum pension is one-third of the income; but it may be two-thirds or more. I am at a loss to conceive how any person possessing experience of the working of things in the Church of England can suppose that such a plan admits of any but the most exceptional employment at the present time. Endowments have so shrunk that even the secular press is saying that something must be done, and yet it is proposed to make an income which is already painfully inadequate for one man support two—one inhibited and in retirement, and the other in charge and doing the work. It is plain the plan would not work, and in practice commissioners would refuse to find a verdict against a clergyman which, if enforced, would condemn him and his successor to something very like starvation. I do not know whether there are many who agree with me, but I have been driven slowly to the conclusion that, so long as the clergy are underpaid, and no system of pensions exists, it is impracticable to attempt heroic legislation of this sort. I think if the Discipline Act of 1892, which is working well, and under which any accused clerk can, and I think ought to, be tried by assessors, were extended to other offences besides immorality; if the Pluralities Act, 1885, could be used more courageously; and if the clause of Part III. which makes sequestration a cause of avoidance of a benefice could be passed into law, we might be content to rub along for the present without more "chucking out" legislation.

What is to be done next Session?

The case stands thus. Parts I. and II. of the Benefices Bill are certain to be bitterly opposed by a few, but would be of the greatest service to the Church. Part III. would excite much less opposition in the Commons, but would, if I am right, be of doubtful practical utility. To give us, then, Part III. instead of Part I., would be, when we ask for bread, to give us a stone.

The Benefices Bill as a whole is too heavy a task. I think, if I may say so as an outside spectator, Lord Cranborne and his colleagues, and not least my friend Mr. Boscawen, performed a great achievement of tact and patience and hard work in carrying the Bill so far through the House. But it would be unfair to expect impossibilities. Churchmen must look to the Government, and not to private Members, to introduce and to press through next Session a greatly shortened Patronage Bill on the lines of Parts I. and II. of the Benefices Bill. The opposition of this year will doubtless be renewed, but with time and patience it can be overcome in this as in other matters. There is no doubt as to the feeling of the Church as a whole, and we have a right to expect, to use Mr. Balfour's words,* "that this Parliament will show itself not unequal to the task of dealing with those wants of the Church of England of which it is in so large a measure the guardian."

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM informed the Dean of Cork, whose name appears on the list, is unable to be present on this occasion. I am not aware whether anyone

* *Times*, July 21st, 1896.

in the room is in charge of the Paper which he would have read if he were present. If not, we will pass on to the next.

A. GRIFFITH BOSCAWEN, Esq., M.P., Member of the House of Laymen for the Province of Canterbury.

The recent attack on the Church in Wales, now for the time at least frustrated, has had several good results. In particular it has called attention to Church affairs—has led Churchmen to examine their own position, and created an honest determination to reform the Church wherever reform is needed. To some people, Church Reform is a distasteful expression. The Church, they say, is a spiritual body, far above popular reform and Acts of Parliament. But the visible Church is also an association of men acting through human machinery, and should we not try to make that human machinery as perfect as possible? Should we not agree as Churchmen to remedy every abuse, and to get Parliament to carry our remedies? Does our sole public duty to the Church consist in defending the State-connection and the temporal endowments? Is not Church Reform the necessary complement of Church Defence? If it is not, and if the Establishment is a complete bar to the reform of crying abuses (which certainly I do not believe), then the Liberationists are right, and the sooner we disestablish the better. Better lose every penny of our endowments than place ourselves in intolerable chains.

The duty of Church reform is plain. The question is, Where are we to begin? There are many things in the constitution of the Church that might be greatly improved. But in nothing is reform more urgently needed than in the appointment, tenure, and retirement of the beneficed clergy.

In saying this, however, I hope I may not be misunderstood. I bring no sweeping charges against patrons, much less against the clergy. The number of the former who make corrupt appointments, and the number of the latter who are parties to such, I know to be very few. But it is because this minority does exist, and under our present system always can exist; and because the principle is so utterly bad, that a man can practically buy a cure of souls, force an unwilling bishop to institute him, inflict himself on a parish, and stop there, neglecting his duty till his death, or till he sells to another like him, that I say some remedy must be found, and found quickly.

In the old days nearly every Government office was purchasable in this country, and they are so still in China, and, I believe, in Turkey. What should we think if it was proposed to re-introduce such a system? Yet what is intolerable in civil offices is tolerated and even defended by some people in sacred offices. No wonder the better sense of Churchmen of all opinions has risen indignantly against it. In his book on Church Reform, page 164, the Bishop of Liverpool has written as follows:—

“I have said nothing about the sale of livings; I hold that it deserves unmitigated condemnation. A system by which a cure of souls can be sold like a flock of sheep or a drove of pigs is simply a disgrace to the Church which tolerates it, and to the country in which it takes place. It ought to be swept clean away. The heaviest penalty ought to be

imposed on everyone who has anything to do with it directly or indirectly, either as principal or agent. Let all alike—buyers, sellers, vendors, purchasers, clergymen, patron, and lawyer—be severely punished if detected. The thing is an offence in God's sight, and a blot on the character of the Church of England."

Many attempts to deal with this have been made. Amongst them was the Benefices Bill, which I venture to mention as I was partly responsible for it. It aimed at three things. In the first place, while not going the length advocated by the Bishop of Liverpool of abolishing sales altogether, it attempted so to restrict sales as to prevent an improper person from being presented to a living; secondly, it aimed at giving the bishops more effective means of refusing to institute such a person if presented; thirdly, at removing a clergyman who both neglected his parish himself and refused to make any provision for getting the work done.

The Bill nearly passed; but was killed, partly by the apathy of the Government, partly because it was too long, partly also by the furious opposition of certain Churchmen. The indignation of these was indeed extraordinary. In fact, I never thought that the clergy were capable of such strong language as was addressed in some letters to Lord Cranborne and myself. But we intend to reintroduce it, and it is well, therefore, to take counsel now, and see if we cannot make its details more generally acceptable.

In the first place, I think that the attempt made in Part I. to restrict sales of livings, without abolishing them altogether, was doomed to failure, and we should be wise not to reintroduce it, at least at present. It did not please anybody. On the one hand, keen reformers thought it did not go far enough; on the other, all who held the view (a horrible and false view to my mind) that Church patronage was merely property, felt that that property, without being confiscated, was being depreciated and whittled away; it was not felony in their view, but it was petty larceny, and they opposed it all the same. Then, would it have been effective? I very much doubt it. Whatever restriction you have, the skill of those who are euphemistically called "ecclesiastical agents," who trade on corruption in the Church, will drive through the proverbial coach and four. In fact, it is difficult to see where to stop short of abolishing sales altogether; but this is tantamount to abolishing private patronage. Personally, I believe this will be found the only final settlement, as was the case in Scotland. But to do this we must, as in Scotland, offer compensation to patrons, otherwise a great injustice would be done. My belief is that, as there, many would refuse to take it; but in any case it would cost a large sum of money, and as nobody has yet suggested where this money is to come from, we must content ourselves with less drastic measures for the present.

In practice, however, it does not so much matter who is presented to a living or how, if the bishop has ample power to refuse to institute an unfit presentee. To give such power was the object of the second part of the late Bill. It provided that he might refuse for any of the following causes:—Physical or mental infirmity, pecuniary embarrassment, misconduct or neglect of duty in a previous benefice, evil life, or of having caused grave scandal or evil report concerning his moral conduct, and I would add, if the presentation occurs within a year of a

transfer, and he has reason to suspect some simoniacal transaction. Surely this is absolutely right; yet it was violently opposed, principally on the ground that it would increase the power of the bishops. But why not? What is the use of bishops, if they are to do nothing? Are we not Episcopalians, and do we not believe in episcopacy as the only true form of Church government, and who are these Episcopal Churchmen who cannot trust the bishops with the simplest powers of discipline, and who would treat them merely as purely ornamental personages living in palaces, and to be addressed My Lord? I do not understand these people. Besides which, in the Benefices Bill whatever increased power was given was most carefully hedged round. From every refusal to institute there was an appeal given to a Court consisting of a judge, and the archbishop of the province; of whom the judge alone was to decide on the facts and the law, and his decision was to be binding on the archbishop, whose sole duty it was to say whether the appellant was a fit person to discharge the cure of souls after the judge had declared the facts proved. If the judge found the facts not proved, the archbishop had no option but to institute the man. Where is the episcopal tyranny here? Is this denying the clergy access to the Queen's Courts? Certainly not. And the only reason why it was proposed to alter the existing appeals at all—the processes of *Quare Impedit* and *Duplex Querela*—was their excessive cost, all of which falls on the bishop if he fails, thus very likely preventing him from taking action at all.

I pass on now to retirement—for of tenure I have not time to speak, except so far as appointment and retirement bear upon it. Retirement is a most difficult subject, for nobody wishes to drive from his home and deprive of his freehold an aged clergyman, whose age and infirmity are his only faults. But there is one principle in all these matters which must reign supreme, and be placed above even our tenderest regard—the good of the parish. Is the spiritual welfare of a parish to be ruined because a man is too old to work himself, and does not get somebody else to do the work? Surely it is his clear duty to go, before the Lord of the Vineyard shall say, Why cumberest thou the ground? And as the law stands, he can do this of his own initiative, and take a pension under the Clergy Resignation Acts. But, supposing his duty is not clear to him—men are often unaware of their failing powers—and he stays on, must not means be found to remove him? It may sound hard, but it is necessary. Much more is it necessary where a man wilfully neglects his parish. Yet, as the law stands, unless he is actually proved guilty of some crime or immoral act, in which case he would be amenable to the Clergy Discipline Act, he may stop on as long as he likes, ruining his parish and betraying his sacred trust. Probably there is nobody here who does not know such a case. We tried to meet both these cases in the Benefices Bill, by providing that the bishop might, of his own initiative, issue an independent commission—not nominees of his own—to inquire whether the work in any particular parish was being competently performed, and if the report was in the negative, he should have power to inhibit the man, and appoint a curate, with an appeal to a similar Court as that set up for refusals to institute. But here comes a difficulty. You cannot deprive a man of his work without pensioning him, and you cannot appoint a curate without paying him. And such is the depreciation of livings that

it is often impossible to find adequate means to do both. It is a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, and we are brought face to face with the question of sustentation or re-endowment, which is also being discussed at this Congress. I earnestly hope for good results from these deliberations, and amongst other things, that it may be possible to establish a scheme of pensions in every diocese. This would go far towards settling the problems connected with the retirement of the clergy. In the meantime, I trust you will agree that the proposals we have made are in the main right, that in the ministry of the Church, above all things, there is no room for those who cannot or will not work, and that in all these matters the spiritual good of the parishioners must be the primary consideration. We must try to get rid for ever of the snug berth and family living view of our Church, and tell the man who buys a living because the stipend is large, the population small, and it is in a good lawn-tennis and sporting neighbourhood, that we don't want him and won't have him. These are the principles upon which we have attempted to act in introducing the Benefices Bill. Whether we are right or wrong, I hope you will believe we have honestly tried to remove some abuses which dishonour our National Church.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

At the last moment we have received a letter from the Dean of Cork, in which he states that "matters have arisen which may prevent me being present at the Church Congress." He hoped to arrive yesterday afternoon, but apparently he is not able to do so. He encloses a copy of his address, for which he trusts the Chairman will kindly appoint a reader on Wednesday morning. He adds, "It will be a great disappointment to me not to be there." I think it will be right and courteous to him, and a pleasure to the members of the Congress, that his Paper should be read. What I propose to do now is to call upon the speakers who are put down on the list to follow, and in the meanwhile I must make an appeal—I must ask some vigorous person with a good voice, who has an interest in the subject, to volunteer to look through the Paper and then read it to the Congress. I will now proceed to call upon Mr. Hancock for his Paper. Here I may mention that Mr. Hancock is unable to be present, owing to an attack of rheumatism. His son, however, is here, and, I am sure, will represent him well, and he will undertake to read his father's Paper. Mr. Hancock's name has been associated with Church reform for so many years now that I am sure we shall listen with the deepest interest to his views on the subject.

The Rev. T. HANCOCK, Lecturer of S. Nicholas', Cole Abbey.

I was alarmed at finding my name allied to the adjective "practical." In all reform, I venture to think, the theoretical part is the most important. The man who is most hot for the practical is always a theorist, though he may not suspect it. He starts from some personal or party theory, and aims at some theorised goal, which he supposes he shall reach somewhere in the fog ahead of him. Intellectual eyesight,

insight, and foresight, which are our vulgar English for the foreign word *theory*, are of the first necessity in any reform. Otherwise, what we imagine to be practical reforms may be the mere activities of a blind Samson—all hands and feet and no eyes. Reform is the recovery of the true and right *form*. Every hopeful scheme of reform, as we learn from the historical experience of mankind, must begin with a recurrence to the theory, ideal, canon, or original form.

1. *Benefice* is the ecclesiastical wage for every ecclesiastical office.

2. *Appointment* is the free election of the ecclesiastical officer by the *ecclesia* for whom he ministers.

3. *Tenure* is the conditioning of office by fitness for office.

4. *Retirement* is pension out of the local, diocesan, or general *beneficium* of the Church.

Benefice.—The two senses of the word “benefice,” often contrary to each other, have been historically demonstrated by Roth in his classical *Geschichte des Beneficialwesens*, by Zoepfl, and other historical jurists. It has two stages. (1) All priests were “beneficed.” (2) Some priests were “beneficed.”

Appointment.—The original form of appointment, to which all rational reform is obliged to look back, is the free election of the priest for presentation to the Apostle or his successor by the free voice of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the whole sacramental people of Christ. Six interests are more or less concerned in the appointment of parish priests in England. Three of these are within Christianity; the other three, in the present relations of Church and State in England, may be either within or outside Christendom. What are the three directly Christian interests? (1) The bishop, because he is the perpetual pastor of the local congregation, and can accept or refuse the nominated priest, if he judge him unfit. (2) All the priests who constitute the real Chapter and Synod around the bishop's seat. (3) The holy local congregation of Jesus Christ to whom he is to minister. What are the three non-Christian interests—I do not say anti-Christian, for such they never need be—which are concerned in the “appointment” of the beneficed English parish priest? (1) First and foremost the patrons, who may be persons or companies, but who are virtually the latest inheritors, or the newest commercial acquirers, of some lord's feudal title of nominating his man to the bishop to serve as the priest of his clients, tenants, or bondsmen, in return for his *fundatio in specie*, or land; his *exstructio*, or fabric; and his *dotatio*, or income. (See Walter, 459, ff.—*Kirchenrecht*.) Patronage implies that the local congregation of Christ consists of the patron's subjects. And the local *ecclesia* in the eleventh century had come to be called “his” church. (2) The second non-Churchly interest in the appointment of the parish priest is the local civil commune—that is to say, the organic congregation of families and persons which have been gathered together by the Pastor of the universe, through His providence in history and over personal life. Of Him, as the Apostle of Commonwealths told the Church, every fatherland in family on earth as well as in heaven is named. The Apostle of Nations described this civil society, in his letter to a bishop, as those “that are without,” and by his Apostolical canons of “appointment,” he demanded for them some degree of implicit voice alongside with the traditional rights of the Church. The parish priest to live in the

midst of the local secular congregation to the end of his life or his tenure, and to serve as a member of it. Hence the Apostolic canon that "he must have good testimony from them that are without" is a permanent necessity in the "appointment" of every priest, beneficed or unbeneficed. (3) The third interest in the appointment of the clergy, which is not directly ecclesiastical, though it is a matter of concern to the well-being of the National Church, is the interest of the Commonwealth, State, or nation—among us, the interest of England. The national Commonwealth, by its constitution, laws, and police, has relieved the patron of all the hard obligations of patronage. He is now never obliged to be "armed" or "gowned." He has now never to risk his life as *patronus armatus* in the defence of the persons of the priest and congregation against pagans, or against other rival lords, nor has he to risk his own property as *patronus togatus* in the law courts to protect the property of his priest and congregation. The honours, privileges, and advantages of patronage, where there are any, are still left to the patron, but the hard and heavy burdens of patronage have been lifted off his shoulders by the Commonwealth, and the State has thus become, as it ought to be, the real and actual patron of every beneficed priest and congregation within its jurisdiction.

When I look back at my own preparation of confirmation candidates, I cannot but see that the part of my office in which I was most negligent was the instruction of the catechumens in the nature, character, duties, and rights of the holy congregation of Christ, and their responsibility and right as its citizens. The catechumen cannot fail to learn outside the Church that our extant system of appointment was grounded upon a much-contested theory of landownership, and that it was even grounded upon a theory of man-ownership, which no statesman, jurist, or economist, will now venture to defend, and which no Christian ought to tolerate. Not only were the local Churches often composed of the patron's serfs and bondmen, but the "benefice" of its priest not infrequently consisted of slaves, and the Church was endowed with men and women, and with the children born of them, as well as with lands. It would be a waste of time to meet all the fond objections of the practical man, which are usually arguments *ab abusu*, or fanciful presages, and mostly start from some personal or social bias or interest. I think it will be enough here to call the sober attention of such objectors to two facts. (1) In Commonwealths which are more civilized than England yet is, as in the twenty-two Swiss republics, all the local pastors—Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, and Evangelical—are elected by their parishes, and no such scandals are known. In the primitive cantons round the Lake of Luzern, this old canonical right of the Christian people was maintained unbroken throughout the Middle Ages. The suffrage of the people is not only required for the nomination of the rector (*Pfarrer*), but for that of the assistant-priest (the *Kaplan* or *Pfarrhelfer*). But to turn from abroad to England. (2) However the platform leaders and newspaper-men of the great estate of wage-workers may sometimes scare you by their wild words as orators or scribes—so often justified by the misery which they see and feel—the workers, as an estate, must have astonished you by their splendid success as organizers and administrators. The conduct of their own secular unions and societies may have convinced you that fishermen,

carpenters, tent-makers, and other handicraftsmen possess in rich abundance the particular *charisma* of the Lord and giver of all life, social and personal, which the Apostle of the Commonwealths, in his letter to the local Church of Corinth, called "helps" and "governments," and which he there joined with language-learning or scholarship.

. . . You may have wished and prayed that we could recover all the wonderful gifts which God has so eminently bestowed upon poor carpenters, fishermen, engineers, dock labourers, tent-makers, builders, and others of that estate of men, for the service of His holy Church. Nay, you may even have been moved to cast aside all your distressful and ineffectual appeals to the so-called "masses" to "*come to church*," and all your costly and not very successful machineries to beguile them into an occasional coming into Christ's buildings; and you may have begun to question whether the clergy will be allowed to "get the masses" until the "masses"—that is, the sacred *Populus Dei*—first get the clergy; and you may have been moved by the Inspirer of such questions to throw out your arms to them as your brothers and fellow-workers, with the only hopeful cry, "*Be the Church*."

Tenure.—The original form, to which we must recur for Catholic and rational reform, is some conditioning of tenure by fitness for office. What and where fitness is, or is not, belongs to the bishop, his clergy, and the local congregation to agree in deciding, and not to any external person. No learned casuistry can explain away the assertion of S. Cyprian, that the *Plebs Christi* have the main power to limit sacerdotal tenure, as they have to grant it. "*Plebs Christi maxime potestatem habet vel dignos sacerdotes eligendi vel indignos recusandi*." But I will hurry again from the theory and original form to the practice of the most practical folk in Europe—Switzerland. In each of the twenty-two republics which make up the Swiss Confederation, every beneficed Roman Catholic priest and every beneficed Evangelical pastor is not only elected by the Ecclesiastical Commune, but in the most enlightened and civilized of the cantons the people elect their priest or pastor to their benefice for a limited tenure of six or seven years. At the end of that term then comes the obligatory *Wiederwahl*, or "re-election" as the folk have come to call it, when the priest is either again (as is nearly always the case) elected, or is rejected by the local Church. But I must reply to the alarmed objector who fetches one of his *ab abusu* arguments out of his budget, and predicts that such a return to primitive Church principle would crowd a land with a wretched troop of unemployed and beggared clergy. I found in one of the cantons where Catholics and Evangelicals are both established and endowed, that out of one hundred pastors all but a very few indeed were re-elected, or, rather, confirmed in their tenures without the process of a formal re-election.

Lastly, as to the "retirement," which is so closely connected with the point of "tenure." Retirement, thy name is pension! It is a primary canonical principle of the Catholic Church, as I have just said, that "ordination implies maintenance," or *officium* requires *beneficium*. The priest retains his orders to his life's end, and therefore a canonical title to maintenance until death. The Swiss priest or pastor, rejected at the *Wiederwahl*, unless elected elsewhere, has a claim to his pension out of the general *beneficium* of the Church. But you may ask, Where

is the pension to come from? Whence and how can we hope to gather again a primitive *beneficium*, or sustentation fund, huge enough to endow so many? Once Christians had to be restrained from giving to the Church; nine-tenths of what they gave has been secularised. The solution is not to be found by us teachers, but by you sagacious men of affairs in the Church. If you be alarmed at any suggestion that the State may deal with the Church property of the parish churches as it has dealt with the Church property of the cathedral churches; and if you say that the fund ought to come from the free-will offerings of the Church, who will contradict you? But such a re-form brings us again face to face with the original *form*. As the Church is the whole free organic fellowship of the baptized, and is not composed of idiots, we may expect that her members will only act upon a great scale in Church affairs where and when they are free to use the same prudence and the same reserve with which they act upon a great scale in all their other affairs. Every good Churchman will be very pleased when he sees another Churchman subscribe the comparative mite of a thousand pounds to a retirement fund. But you can scarcely be so wildly impractical as to believe that you will induce the whole Church to provide a sufficient pension fund for all her clergy until you have first moved for the restoration to her of her primitive canonical right in the election of all her clergy.

H. J. TORR, Esq., Treasurer of the Church Reform League.

THE appointment and tenure and retirement of the clergy is so large a subject to deal with in fifteen minutes, that I must confine my remarks to one or two main propositions.

First, why is any change necessary? The answer is clear enough without advancing the objectionable details of individual cases of bad appointments by patrons, neglect of duties and misuse of powers by clergy, or decay of Church life through an old man's infirmity. No. The answer is written large in the two great facts that to-day half England is Nonconformist or infidel, when it ought to be within the ranks of the National Church; and further, that among Churchmen themselves, it is impossible to find one in a thousand who takes the slightest practical interest in the affairs of his Church, while all appeals to increase the miserable pittance upon which so many of our clergy have to work fall on deaf ears. What is the cause?

No Church has a truer faith to preach; no Church has a more earnest ministry; no Church certainly has greater external aids. It is imperfect organization, and imperfect organization alone, that is to blame. While in the army of the State the organization has been continually modified and adapted year by year to the new needs of a new age, even while the essential constitution has remained the same, in the army of the Church no such development has taken place. And in consequence we fight to-day as hopelessly handicapped as would be the State that still adhered to the military system of Frederick the Great, excellent as that system was in its own day.

The first great imperfection—the failure to enlist the counsel and the

co-operation of the lay members of our Church—is to be dealt with to-night. The second is before us now, and with regard to the appointment and tenure of our clergy I bring before you two suggestions :—

First, the formation of Diocesan Councils, representing both parish and diocese, to co-operate with patron and with bishop in the appointment.

Secondly, the substitution of a "freehold" in the Church for the present "freehold" in the parish.

With regard to the recent Benefices Bill, I will only express the very earnest hope that when it next comes before us its authors, warned by past failure, will have done with half-measures and base their Bill firm on the fundamental principle that spiritual patronage is not property at all, but a trust, and, therefore, subject to the doctrine governing all trusts—to wit, that it is immoral for the trustee to derive any pecuniary benefit from his trust. The prohibition of all sales, of advowsons as well as of next presentations—this is the only sound principle worthy of our Church's teaching. It is the only principle worth fighting for, and, believe me, it is the only principle that will ever arouse sufficient enthusiasm to overcome the difficulties of Parliamentary obstruction.

The case of a man being obliged to sell his estate, and thus unable to sell his patronage, can easily be met by allowing the right of presentation to pass to the new owner when the bulk of the estate in any parish is sold, or, better still, by authorizing its transfer to the diocese.

Now as to the appointment itself. The most practical line of reform, I think, is to be found in the readjustment, or rather restoration to their ancient limits, of the respective rights of the bishop, the congregation, and the patron. In modern usage it is the rights of the patron that have been allowed such abnormal development as to practically exclude the other and far more ancient rights altogether.

We speak nowadays of the patron "appointing," whereas, if we look into the origin of the present custom, we find that the only true right the patron has—as clearly shown in the wording of the presentation deed—is the right to "present," or suggest, a fit person to the bishop, for the bishop to appoint to the spiritualities by institution, and to the temporalities by induction.

This "courtesy right," for it was nothing more, to suggest a name, was a natural concession to those who built and endowed churches, and, as such, one that we may well retain, for, remember, it secures us variety of appointments—a most valuable feature. But we must reduce it to its ancient limits so that it shall no longer, as now, override the far more important rights of the bishop and of the parish.

Then let us recognize once more, to use Dean Lefroy's words, "that episcopal authority must be commensurate with episcopal responsibility," and that, therefore, as the chief pastor who is primarily responsible for the efficiency of the clergy in his diocese, the bishop must have the widest authority to reject any and every presentee. It is monstrous to throw upon our bishops the responsibility, even in theory, for their clergy, while their power to reject unsuitable presentations is defined and narrowed as it is at present. If you want an efficient clergy you must have responsibility on the part of the bishops, and you cannot have effective responsibility without the fullest power of rejection.

And while we thus restore the respective rights of bishop and of patron, let us be not less careful to restore again the right of the Christian congregation to have, to use the words of the Church Reform League, a real control in the appointment of their pastors, a right coeval with the Christian Church, and based on the practice of the Apostles.

To have this control we need not adopt any system of popular election. An excellent method is indicated in Clause 7 of the Benefices Bill. But a far better, I think, is to be found in the organization of elective diocesan councils. Let these councils represent both the clergy and the laity of the diocese, and when the appointment to any parish is to be made, let that congregation send up their churchwarden and two sidesmen to sit on the council *ad hoc*. Then, when the patron makes his presentation, let it be referred to the council, and if the council object, either in the interest of the parish or in the interest of the diocese, let the bishop exercise his undoubted right and refuse to institute, and invite the patron to present afresh. The exact limit of the council's authority would ultimately have to be legally defined; just as all the present legal restrictions on the bishop's right of rejection would have to be removed; but I would urge that we can go very far without law, and I believe that very many patrons, and certainly all congregations, would be glad to co-operate if our bishops would only try the experiment in voluntary shape; while diocesan patronage is available at once as the nucleus of such a system, and wanting only a "self-denying" ordinance by the bishop affected.

Now as to tenure. Here the proposed Diocesan Council will be invaluable, with its power of co-ordinating the different appointments in accordance with the general needs of the Church's work throughout the diocese. At present no one appointment has any reference to any other, so that instead of order we have chaos and infinite waste of power—old men wearing out their lives in great slum parishes, and young men vegetating in country hamlets—well-to-do sluggards in rich benefices, and earnest enthusiasts dying without preferment—scholars holding forth to a dozen labourers, and clerical ignoramuses furnishing the city infidel with arguments. This is due in the first place to unrestricted private patronage; but it is also the inevitable result of our making only life appointments. I know that here I shall be told at once, "You must not touch the parson's freehold, or you will destroy his spiritual independence." But the answer to this is a very simple one. The "parson's freehold," as has been well said, should be a freehold in the Church, not in any particular parish. Come to the loyal generosity of the laity who by Church reform shall have learnt their responsibility, and then guarantee to every man at Ordination a minimum stipend, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and so far as assured income is concerned you guarantee his spiritual independence far more effectually than now. I do not urge that limited appointments are always desirable. Undoubtedly some men do their highest work, living quietly year in and year out through a whole life, amid the evergrowing love of the same people. But all certainly are not thus fortunate, and most of us, I suppose, know of many a man whose usefulness would be greatly increased by his being accorded new opportunities.

Here the diocesan council would come in. Having all the appointments

under its supervision, it would know when to recommend appointment for life, and when for ten, seven, and even fewer years. It would know the needs, not of one parish only, but of all. It would know what men needed well-earned rest, perhaps for a few years only, in quiet country parishes, and what men were able to take their place in the front ranks of our army. Thus by its power to check injudicious appointments and to limit the terms, it would be able to secure that every man's special talent should be used to the utmost advantage in the service of his Church. It would once for all put a stop to square men in round holes and round men in square holes, and lastly, but by no means least, it could secure that preferment went to merit, and to merit alone. Underlying this proposal is, of course, the great principle that "a cure of souls" is not a "living," but a "commission." It is, indeed, this hateful phrase, a "living," that we must banish from our vocabulary altogether as the first reform of all in tenure. What would you think of the British officer who spoke of his Queen's commission as a living, and continually alleged the claims of his family in opposition to the needs of the service? This I know, that there is no regiment in her Majesty's army where such a man would be tolerated for a moment. In all earnestness I ask you—Shall we accept a lower ideal for the officers of Christ? No. The answer is assuredly—No.

One word more on this subject. If the clergyman's freehold be thus secure in the Church, he can well afford to have only a limited freehold in his parish, without injury to his spiritual independence; and much that now may give needless offence and prevent hearty co-operation can well be done away with. The principle governing the required reforms should be, I think, the association of an elected Church council with the incumbent in all work not connected with the definition and interpretation of the faith, for which he must, of course, be responsible to his bishop alone. The churchwardens at present have the nominal right to control the offertories. This may well be expanded into conferring on the Church council the responsibility for the finances of the parish church, choir, schools, etc., thus relieving the incumbent from much unnecessary care. The antiquated right to exclude the congregation from both church and churchyard, and to use the latter as private property, also should obviously disappear; and most important of all, I hold, in the words of the Church Reform League, that "the communicants of every parish should have a recognized power to prevent the arbitrary alteration of lawful customs in ritual." Believe me, more harm has been done by want of tact in this respect to our Church work than can well be estimated. High ritual and low ritual, within the limits of the Church's Order, both are good, both are necessary. I care not what ritual you wish to introduce, providing you will just be at the pains to educate your people up to it, or, for that matter, down to it. It is the stupid, tactless forcing of unaccustomed ceremonies, and the equally wanton omission of accustomed ceremonies without explanation, and before the congregation have been won to the change, that cools the loyalty of so many. Here the Church council should be our safeguard, and, believe me, it were far better to wait ten years for its support as true measure of the success of your teaching and the guarantee of its permanency, rather than destroy half its effect by the opposition an arbitrary exercise of power inevitably arouses.

As touching tenure also, though the question of clergy discipline is hardly within our subject-matter, undoubtedly the bishop's power of removal needs greatly strengthening, and the legal process greatly simplifying. The present law is entirely based on the assumption that a benefice is private property, with which the bishop must on no account interfere more than is absolutely necessary to prevent gross scandals. The true principle to adopt is to seek only the greatest possible efficiency of the service.

The third branch of our subject, "The Retirement of our Clergy," time will not allow me to deal with. I can only suggest that we should combine three agencies :—

First—The Diocesan Council above described should use our many small country parishes as "havens of rest" for those whose full vigour is past.

Secondly—An annuity of £50 from the age of sixty-five can be bought by an annual payment of £6 13s. 9d. from the age of thirty-five. Surely all clergy can thus help to provide for themselves by a payment of 10s. a month.

Thirdly—Our laity once recalled by Church reform to their due position and responsibility in their Church's life, believe me, will gladly, rich and poor alike, meet the appeal to supplement the above by liberal subscription.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE Rev. J. Wycliffe Gedge has kindly undertaken to read the Dean of Cork's paper.

The Very Rev. MERVYN ARCHDALL, D.D., Dean of Cork.

IN considering this question, Churchmen should remember that the historic continuity of the Church is involved, and that our episcopal constitution, inherited from the beginning, is intimately connected with its just solution. We should not lose sight of the fact that the doctrines of the Nonconformist bodies on the question of Holy Orders has greatly influenced their practice in the appointment of their ministers, and in the limitation of the ministerial authority. Many in the Church of England have been unconsciously influenced by the Nonconformist opinion and practice, and are in danger of forgetting the essential principles of Church authority, when they seek for modifications of that authority in relation to the questions before us.

That the laity should have a place in the government of the Church is generally admitted, and therefore there can be no just reason against the exercise of lay influence in the appointment of the clergy. But in our day we find laymen ready to rush in on dangerous ground, where the clergy fear to tread; and therefore I would again warn our lay brethren to study the historic and dogmatic aspect of this question before they commit themselves to seeking new and untried paths.

With these few prefatory remarks, I shall proceed at once to speak, as no doubt I am expected to speak, from the standpoint of an Irish

Churchman acquainted with the law and practice of the Church of Ireland in relation to the appointment, tenure, and retirement of the beneficed clergy since the disestablishment of that Church twenty-six years ago. Before that event we were in the same position as that of the Church of England. The appointments were made either by the bishops, the crown, or private patrons, and the incumbent when once instituted was irremovable, except by the costly process of procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts for a definite breach of the law. Taking into account the absolute security which the clergy in Ireland possessed before the Church was disestablished, it was remarkable, when the blow fell, how almost unanimously they renounced the privileges reserved to them, with their annuities, under the statute, and unreservedly threw in their lot, including the whole of their life interests, with the disestablished Church, involving not only at the time a precarious security for their annuities, but what was to them, probably, a matter of deeper concern, absolute uncertainty regarding the doctrines and discipline to which they might be called to submit in the untried future. I refer to this as an evidence that the methods of appointment under the establishment, which had descended from many generations, were not, on the whole, unsuccessful, and certainly within the last half of the present century had produced an earnest and self-denying clergy, by whose influence the Church of Ireland had been raised from a condition of barrenness and desolation resulting from the political troubles of preceding generations.

The influence of the disestablished clergy, with the loyal support of the laity faithful to them and to the Church, saved us from the revolutionary measures which extreme men would have forced upon us, and the result has been a system of appointment on the whole moderate and successful. This portion of the constitution of our Church does not claim the merit of originality, but is largely borrowed from the Colonial Churches in Canada and Australasia. It contains safeguards protecting the Church from the evils of popular election applied directly to the individual appointments, and gives the bishop considerable weight in any case where he may desire to intervene actively.

The appointment to cures is dealt with by Chapter IV. of the Constitution. Under this statute a committee of patronage is appointed for each diocese, consisting of the bishop and two clerical members and one lay member of the diocesan synod—the clerical and lay members being elected triennially after the triennial election of the diocesan synod. Supplemental members are also elected to supply the place of any who may be unable to attend at the time of an appointment. This board of patronage, when called on to appoint to an incumbency, is joined by three lay parochial nominators, elected also triennially by the vestrymen of each parish or union under one incumbent. The registered vestrymen who thus elect make a declaration of Church membership. They may be, and are in some dioceses, also required to be further qualified as subscribers to the Church funds. The lay member of the board of patronage elected by the diocesan synod, and the parochial nominators also, make a declaration that they are communicants. In fact, every lay member of the diocesan synod makes this declaration. When the board of nomination meets to elect, all the members sign a solemn declaration that they will nominate only such persons as they believe in

their consciences to be fitted for the cure. You will perceive that at the election there are three representatives of the clergy, including the bishop, and four representatives of the laity. But the bishop has, in addition to his vote, also a casting vote. The diocese has a representation of three, and the parish of three. Thus, if all the representatives of a diocese are in favour of a clergyman who they are persuaded has superior fitness, and deserves promotion more than the clergyman proposed by the parochial nominators, the bishop has the absolute power to decide between them. The bishop has a certain coercive power also, for if no return of an election to the vacant cure be made for three months, the appointment falls, by lapse, to him. I do not, however, remember any instance where this power of appointment has been exercised under such conditions.

The board of nomination of any cure may, at the desire of any benefactor contributing to the endowment of the cure, arrange to vest the right of patronage for the future in such manner as may be agreed on, with the consent of the bishop, the diocesan council, and the representative body; but the patron in such case has no power to delegate or assign such right of patronage.

It will be seen that under this statute the authority of the bishop, the interest of the clergy of the diocese, and the claims of the parish, are represented. If these several interests were always carefully weighed in making appointments the system would work admirably, but the best laws may be defeated in their aim by the action of those who administer them; and in a voluntary Church, where the stipends of the clergy are maintained in great measure by the offerings of the people, it is no wonder if their representatives on the board of nomination sometimes have, with both the bishop and the representatives of the diocese, undue weight; and thus it often happens that the interests of the Church suffer by the appointment to cures of young clergymen of a few years standing, and the hard-working clergy of the diocese are sometimes deprived of their just and well-earned promotion by the appointment to the best livings of young and popular men from other dioceses.

In certain dioceses the bishop and diocesan nominators act cordially together in confining the parochial nominators to their legitimate influence; and I have been present at boards where the parochial representatives came unanimously prepared to push their own nominee, and before the board adjourned another clergyman better qualified was unanimously appointed. There is in the minds of many of the most thoughtful Churchmen, even in dioceses where the appointments are usually made in accordance with the spirit of the statute, a desire to see the patronage again committed to the hands of the bishops, with the sole responsibility vested in them.

II.—As regards the tenure of their office, the beneficed clergy in Ireland are irremovable, except by a sentence of the court of the General Synod, constituted of three bishops and of four laymen, lawyers, with special qualification, standing first in order of a list of ten, elected at the first session of every General Synod. This list comprises the most eminent of the judges who are members of the Church, some of whom have devoted much time and thought to the compilation of our ecclesiastical laws.

As to offences, every act which would have been a breach or

violation of the ecclesiastical law of the United Church of England and Ireland, and an offence punishable by such law in Ireland at the time of the passing of the Irish Church Act, and which is a breach of the ecclesiastical law of the Church of Ireland for the time being, also breaches of the canons of the Church, and all crimes punishable by law, are offences cognizable by the ecclesiastical tribunals. In fact, our ecclesiastical law, as regards criminal offences and teaching contrary to the doctrines of the Church, is framed on almost identical lines with the laws of the Church of England, but we have a facility both as regards the cost of procedure and freedom from delay in bringing offences to trial which limits the impunity of offenders to a degree unknown hitherto in the Established Church. A beneficed clergyman of the Church of Ireland may be charged with neglect of duty, for instance; and, if guilty, suspended or deprived by a comparatively inexpensive and summary process of law; so that glaring cases of scandal in this respect, and in others also, are few and far between. There is great reluctance on the part of the laity to proceed against the clergy; and appeals to the Church courts, with one or two notable exceptions, have been hitherto made by the bishops; and these also are rare.

III.—There is a certain feeling of insecurity in the tenure of our incumbents, which cannot be altogether avoided where the people in great measure maintain the clergy by their offerings; it arises from the withholding of contributions from the stipends of unpopular clergymen. However, as a rule, the fear of this is more sentimental than real. Every incumbent paid out of the organized funds of the Church has a certain portion of the stipend secured to him, namely, that portion which is derived from the interest of the capital funds of his diocese. In some dioceses every incumbent is paid the full stipend during his tenure of office, and any loss arising from the failure of contributions falls on the parish after a vacancy occurs. There is undoubtedly a strong and increasing desire in the Church to secure to our clergy their stipends as far as possible, and no legislation has ever been suggested to limit the independence of the beneficed clergy in this matter. I hope that the great Church of England will never take from her clergy the freedom they have always enjoyed in the exercise of the duties of their office, so long as they conform to the laws by which they are governed.

Those who keep before their minds isolated cases of neglect or misconduct may hastily conclude that it would be desirable to limit the security of clergy in the enjoyment of their benefices. The result of such limitation would doubtless be greater diligence in the performance of duties which would gain the observation and approval of laymen who are persons of influence, or who may be busybodies in other men's matters, but there would also be a loss of self-respect, a seeking rather for the honour of "one from the other," and neglecting the honour "which comes from God only;" there would be more fashioning of doctrine to the varying hour than to the standard of God's word and the teaching of the Church.

In truth, the result of such a course must be loss of the answer of a good conscience towards God—perhaps the greatest loss which could fall upon the clergy of the Church of Christ.

I can now add but a few words on the "retirement of the beneficed clergy." In the Church of Ireland there has as yet been no direct legislation on this question. As our clergy have legally a fixed tenure, there is no demand, nor any real desire, on the part of the laity that there should be an age fixed when retirement would take place. There is already in the hands of the representative body a superannuation fund under the control of the General Synod, and administered under fixed rules, which supplements the superannuation funds of the several dioceses, giving grants to the amount of one-third in aid of diocesan grants and those derived from other sources.

These funds are not only used for the purposes of permanent retirement, but also to give rest and provide a *locum tenens* in cases of serious temporary illness among the poorer clergy. In the opinion of the experienced committee which dispenses the central fund, it is sometimes more expedient to provide a curate for an incumbent permanently disabled by age or infirmity, so long as his mental powers continue unimpaired, and thus his ripe experience can be used to direct the pastoral duties of his cure. Hitherto, when resignation takes place, and a pension is granted, the act of resignation is voluntary, and usually offered by the clergyman himself; although it usually involves the surrender of the parsonage where, probably, surrounded with happy associations, many years have been spent. The time has allowed me to offer only a crude and comprehensive sketch of our action in the Church of Ireland in relation to this wide subject, but I hope it will afford a little food for reflection to those who are thinking on a question of such vital and far-reaching importance to the Church of England.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. and Worshipful THOS. E. ESPIN, D.D., Chancellor of Chester and Liverpool; Prolocutor of the Convocation of York.

THE object I have principally in view is to state, as Prolocutor of the Convocation of York, that I agree almost entirely with what Chancellor Dibdin has brought before us, and I agree with it because it is in sum and substance what the Lower House of York have arrived at. I think, however, that Chancellor Dibdin has under-rated somewhat the value of the Act of 1885. It has served on several occasions as a useful power for the bishop to have behind him. The great question which Mr. Dibdin put, and which we ought to try to answer, is—What is to be done with the Bill next Session? I have seen a statement that it is proposed by the Church party to do away with the first part and to frame a Bill consisting of the second and third parts. If they do that they will make a great mistake. Are we, having listened to the burning words in which Chancellor Dibdin has described the abuses and scandals attached to the present system of patronage, to leave that alone? I hope the Bill of next Session will consist, as the Archbishop's Bill of 1895 did, of the first two parts, and not of the third. I agree with Chancellor Dibdin as to the unworkable character of the third part, which will be most strenuously opposed. I know that the majority of the representatives of the parish clergy in the Lower House of Convocation of York are against the third part of the Bill. They not unnaturally feel sore that there should have been a Discipline Bill in 1885, another in 1892, and that now some people should want a third Discipline Bill in eleven years. Are the parochial clergy of England such malefactors that they must have three Acts of Parliament to put them in order in eleven years? The Act of 1885 enabled the bishop to take measures when the duties of the benefice were not properly discharged, and the men who offended from a moral point of view could be dealt with by the Act of 1892. I think these

measures are sufficient, and I hope our friends in Parliament will give these measures a larger trial, because they wound the feelings of the beneficed clergy by bringing in another Bill to deal with them. As an old man, I feel sympathy with those old men who have spent their strength, and in many cases a great deal of their substance, in their parishes. I think, as was suggested in the Dean of Cork's Paper, that it is better to leave an old man in his home and send a young man to help him, rather than say, "Go into lodgings, and moulder away there." I hope we shall see some solution to the difficulty of retirement in the revival of collegiate churches, so that a bishop could say, "I have a stall of £200"—

[The Chancellor was here cut short by the bell.]

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM requested to state that Chancellor Espin was not quite correct, according to the information I have received, in saying that the Church Committee did agree to oppose the third portion of the Bill. They did not agree to do it. There is a meeting this day week to consider the provisions of the Bill, and therefore the matter is not settled.

E. GARNETT MAN, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, 2, The Cloisters, Temple.

IN 1885 and 1886 I travelled through a portion of the Midland Counties speaking and lecturing for the Church Defence Association. During those tours I often conversed with Nonconformists and others on the objects of my visit. One of the arguments propounded by Nonconformists was, that the "immoral traffic in souls," as countenanced by the Church, or, as one remarked, "the sale of cures for filthy lucre," was sufficient in itself to warrant the cry for Disestablishment—even amongst loyal Churchmen. No one can be found to defend the present system. I left England soon after the completion of these tours, impressed with the idea that the sale of next presentations is a slur upon the Church, a grief to her well-wishers, and strengthens the hands of her enemies. Nearly ten years have elapsed since then; but on my return a few months ago I found that the desire for reform had wonderfully strengthened in the interval, with the result that a society had been evolved from such a consciousness, and had been launched under the banner of Church Reform. As a supporter of the grand old National Church, and as one who has often raised his voice in her defence, I have ventured to interpose a few words to-day to show why I have joined this society: because the aim and objects of its promoters seem to be to obtain voluntary reform from within; whereby the Church may make the strongest defence against the attacks of enemies desirous of bringing on Disestablishment. But this society cannot hope to attain its ends unless a strong feeling be aroused amongst the laity of the Church. Clergy may meet, reform societies may agitate and argue, but the movement must come from below. The laymen must get interested in and understand the issues at stake. Every effort should be made to bring the facts home to them. I, as a layman, take the liberty of speaking here to-day to encourage others to speak and create a wider interest in the subject. It would be flogging a dead horse to expatiate upon the scandal of the sale of private patronage. Long before the time of Henry VIII., Church lands and tithes had been alienated to laymen, and these had descended to heirs and devisees, often carrying the right of presentation with them. Rich men had built and endowed Churches, leaving the right of presentation to their descendants, who again in course of years alienated the rights for valuable consideration, so that at the present time there are probably from five to six thousand vested interests to be attacked. But in the old days the patron provided for the maintenance of the parson, which in practice may be called obsolete, although it ought not to be. *Bona fide* claims such as these cannot be lightly swept away, and their representatives have to be reckoned with as probable opponents. But there must be a remedy for every evil. It is the well-known and generally expressed desire of the enemies of the Church, that all attempts at reform should be strongly opposed both within and outside the walls of Parliament; for they rightly argue that every step forward towards Church Reform is another barrier raised against Disestablishment. It is upon this ground, and this ground alone, that

Nonconformists, aided by those who defended the vested interests endangered, defeated the Benefices Bill in the House of Commons. The Benefices Bill was an honest attempt to meet the difficulty, and Clauses 7, 8, and 9 of the Bill would have gone far towards a solution of the question. The Bill gave a controlling power to the bishops, and did not transfer the right of patronage, as some suggest should be done, to the votes of the communicants of a congregation. Such a transfer would be merely taking away a right from one person to vest it in the many. It would not be to the interests of the Church if the members of every congregation were allowed to choose their own pastor. It would never be to the Church's benefit that ministers should appear and preach on trial, and then be taken or rejected by the votes of those whose ears may have been tickled by an eloquent discourse. It would be hurtful to the Church and derogatory to the pastor. Eloquence is a gift of itself; it may be, and often is, combined with those attributes that constitute a good parish priest; but, as it is a gift to the few, it often happens that one best fitted for parish work—the honest, hard-working minister, who preaches a plain and homely discourse, visits his poor, and performs his duty well—would be ousted by the eloquent preacher.

The Rev. W. CROUCH, Vicar of Gamlingay, Cambs.

I AM one of those who do not share Chancellor Dibdin's regret that the Benefice Bill was not passed, in the form at least in which it was introduced into Parliament. I fully admit the evils, but I think the remedy far worse than the disease. It was inadequate, and it was injurious. The Bill was at once too timid and too bold. It was too timid in the first part, on which I believe we are all agreed; and I think we would have taken the first part on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, but we wanted it to go a great deal further. If Part I. is brought in again alone and strengthened considerably, I am quite sure that the whole of this Congress would be unanimous in support of it, and I believe that Churchmen of all parties would unite in carrying it. But we were prevented from supporting the Bill last Session because, while we believe in the value of Part I., we considered that Part II. was an encroachment on the prerogatives of the episcopal office. Instead of merely removing legal restrictions to the free exercise of their inherent spiritual authority by the bishops, Parliament was asked to dictate to the bishops what they were to do, and on that ground we opposed it. It was not opposed exclusively by those persons mentioned by Chancellor Dibdin, but by some Churchmen, clergy and laymen, who objected to the interference of Parliament with the spiritual authority of the bishops. We helped those who were mentioned by Chancellor Dibdin to defeat it last Session, and if it comes on in the same form we will defeat it again. I believe that if Mr. Boscawen and his supporters will give us Part I. strengthened, and will drop the other parts, they will get it through. I want to say one practical word to you about the fact that Part II. is not necessary. I want to ask why the bishops do not use the power they have already. Now, with regard to the appointment of one of these unsatisfactory priests, it is quite competent—legally, as well as ecclesiastically competent—for a bishop to examine anyone who is presented to him for institution; and I would undertake to prepare papers in theology, in Church history, and in biblical knowledge, which would floor any one of these unsatisfactory presentees. We have the highest legal authority—I believe it was Lord Chief Justice Cockburn—for saying that no Court could go behind or beyond the decision of the bishop on this point. But if it were not so, I would undertake, in public, to give him such a searching examination in pastoral work, that I would defy anyone to say that you ought to institute him. With regard to removing an improper incumbent, the bishops give as their reason for not doing so the question of expense. The Archbishop of York in his sermon, and the President in his opening address, touched our hearts with their generosity in admitting that clerical incomes need re-adjustment. If those on the episcopal bench were ready to spend their money when necessary in getting rid of these persons, we should not be so anxious to deprive them of any part of their incomes.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I hope the Right Rev. Fathers in God will not be called on to spend all their money in litigation.

The Rev. WILLIAM A. EDWARDS, General Secretary of the
Church Reform League for the Province of York and
Principality of Wales.

THE question of Church Reform is a wide and complex one, and it is very necessary that the various phases of the problem should be treated in their right relation and due proportion. The isolated and exaggerated handling of particular elements in the general problem, with a view to undoing one mischief, will often lead to the creation of many others. It is also a question on which wide differences of opinion are likely to exist, and concerning which feeling will often tend to run high. It is supremely necessary, then, both that people should accustom themselves to take a wide and comprehensive view of the subject, with due allowance for all its bearings, and also that they should deal with it in that spirit of large and loving toleration which should characterize every work done for God. Both these ends are likely to be promoted by the ventilation of the question at this Congress, in which it happily occupies so large and prominent a place. The particular subject of our meeting this morning is one of supreme importance, and its consideration by the Congress is especially welcome to me, because the Church Reform League, with which I am associated, has given it a large place in its programme, and has published a good deal of literature dealing with the matter. Those who approach Church Reform from our point of view, welcomed the Benefices Bill as a valuable remedial measure, and would be glad to see it reproduced in an amended form, but they are convinced that an ultimate solution of the problem of patronage will never be secured until the faithful laity of a parish are given their true place and proper share in the appointment of their priest. We do not ask for mob election, or anything like it, and would be content, perhaps, if the function of the laity be rather that of approval than ultimate choice, applying the Apostolic principle, "Look ye out fit men whom we may appoint." Some time ago the *Guardian* devoted several articles to the proposals of the Church Reform League, and took exception, among other things, to the suggestion that the laity of every parish should have a voice in the selection of their priest. The *Guardian* declared that the laity had no right to this power, but that, as a matter of fact, they already exercised it to a large extent as patrons, and that, looking to the practical working of the system, indefensible as it was in theory, this influence need not be diminished, though it certainly should not be increased. The Church Reform League did not so much desire to increase as to transform the influence of the laity in appointment, and to base it, not upon arbitrary caprice, but upon true Church principles. At present it is exercised with a most ludicrous disregard for these, which excludes the faithful sheep from a voice in patronage, but concedes it to the casual goat, who may be the huckstering purchaser of an advowson, or a Jew, Turk, infidel, or heretic—in fact anything except a Romanist. This is an intolerable and preposterous state of affairs, and must be changed. As to the question of retirement, it simply necessitates an adequate pension system, and the money must be found to make this, not a tax upon the benefice, but a separate fund. The rich laity, upon whom we must depend in this matter, will never handle it until the excessive patronage is better safeguarded from abuse.

The Rev. T. P. RING, Rector of Rawmarsh.

I AM afraid that anyone who ventures to criticise the Benefices Bill of last session is likely to be considered to be in very bad company indeed. We are threatened with a great number of pains and penalties, and we are ranked amongst the traffickers of livings and those who are altogether opposed to the best interests of the Church. And yet I cannot help thinking that if the Benefices Bill died last year it was because it deserved to die. I will not say that it died "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung," because, no doubt, there were very many earnest men in Parliament and out of Parliament who felt very sore when it was withdrawn. But, surely, if we are to deal with this question of patronage and the sale of livings, the sale of advowsons is only one step less objectionable than the sale of next presentations, and to deal with the

one whilst we sanction the other by new legislation, and, therefore, give it a new lease of life, is hardly to be tolerated. I do agree with Mr. Boscawen and the other speakers, who say that if we are to touch the question at all we must go to the very root of the evil, and utterly abolish it from the Church of England for ever. When we come to the question of the benefices of the incumbents, I do feel most strongly that the benefices exist, not for the clergy themselves, not for their own case, not for their protection when their powers have failed, not for their livelihood or that of their wives and families, but for the souls of the people, and that if at any time and from any cause the clergy become unfit for their work, then, for their own sakes, and for the sake of their parishioners, I should say, in the name of God, let them be released. We certainly do not wish to hang on to the endowments of the Church when we have failed through incapacity, through old age or sickness, to be able to meet the wants of the people. And yet I do feel that the independence of the parochial clergy has been a strength and not a weakness to the Church. I am afraid that the Church revival of the last fifty years would not have advanced on grounds so strong, so sure, and so acceptable if the beneficed clergy had been altogether dependent even upon the bishops. If they had had no power to carry out the convictions of their souls, I am afraid many of them would have received hard treatment from episcopal predecessors not so gentle and large-minded as our present chairman, the Bishop of Lichfield. I do not, myself, wish to take power from the hands of the bishops. I would rather increase it and give them more power and more responsibility, but I should at the same time ask that they should be elected in a different manner. Certainly, the bishops of this present generation are so full of self-denial, so ready to adapt themselves to the needs of the time, that we feel that, by whatever means they have been appointed, it is certainly not without the definite permission and providence of Almighty God. Yet I do not see how it can be considered justifiable that the chief officers of the Church should be appointed entirely by the Crown, without the consent of the clergy and people. Let the bishop's powers be increased, let the bishop's dignity and position be magnified; but let him be appointed to that holy office as in olden times, by the voice of the people, clergy and laity alike; or if that be impossible in an Established Church, let the right of the chapter to refuse any particular nomination be made a real and not a merely nominal prerogative.

The Rev. J. M. WALKER, Vicar of Haverhill, Suffolk.

THERE is one principle which ought to animate at least this part of the discussion, and that is that the clergy exist for the Church and not the Church for the clergy. And therefore I desire to thank those who have promoted the Benefices Bill in the House of Commons; those earnest-minded laymen who have come forward to do their share for the Church which the Church has neglected to do for herself hitherto. I would say we thank them for their attention to this matter. We would desire, like *Cæsar's wife*, to be above suspicion, and we gladly hail all that they do for the purifying of the Church. There is no doubt that many abuses exist in the Church at the present moment, and need to be cleared away. It is no good telling me that the clergy as a whole do not wish to spend their old age in the parish for which they are physically incompetent, and to gaze upon empty places in their churches, caused by their congregation going to swell the numbers at the neighbouring chapels, while their feeble voice is too powerless to be heard any longer in the sermon they are unable to preach. There are some, and it is those that we wish to remove, and therefore we hail with delight the advent of such a measure as the Benefices Bill. It is said that the bishops have powers enough already, and that they can exercise these powers, and it has been said that the bishops can, if they think well, remove those who do not fulfil their Ordination vows. Alas, it is to be said truly there are a great many who do not remember what their Ordination vows were. Very possibly it is on account of the lapse of time since they first uttered them; otherwise the bishops' work would be very easy. Well, it is to strengthen the hands of the bishops, to give them increased power, for, as has been well remarked, to-day we are *Episcopalians*. Do not let us deny our bishops their lawful authority. Then we wish to stand clear before the working men. These working men say, "We have to do our work as long as we are able, and then we are invited to go into the workhouse, whereas parsons have their livings for life, whether they are too old for the work or not. Soldiers have to retire when they are old, but a parson can draw his £400 a year when he is unfit for

the work." That is not universally the case. I am merely quoting what the working man says. There was a speaker last night who addressed you who told you that some working man thought you received £1,000 a year. At any rate, could not this class of the clergy retire, and set an example to the laity? We ask laymen to give up their incomes and go and work as evangelists for the Church. Surely the clergy who are past their prime should retire voluntarily without enactments. Cannot they retire on a third of their income, and set an example of self-denial to others? That is what we wish, but they do not do so, and therefore we require enactments of this kind. And so it is that if we had more examples of this we should come nearer to what we wish the Church of England to be, namely, not alone the Church of England, but the Church of the people of England.

The Rev. W. G. E. REES, Vicar of Rainhill, Lancashire.

No reform in any of these references can possibly be adequate or thorough, unless the problem presented by the existing system of patronage receives some solution. The difficulties which infest this subject are undoubtedly considerable, but they are generally exaggerated by partizans who are more zealous in the interests of the property of patrons than in the trust which has been devolved upon them in the course of a long historical development. It will probably be admitted that the case of the six thousand benefices in public patronage presents no special difficulty. Several of the bishops have already intimated their willingness to transfer their patronage to boards constituted on representative principles. I doubt not that their lordships would all, when the time comes, be found willing to be relieved of the invidious task of exercising patronage, and it is natural to suppose that other public patrons would speedily follow the excellent example. Private patronage stands, of course, on a somewhat different footing, but even here the difficulty is one which is likely to vanish when it is resolutely grappled. Of the eleven thousand livings in private patronage, at a moderate computation, half would at once be transferred to the patronage of representative Diocesan Boards, if such were created. When private patronage was abolished in the Scottish Kirk, five-sixths of the benefices in private patronage were surrendered without compensation. It is not to be supposed that English Churchmen would be much less generous than Scotch Presbyterians. There would only remain some four thousand livings to be dealt with, and many of these would gradually fall in, in obedience to the pressure of the healthy public opinion that would be operating in favour of the Boards. Behind the question of the reforms proposed in this and other directions is the financial question; and behind this is the question as to how the co-operation and the active support of the laity may be secured. Let the laity have their proper voice and influence in the constitution and counsels of the Church, and these questions will speedily be solved.

The Rev. W. MARTIN, Vicar of Bromyard.

I QUITE agree with the opinion of the late Lord Derby that patronage in the Church of England should be as varied in character as possible. What we require, as Chancellor Dibdin has pointed out, is adequate and just restriction in the exercise of it. It is nothing but just to the unbeneficed clergy that a fixed period of service should be completed, say five or seven years in priest's orders, before a clergyman should be eligible for appointment to a benefice; and to check traffic in livings, a fixed period should elapse after purchase before the right could be exercised, if you cannot wisely abolish purchase. Moreover, sheer political patronage, such as that of the Crown and Lord Chancellor, should be transferred to diocesan patronage boards. As to the tenure of the clergy, do not destroy the present independent position of the clergy, and be careful to what extent you weaken it. I do not believe in the infallibility of bishops, and certainly would not place all power in their hands; some of them appear to be possessed of all sorts of sense besides common; and, once destroy the independent position of the clergy, you may rush out of the frying-pan into the fire, and set up the Jeroboamite priesthood. True, when a man has lost all touch with his people, rendering his ministrations useless, be the cause what it may, one of two courses only is open; removal or retirement. If a square man finds himself in a round hole, ill-adapted to the sphere of labour, facilities for exchange should be afforded; as the law

now stands, only men who are their own patrons can readily effect an exchange, and this actually encourages traffic in ecclesiastical appointments; while others find untold difficulties in securing consents to any exchange, and must abide, whether or no distasteful to themselves or parishioners. Then with regard to retirement. How can you retire a clergyman except you can give him a decent maintenance? True he may have one-third the value of his benefice, thus crippling his successor, and £15 per annum from the clergy pension fund, if he be a subscriber, with a possible augmentation; but this fund is useless to the great majority of clergymen who are past the meridian of life. They cannot with straitened incomes pay the premiums. No doubt it will benefit the next generation of clergy, but it can do little for the present. Would it not be well to have a diocesan retirement fund, supported by voluntary contributions, and subsidized out of the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, from which grants could be made proportionate to the nature and length of service and the real necessities of the case? Possibly the town clergy and dignitaries of the Church who have received their stipends in full from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners might not be unwilling to submit for a time to a reasonable reduction, when they reflect on the serious financial losses of their country brethren deriving their incomes from land and tithe rent-charge, every £100 of tithe rent-charge, when rates and taxes have been paid thereon, especially if there is a School Board, being now only worth nett £58, so that it is easy to calculate country clerical incomes. "A fellow-feeling ought to make us wondrous kind."

The Rev. W. WOOL, D.D., Vicar of Cropredy, Leamington;
Hon. Canon of Christchurch.

I SHOULD not have sent in my card to say a few words this morning if I had not felt very conscious of the great importance of this subject, and that it ought to be treated with all seriousness. We have heard about the great scandals that are connected with presentations of benefices, and also of the great difficulties of removing incompetent or scandalous clergy, so I need not speak on that point. The bishops, the archdeacons, and the chancellors, know well how difficult it is to prevent the purchase practically of the souls of men, or how difficult it is to get rid of incompetent and vicious clerks, and I would just say that my hearty sympathy and agreement goes with what Mr. Torr told us this morning, and that I should hope earnestly in future to see something like a Church Council in each diocese representing both the diocese and the parish also. But what I want now is just to make a practical suggestion. I ask myself what can be done now until some measure is passed? Well, nothing can be done yet legally, but I believe that a good deal can be done morally. For what do simoniacal presentees and their abettors seek? I will tell you; they seek for darkness, and not for light. They do not want their deeds to be made manifest until it is too late to prevent action. I saw an advertisement recently which was meant to show you you could be free from burglars by burning night-lights. Why should not we turn on the night-light of public opinion as far as we can on all such acts. Why should not all the bishops do, as I believe the Bishop of Salisbury does whenever the name of a presentee is sent to him, namely, to immediately forward it to the parish in which that man is to serve, and it is put up on the church door. I know you will say that that would not prevent a man if he chooses to carry it out, however unfit he may be—whatever scandals he may have committed a few years before—from forcing himself upon the bishop and the parish; but I say it would prevent such a man daring to come forward from the knowledge the parish would have of his utter unfitness. Therefore it struck me to make this suggestion, with all deference, because it is not an heroic measure to ask bishops to spend all their income in legal proceedings; but it seemed to me a simple and practical one, which in the interval might be adopted.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I SHOULD like to say one word with regard to only one point which has been touched upon, namely, that of retirement. I am sure this is a most important point, because it has always seemed to me that if you are going to give greater facilities for the compulsory retirement of the clergy from their parishes you must provide them with adequate pensions. The Church does not, I am sure, desire to sweat her ministers, as she apparently seems to do when she does not give them adequate maintenance during

the period that they are called upon to perform their duties ; much less does she desire to dismiss her servants at the close of an arduous life, and to send them off without a penny ; and endeavours have been made to meet this difficulty already. But I go very far along with what Mr. Rees has said with regard to the necessity for some form of administration by the laity of the revenues of the Church in each diocese. If there was some common diocesan fund managed by a diocesan commission, as there is for the Church generally managed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, some provision might be made for providing a retiring pension for the aged clergy, and also for providing against dilapidations. If we got rid of these two difficulties we should remove to some extent the peculiar anxieties of the clergy of our day. I will say this for the Clergy Pensions Institution to which Mr. Martin alluded, that it is a genuine attempt, started some time ago, to meet these difficulties, so far as it was possible, without the compulsory payment of a premium. If Mr. Martin had joined this fund from the first he would, if he were to retire five years hence—I hope he has got more than five years' good work to give to the Church—he would receive not only the £15 to which he referred and would have a claim to, but he would receive a considerable addition from the augmentation fund, which I hope the wealthy laity of the Church will liberally support. I will not detain you any longer. I wanted to make that remark ; it seems so vastly important that some provision should be made for it.

MUSIC HALL.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the BISHOP OF BALLARAT in the Chair.

CHURCH REFORM.

CONSTITUTIONAL : CONCESSION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF HER INTERNAL AFFAIRS THROUGH A REFORMED CONVOCATION.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

OUR subject this afternoon is Church Reform, in the constitutional department of it : The Concession of Legislative Powers to the Church of England for the Administration of her Internal Affairs through a Reformed Convocation. I feel special pleasure in taking the chair at the present session, because, in the Providence of God, I have presided for twenty-one years as Bishop over a diocese where legislative powers, enforced by the Parliament of the country, have been exercised by our Church of England through a representative assembly. I therefore naturally take a deep interest in the question before us ; and it is possible that my long experience may enable me, not now, but at the close of the sitting, to make some contribution to the discussion.

PAPERS.

The Ven. A. C. AINSLIE, D.C.L. ; Canon Residentiary of Wells, and Archdeacon of Taunton.

OUR subject is the Legislative Power of the Convocations of the Clergy, and the question we have to discuss is, How far can that legislative power be now recognized, and, if need be, extended ? There is the

subsidiary question, How can the Convocations be rendered more fit to exercise that power?

When we look into the history of English ecclesiastical legislation, we can divide it roughly into four periods:—

I.—The period when the Canon Law and the Ecclesiastical Courts dealt with what we should now regard as matters of civil life. The Canon Law touched the laity at every point at which they came in contact with the Church. The recovery of tithe, matters matrimonial and testamentary, defamation, brawling, rights of sanctuary, above all, the morals of private life, were all within the cognizance of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the right known as "Privilege of clergy," brought a vast number of persons—not merely men in holy orders—under the Church's laws. Canon Law was a serious reality in pre-Reformation days. And the Church's Synods were free to enact their Canons—practically free, as far as State interference was concerned—free by ancient usage, free by the Great Charter.

II.—The second of the periods into which we may broadly divide the history of Church legislation was that of the personal supremacy of the Crown. I need not tell you that the Royal supremacy was no new thing invented by Henry VIII., though he gave it an extension and interpretation which had never before been dreamed of. The Church's Synods lost their freedom; they could not meet except under the Royal writ; they could not enact a Canon without the Royal assent and licence. Still, the very limitations placed upon the exercise of the power of legislating implied a recognition of that power; and when it suited his financial or domestic schemes to refer to Convocation, Henry accepted its authority. He allowed it to help him, but utterly broke its power to oppose him. It was a necessity of his position to keep the clergy down. It was safer to trust to his Parliament; but, before he could trust it, he gave it an object lesson which it was not likely to forget. He included the whole nation in the *Premunire*, and then pardoned the laity, while he let them look on at the clergy writhing under the infliction of a fine of nearly two millions of our money. To give point to the lesson, he took an early opportunity, when the Commons hesitated about passing one of his Bills, to send for some of the leading members, and inform them that he would have the Bill, or he "would have some of their heads." The argument prevailed, and the Bill passed. A whole series of Statutes succeeded one another in rapid succession. Annates, appeals, submission, supremacy, dispensations, suppression of monasteries, six articles, and an abominable Act giving to the king's proclamations, especially in regard to heresy, the force of law dealing with life and limb.

Now it is much to be noted that, in his most tyrannical Acts, Henry generally (not always) went through the form of consulting Convocation, when the matter was one which, by constitutional right, should be referred to them. It served his purpose to recognize Convocation—anyhow, he recognized it.

Henry initiated the system of regulating Church matters by Royal Injunctions issued under authority given by Parliament—a system followed by Edward and Elizabeth, and even by Mary, the sovereign claiming the office of Supreme Ordinary. Elizabeth, however, recognized

the claim of the Church to act through the provincial Synods in such matters as definition of doctrine in the Articles of Religion. James I. at the outset was inclined to resort to the system of Injunction, and to settle all disputes by his sapient judgment; but the mutterings of a coming storm began to be heard, and the king felt the necessity of having the Church on his side.

III.—This brings us to the third period, when the authority of the Convocations was once more clearly recognized, and they were allowed to draw up a body of Constitutions and Canons, which we know as the Canons of 1604. These Constitutions, with as much of the ancient Canon Law as has been brought into use and acted upon in England, are the Canon Law of the Church of England at the present day. Then came the eclipse of the Great Rebellion; but when the earth shadow had passed away and the light shone out once more, Convocation was entrusted with one of its most important duties—the revision of the Prayer-book. If there was one thing that was recognized as belonging especially to the Provincial Synods, it was the regulation of the Church's worship, rubrics, and services. The revised Prayer-book was indeed appended to an Act of Parliament, and necessarily, as its use was to be obligatory on the whole nation, under heavy temporal penalties, and this obligation could only be imposed by Parliament.

IV.—With the end of the seventeenth century came the fourth period, when the idea of regulating *everything* by Act of Parliament became rooted in the English mind. Two causes led to this:—

(1) The silencing of Convocation. For reasons which I need not here discuss, the Convocations were prorogued in 1717, and for a hundred and thirty-five years were not allowed to assemble for business. They were almost forgotten. Most people, and educated people too, did not know of their existence. They were summoned, indeed, with each new Parliament; but summoned only to be prorogued.

(2) The second cause, which co-operated with the first in making English Churchmen indifferent to the legislative power of the Church, as recognized by the constitution of England, was the intense Erastianism of the eighteenth century. Ecclesiastical appointments became more and more political. The bishops had seats and votes in the House of Lords, and they were appointed with a view to their support of the Government of the day. It was almost forgotten that the Church was a living corporate Body with an organization far more ancient than that of the State. Churchmen were engaged in a weary war of pamphlets on one controversy after another, and though abuses abounded—non-residence, pluralities, simony, neglect of duty, besides flagrant abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts—their thoughts were engrossed with other things; and politicians were content that they should be so engrossed.

With the opening of the nineteenth century, and the end of the Great War, new ideas were astir. The old controversies had died out, and men were awake to the fact that gross abuses did exist; and the cry was for reform—first in the State, then in the Church. Political reform was the proper work of Parliament, why not also ecclesiastical reform? What was the Church but a department of the State? What had Convocation to do in the matter? Convocation?—a mere name!

Statesmen would not dream of reviving its powers; what did they want with it? Bishops had a voice in Parliament, what more would they have? And those who had read the history of one hundred years before, remembered that the Lower House had made it exceedingly uncomfortable for the Upper House—and on the whole, though the “*Domus Inferior*” or the “*Totus Clerus*” was very interesting in the pages of “*Wilkins’ Concilia*,” it was just as well not to revive it, as there was no saying what might happen.

So, for one reason or another, Convocation was kept muzzled. And a series of Statutes was passed, in which the Church had indeed a voice, speaking through her bishops as an “*Estate of the Realm*,” but gave no consent as a spiritual Body. They were such as the Pluralities Acts, the Church Discipline Act, the Cathedral Act.

In 1852 the Convocation of Canterbury was once more allowed to meet for business, and that of York between eight and nine years later. Slowly, and somewhat grudgingly, has the position of the Convocations been recognized, but no ecclesiastical legislation would now be carried through by Parliament without opportunity being given to the Convocations to express their mind.

Of direct canonical legislation there has been little enough, but that little has served to maintain the great principle that the Church has a law and a legislature. New canons on subscription and simony, on hours of marriage, and on clergy discipline, have been enacted with the Royal Licence, and but for an unfortunate difference of a few words between Canterbury and York, a new canon on sponsors in baptism would have been promulgated thirty years ago—and a great precedent would have been created, viz., that of an amendment of Canons on the initiative of Convocation.

Now the question that we are to try and answer to-day is this:—Having the machinery of Church legislation, can we again bring it into use to the benefit of the Church? My answer is, “Yes, if its revival is the natural outcome of the needs and circumstances of the day, and not advocated merely to satisfy a theory.”

Let me remind you how in each of the four periods of Church legislation that I have mentioned, the mode, and scope, and limitation of the Church’s action were such as the times demanded.

I.—In the first period: in early pre-Reformation days, the Church occupied rightly and necessarily a position of great power. Its influence in the country was natural, inevitable, and most salutary. Its power of legislation, the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts over clergy and laity alike, were regarded as a matter of course, though held in check when it infringed the Royal Prerogative.

II.—Again the change that came in Henry VIII.’s reign followed the change of ideas. The predominance of the Church in the State had become an anachronism. There were new forces in existence which must be reckoned with. If Henry VIII. had never lived, the relation of the ecclesiastical to the civil power would have been modified by other means; but assuredly modified.

III.—The reaction in the days of the Stuarts again belonged to the phase of feeling that the country was going through. The Church and the Crown each needed the support of the other.

IV.—So with regard to the Erastian ideas of the eighteenth century.

They belonged to the great bloodless revolution that was taking place in England in the growth of new political ideas, the substitution of constitutional for personal monarchy, the firm establishment of the supreme power of Parliament. The idea of canonical legislation with the assent and licence of the Crown alone, independently of Parliament, was out of date, and after a while it was forgotten.

And now we have to ask, How far and in what way can legislative power be conceded to the Church consistently with the ideas of the present day?—not with the ideas of days long gone by. The shadow will not go back on the sun-dial. Personal monarchy is at an end; though the personal influence of the sovereign is, happily, a reality. And on the other hand, though Parliament is as resolute as ever that it shall have no rival in any matters that concern the person, civil rights, or property, there is a growing feeling in favour of devolution, of self-government. I am not sanguine as to Parliament conceding much in the way of facilities for enacting Canons to be promulgated by authority of Crown and Convocation, except possibly in regard to matters—and they are very few—which have not been dealt with by Statute; but I cannot but hope that a method which fully recognizes the supremacy of Parliament in determining the law of the land, while granting a power of initiative to the Church's Synods, may be accepted, and be found to work well.

The method proposed is that which is known as the Draft Bill on Rubrics and Additional Services. According to this the Convocations may propose alterations in the rubrics and drafts of additional services, and submit them to Her Majesty, who shall lay them before Parliament. If no address is presented within a certain time by either House of Parliament praying Her Majesty to withhold her consent, they will receive the force of law by Order in Council.

This method was first brought forward by Bishop Jackson in the House of Lords in 1874, subsequently taken up warmly by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1879, with special reference to rubrical alterations; revived this year by the Bishop of Winchester in the Upper House; again approved in principle by the Lower House, but with the proviso that the power to deal with *rubrics* should not be sought "at the present time." An unwise limitation, as it seems to me, for surely the possession of a power does not necessarily imply the unwise exercise of that power without reference to time and circumstance; and if in anything the initiative ought to lie with the Convocations, it is surely in regard to the rubrics.

I will leave to those who will follow me to speak of the need of a reform of Convocation, and of some power of united action between Canterbury and York. These are important; but they involve no point of principle such as I have tried to keep in view in this paper. As citizens, let us stand up for the supremacy of Parliament in regard to the law of the land; as Churchmen, let us consistently demand that, so far as that law is the law also of the Church of England, the Church's Synods may have a recognized part in its enactment or amendment.

Sir WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, D.C.L., Chancellor
of the Diocese of Lincoln.

ARCHDEACON AINSIE has been good enough to let me read his paper, and I have prepared mine as a supplement to his.

Our object, reduced to its simplest and plainest terms, is in the nature of a demand for Home Rule.

The Church should be free, and should be allowed to legislate for herself for this reason, if for no higher one—that Parliament has not capacity or patience, or if patience not time, to legislate for her; and the result is that much needed legislation is left undone, or is done badly.

During the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign, while the outward state and framework of England's civil polity has undergone transformation and improvement in matters political, municipal, and social, and while the inward state and life of the Church has received a greater change with higher life and fuller activity, ecclesiastical organization has had changes so few and reforms so slender as to leave the machinery behind its work.

The Ecclesiastical Commission of William IV. did indeed inaugurate in the present reign large alterations in our cathedral system, but so roughly and unskilfully that we have since tried to undo much of the work done. Two Clergy Discipline Acts, each cumbrous and costly, are dividing with a dubious boundary the province of Ecclesiastical crime. Once has Parliament stepped in, not to reform, but to crush reform, to stamp out the party which was doing most of the Church's work. But the steady resistance which was offered to operations under the Public Worship Regulation Act has, as we rejoice to know, reduced that Act to a dead letter.

Till 1665, while the Convocations were still the bodies which taxed the clergy, they had a large share in Church legislation. The XXXIX. Articles, the Prayer-book, the Canons of 1603, all bear witness to this. These Canons provided for the conditions of Ordination, the duty of the parish priest in the administration of the sacraments and of rites of burial, to a limited degree for the residence of the clergy, for the constitution of the Church courts, and the qualification of judges.

There is no reason why much that was done by Canon in 1603 should not be done by Canon still. There is no reason why the Convocations should not pass Canons to stand for a while on their own strength and the Royal Assent, as the XXXIX. Articles stood from 1562 to 1571, and then, if further strength were required, to receive confirmation from Parliament, as the XXXIX. Articles received by the act 13 Eliz., cap. 12. There is at any rate no reason why all Church legislation should not be prepared by the Convocations, as were our present Prayer-book, our present Lectionary, and the Shortened Services, and then be submitted as the work of the Convocations to Parliament, not to be passed in part, but as a whole, if Parliament approved, or, shall I say, if Parliament saw no reason to disapprove. There is no reason why the division of a diocese should not be determined by the Convocation of the province. If this body thought it desirable, and the funds were found by private subscription, Parliament would be churlish

if it refused any necessary sanction. There is no reason why the division of archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and parishes, instead of being determined by the Ecclesiastical Commission, that anomalous body, with its necessarily fluctuating composition, should not be decided on by an organization committee of Convocation, accepted by the whole body, and ratified by the Crown, as the schemes of the Ecclesiastical Commission are now ratified by orders in council. Nor is there reason why the Convocations should not be empowered to examine into, control, or supersede those two great departments, the Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty, or at least mould them into one body, which we might hope would form a less costly administrative machine, and leave more money for poor benefices.

Parliament, it may be said, will be jealous. Well, Parliament is reasonable, and ought not to be jealous. It has tried to do the work by itself and failed—as over the Church Patronage question more than once. Devolution, if it would please the Erastians so to put it, is the order of the day. Besides, Parliament will always be able to prevent anything becoming law, or to repeal it, if by accident it has slipped into law.

Individuals will be jealous. Some will fear any change. But they need not think that by any known method, rapid or ill-considered change can be brought about. The rest may be divided into four classes: (1) Those who profit by a bad system, and want to make amendment impracticable; (2) those who hate the Church, and therefore want to make her improvement impossible; (3) those who fear that the Church may legislate injuriously to Nonconformists; (4) those who fear that, unless Parliament takes a very active part, the laity of the Church will be trampled on. I need not deal with the two first classes. No one will admit that he belongs to either. He will class himself in the third or fourth. To the third class it may be answered that the legislative power claimed is purely for internal management, that the sanction of the Crown, given through its responsible minister, would be required for any Canons; while if Parliamentary sanction be required, however summarily it may be taken, there will be ministers and members to see that the bounds of internal legislation are not overstepped to the prejudice of outsiders. To the fourth class I would answer that, whatever else Parliament does, it does not, as now constituted, represent the faithful laity, who are better represented by the two Houses of Laymen, and by the knowledge of the bishops and clerical members of Convocation; that unless they carry with them the conscience and good-will of the laity, their attempts at legislation will be to little purpose.

Now for the machinery of legislation. There is the late Bishop Jackson's Bill, now that of the Bishop of Winchester. By this Parliament is to enact once and for all that, as to rubrics and additional services, any changes made by the Convocations and approved by the Crown be laid before Parliament like schemes for endowed schools, and become law unless either House address the Crown against them. I see little chance of Parliament agreeing to this; but I can understand such a proposal as applied to rubrics, or to any subject with an area and limits clearly defined, so that Parliament could know beforehand the extreme of change which would then be made. I do not think Parliament

could be asked to apply it to such subjects as patronage, the Ecclesiastical Courts, discipline of the laity, or raising the standard of clerical duty—subjects which I mention because Church reformers have drawn special attention to them.

I venture to think that the changes in our manner of legislating should be rather changes in practice than great constitutional ones.

First, let the ministers of the Crown recur to the older practice and encourage the Convocations to legislate as much as possible by Canons, offering the assistance of the Crown lawyers or other skilled draftsmen to put the intentions of Convocation into the best legal form.

Secondly, let ministers entertain representations from the heads of the Church, and give to the Convocations "letters of business" on any Church subject where change or reform is needed. Let them confer with the Convocations as to the ultimate legal form in which the change is to be carried out; and let them submit to Parliament, if an Act be necessary, one complete scheme, a Schedule to a Bill in one clause, and let it be a Government Bill, backed with all the power of Government if taken up at all.

The Clergy Discipline Act of 1892 is not a very satisfactory example—for it is a badly drafted Bill—but with all its faults it was got through Parliament in this sort of way.

But before these functions are restored or given to the Convocations, we should wish that the Convocation should be reformed and made more representative of all classes of the clergy. We want the number of proctors of the parochial clergy increased, especially in Canterbury. We want the curates to have voices.

I wish to take this opportunity of saying that I do not see, as some have seen, serious legal difficulties in the way of these things being done by the archbishops, on the application of their Convocations, without reference to the Crown or Parliament.

I do not mean that any dignitaries now summoned could be omitted; but I say that more proctors of the parochial clergy might be summoned.

The Queen's writ directs the archbishop to summon the bishops, deans, archdeacons, chapters, colleges, and the whole clergy *modo debito*.

This *modus debitus*, or proper manner, was at one time long ago taken to mean one proctor from each diocese. At present it is taken to mean two proctors from each diocese in Canterbury, from each archdeaconry in York. That was at one time convenient and sufficiently representative. Now that the parochial clergy have so largely increased, what is to prevent the Archbishop of Canterbury from directing his suffragan bishops to return two proctors from each archdeaconry? Who could or would complain? Would the Crown listen to a complaint from some stranger that the archbishop had summoned more proctors from the dioceses than had been usual? Would it or could it proceed against the archbishop for having done so? What could it do to him? Unless some such proceedings were taken, and that speedily, the certificate of the Bishop of London as Dean of the Province, and the certificates to him of the other bishops, would be regarded as conclusive that all had been rightly done.

I do not ask that the archbishop should act without having been previously fortified and empowered by a synodal act, such as I think Convocation might pass. If it be said that representation by

archdeaconries would not be enough, as it would leave the great diocese of London with four proctors only, I do not see why his Grace should not, if Convocation applied to him so to do, direct London or any other great diocese to return four proctors for each archdeaconry. And the same might be done for any great diocese in York. Or, if it be desired to keep to two proctors per archdeaconry, then increase the number of archdeaconries. Already, by the increase of dioceses, addition has been made to the representation of the parochial clergy.

As to those clergy who, as licensed assistant or stipendiary curates, contribute so much to the work of the Church, I own I never could understand how they came not to be thought to form part of the clergy of their diocese. I think nothing but practice can be relied on as the justification for their exclusion from voting in the choice of proctors, still less for their exclusion from being elected as proctors. When the Convocations were closed in the time of George I., there were comparatively few licensed curates in our modern sense. Whether they had votes or not, I doubt whether anyone knows. When the Convocations were re-opened in the present reign, if the matter had been considered on a somewhat broad basis of principle, I venture to think that everyone who holds the bishop's licence to take part in the cure of souls would have been recognized as one of the clergy of his diocese, the assistant or stipendiary curate as much as the perpetual curate. If now it were to be resolved by the two Convocations that the bishops in their several dioceses should admit these curates to the suffrage, and the bishops were to do it, no one could undo it.

Lastly, there is a reform which is unquestionably in the hands of the archbishops and their Convocations. Let them meet together; and when not meeting physically, let them combine in intention as to what they want, and appoint some joint executive committee to represent them to the Government and to Parliament. A good precedent is to be set this autumn. Let us hope that it will be freely and frequently followed. I would sum up in the words which a whilom Lord Chief Justice used of a former Archbishop of Canterbury, "Let him take courage."

The Ven. HENRY WILLIAM WATKINS, D.D., Archdeacon and Canon of Durham; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Durham, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Durham.

"THE Church of England . . . has objects and wants; she has also difficulties and embarrassments, to her of the most real and serious kind, which are impalpable and intangible to the most benevolent Parliament. There are innumerable things which she may wish to do and put right, for which no one is competent but herself. There is no reason why she should be considered tied to an obsolete state of things, more than the nation at large, or separate interests of it. There is no reason why Parliament should consider itself capable of discharging all necessary functions of Church administration or legislation, any more than administering or legislating for the internal affairs of the Great Western Railway Company or the Baptist body. There is no reason

why the Church should find more difficulty in gaining Parliamentary sanction to the exercise, in a restored form, of her own intrinsic and constitutional powers, or even of new and hitherto unknown ones, than other religious or secular bodies. There is no reason why she should not be allowed, under Parliamentary sanction and guarantee, to carry on reforms of her own, to adjust her position to altered circumstances, to administer her own laws, to take counsel for her own interests. There is no reason why in her case all these important matters should be kept out of her own hands, and left in those which are not her own." *

These are words which I would gladly adopt, but I can claim for them a much higher authority. They were published almost half a century ago by R. W. Church, Fellow of Oriel, and deliberately republished by him thirty years later, when he was Dean of S. Paul's.

"Might not the consent of Parliament be obtained for a mode of enacting ecclesiastical bye-laws, like Orders in Council sent up from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners? No one proposes that Parliament should abdicate its right of initiating direct legislation where it thought well directly and primarily to interfere. The analogous power vested in the Ecclesiastical Commission and other similar bodies in no way interferes with the full right of Parliament to initiate when it pleases. I feel confident that in the suggestions I have thus made is to be found the true solution of present difficulties." These words are from a "Memorandum on Ritual Difficulties," made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the general consent of the Bench of Bishops, and submitted to the Lord Chancellor, on behalf of the Government, at the close of 1880.

On the second day of 1881, the Archbishop writes in his private diary: "The state of Church matters occupies my mind. I am to see Gladstone and the Chancellor to-morrow in reference to the Bill proposed by Convocation. Surely the condition both of Church and State imposes a heavy burden on the rulers of both. In Ireland there is no improvement."

And a week later: "On Monday I went to Downing Street for an interview with the Prime Minister and the Chancellor on the present state of ecclesiastical affairs. They both decisively discouraged the bringing in of the Bill for giving legislative or quasi-legislative force to the decisions of Convocations. They said they had so much on hand that they could not encumber *themselves* with such matters, and could not even give effective support to such a Bill brought in by me;" while his son-in-law and biographer, the present Bishop of Winchester, adds: "It was a sharp disappointment to him to find that the necessary Government support would not be given to any plan for facilitating the enactment of ecclesiastical bye-laws. Without such support it would have been only mischievous to introduce the Convocation scheme." †

That such a scheme should have been known as "the Convocation Scheme;" that bills embodying it should have been introduced into the House of Lords and in Convocation by bishops and statesmen of the position of Bishop Jackson of London, and Bishop Harvey

* "On the Relations between Church and State," by R. W. Church, M.A., Fellow of Oriel, 1881, pp. 2 and 3.

† "Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury," vol. ii., pp. 431-45.

Goodwin of Carlisle, and should have been supported afterwards by, among others, the present Bishops of London, and Gloucester and Bristol, and the then Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee); * that it should have occupied the mind of that veteran priest to whom the Church in the North of England owes so much—Canon John Grey—and the mind of the veteran statesman, Earl Grey, during the last days of their lives; that Canon Grey should have been able to state a year ago that he had been encouraged to proceed in the matter by almost every bishop of the English Church, and by a large number of other eminent persons, clerical and legal, whom he had consulted; that a Draft Bill embodying the scheme should have been introduced in the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation this year by the Bishop of Winchester, and unanimously accepted by that House, that the same Draft Bill should have been introduced by the Archbishop of York in the Upper House of the Northern Convocation and have been accepted unanimously by that House also; that a proposition on parallel lines should have been adopted by the Lower Houses of Canterbury and York; that a joint committee of the York Houses should have been appointed to consider the question—and among the members of that committee are the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham, Manchester, and Chester; that Draft Bills on the same lines should have been approved by the Canterbury House of Laymen—all this shows that the question is one which is well within the sphere of practical politics, and one which is urgently pressing for solution.

Among the reasons which have been or may be urged in favour of a general Enabling Bill which would give legal validity to schemes originated in the Synods of the Church, approved by the laity, drafted under the sanction of the Crown, and enacted subject to the veto of either House of Parliament, are the following:—

(1) Such an Enabling Bill would consist of very few clauses, and if backed by Church feeling and public opinion would probably become an Act without serious difficulty. I lay no stress on our present advantageous position in a House of Commons which owes its existence largely to the dormant strength of the Church when roused by unjust attack. I have no desire to seize a victory for the Church by the mere strength of political party; but I remember that in one of the debates of the last Session one of her strongest opponents asked why the Church could not settle her own affairs without occupying the time of Parliament; and this question represents, I believe, a large amount of feeling on both sides of the House. Does it not also represent the growing, dare I say the almost unanimous, feeling of the Church itself?

(2) Such schemes would be in accordance with the ancient constitutional principle that the Church should legislate for herself, but that such legislation should become part of the law of the realm, and binding on all its subjects, only when sanctioned by the Crown and Parliament.

(3) Such schemes are well known in Parliamentary practice. They may now be laid upon the tables of the Houses of Parliament by several public bodies and individuals—the Charity Commissioners, the

* See "The Church and Parliament, a record of what has been proposed since 1874 in this matter," compiled by the Right Rev. Bishop Anson. *Reprinted from "The Guardian," September 18th, 1895.*

Education Department, the Universities' Committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Home Secretary, and others, and if an address to Her Majesty in Council praying that the Royal consent may be withheld is not presented, they acquire after the lapse of a specified number of days the force of laws of the realm.

(4) A scheme thus laid before Parliament would be thrown out only if there was reason against it good enough to carry a majority of either House. The mere wrecker or blocker, who loves to be awkward, or the man who protests his affection for the Church, and shows it by using technical rules to prevent her reforming herself, would be powerless.

(5) Such a scheme would not be subject to amendment. Bills have entered Parliament in one form and come out so changed that their authors did not know them. We should ask for what we wanted. It would be granted or refused for reason given. If refused it could be reconsidered—perhaps amended and asked for again. We should not ask for bread in worship and be given a stone. We should not ask for whips in discipline, and be chastised with scorpions.

On the other hand, there are obvious objections, but their force has been, I think, unduly magnified:—

(i.) It is urged that the ancient and constitutional method of ecclesiastical legislation is by Canon, framed under license from the Crown, and promulgated by the authority of the Crown; that the supremacy is royal, not Parliamentary. True, ideally true; but practically we are governed as much by Statute as by Canon. The Prayer-book itself is a schedule to an Act of Parliament, and I think the eminent lawyers who are to take part in this discussion would smile at the suggestion that we are by Canon to amend or reform jot or tittle of the Statute, or even of the Common Law. Authority and custom have alike determined that no Canon may be (a) against the prerogative of the king, (b) against the Common Law, (c) against any Statute Law, (d) against any Custom of the Realm.*

(ii.) It is urged that it would be impossible to define in an Enabling Bill the scope of such schemes. The Bishop of Winchester, in his speech on this question in the Canterbury Convocation, expressed the opinion that some of us in the North had gone too far in the direction of practical reform, and limited his own Draft Bill to rubrics and additional services. This very limitation led to the not unnatural fear that legislative attention was to be focused on rubrics, and that the result would be renewed strife, and led the Lower House to adopt a rider which practically excluded rubrics from the Bill. In the North the same Draft Bill is referred to a strong committee, which is also to consider the question in its wider aspects. If the Southern Convocation would appoint a committee with similar powers to meet us, there ought to be no difficulty in definition. My own view is expressed in the words of Dean Church, which stand at the head of this paper, and I am myself too strictly defined by the limits of fifteen minutes to attempt more now.

* See opinion given by a Committee of Judges at the request of the House of Lords in 1610. Coke, "Reports," xiii., 72. Makower, "Die Verfassung der Kirche v. England," 1894, pp. 380-1.

(iii.) For I must devote some words to the objection, which would indeed be serious, if there were any ground for it, that legislation by schemes originating in Convocation would deprive the laity of any part of their right and responsibility. Have those who have alleged this observed that in each of the many Draft Bills there is the limitation—undesirable in my opinion—that Convocation shall not even consider such a scheme without license from the Crown, that each House of Parliament should have practically the power of veto, that the final enactment should require the consent of the Crown? It would begin, continue, and end with the consent of the laity. Have they considered that no one has dreamt of asking Parliament to abrogate its own power of independent legislation? It might be hoped indeed that if such schemes worked satisfactorily, and proved generally acceptable, legislation would ordinarily run on these lines, but the sovereign power of the laity in Parliament would be absolutely untouched. Have they estimated the great and growing influence of the Houses of Laymen, which have, it may be, no legal *status*, but have a constitution approved by both Convocations, and have germs which may grow to be the legally recognized lay council of the Church? Does anyone suppose that even now either Convocation would think of submitting a scheme which had not been approved by its House of Laymen? The readily accepted amendment of the Canterbury House of Laymen, providing that no scheme should be finally adopted by Convocation until a Draft had been for twelve months before the public, gives further opportunity for the expression of lay opinion, and the exercise of lay control.

But the new legislative powers are to be administered in the words of your programme, "through a reformed Convocation." I am not quite sure how I am to interpret this. Standing here, I dare not suppose that this one Convocation means York only, and if I take it to mean Canterbury only, I dare not return to the North. You drive me to the interpretation—which indeed I take to lie at the root of the whole matter—that these legislative powers are to be administered by a National Synod. No reform of Convocation will be satisfactory which does not provide for the fair representation of the whole body of the clergy, parochial as fully as cathedral, unbeneficed as well as beneficed; no reform will be satisfactory which does not provide that with due safeguards of the special province of the spirituality, the voice of the whole body of the faithful laity shall by its representatives be heard, and heard not simply by way of advice, but by way of effective vote; and no reform will be satisfactory which does not provide for the assembling, whenever legislative action on the part of the Church is proposed, of "the Sacred Synod of this nation,"* which is "the true Church of England by representation." These words represent the constitution of the Church (if anyone is inclined to deny it, let me remind him that the penalty of the Canon is "let him be excommunicated, and not restored, until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error"): they represent practice well known in the history of the past: they represent—I appeal to you is it not so?—the strong desire of the living Church of the present. For the North I can speak with some confidence, for on my own motion, now ten years ago, the Lower House of

* "The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," Canon cxxxix.

York resolved unanimously "that in the present needs of the Church of England it is much to be desired that a National Synod, uniting from time to time the two Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, should be convened," and we have since taken such steps as humble folk may to give effect to this resolution. From three successive Archbishops of York, speaking as Presidents of their Synods, have I heard during these ten years strong words of approval. Some of us heard the gracious welcome which the Archbishop of Canterbury gave to the Northern Province at the opening of the Church House, and we rejoiced to hear its acceptance by the Northern President with the fervent hope that the two Convocations would at no distant date meet there "as a National Synod representing the great National Church." *

That hope is to be informally realized by a conference on education in a few weeks' time. We seem to be approaching the goal. Is it too much to hope also that this Shrewsbury Congress will bring us yet nearer, and help to form a volume of public opinion which will sweep away any technical obstacles that remain—legal cobwebs look very imposing, but they have not much strength—and is it too much to hope that it will yet be given to this nineteenth century, this Victorian era—the era of unity, of expansion, of freedom, of life, the greatest in our nation, the greatest in our Church—to realize that a National Synod is an integral part of the constitution, and that the National Charter proclaims "for Us and Our Heirs for ever, that the Church of England be Free, and have her rights intact and her liberties unimpaired?" †

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FIFTEEN minutes by law of the Congress, one thousand seven hundred words by grace of Messrs. Bemrose, for treating this important subject! Necessary result—a bald, not to say a brutal, brevity of assertion and argument, one-sided and incomplete; for this and for many defects and omissions I ask your indulgence in advance.

"Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis."

Everything is changing around us, and we ourselves have changed and are changing. The habits of life, thought, and expression, the wants, desires, and tastes of the close of the nineteenth century differ widely from what they were at its commencement, and far more widely from those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

What Spencer called "The ever-whirling wheel of change" still runs on, and will do so to the end. "And the great world spins for ever down the ringing grooves of change," as Tennyson has it.

Every secular institution in the country, from Parliament down to School Boards, has found it necessary to alter from time to time its constitution, its organization, and its standing orders, in order to adapt itself to the varying needs and changing customs of the day. And every such institution has the power to do so.

* "Corporation of the Church House, Eighth Annual Report," p. 31.

† See Gee and Hardy, "Documents Illustrative of English Church History," pp. 79, 80, and Makower *ut supra*, Anhang vii.

The Church of England alone has no power of change or adaptation. Her position is in this respect inferior to that of Municipal Corporations and Joint Stock Companies, limited. The rules which govern her action were made either at the Reformation or after the Restoration, and affect even such minor matters as the number and manner of her services, and the portions of Scripture to be read at each. I am the last man in this Hall to disparage the Reformation. I glory in being a member of the Protestant Reformed Church of England, and rejoice to add—as by law established. But the reformers had not the gift of prophecy, and knew nothing of missions. By their work the Church was set free from Papal despotism, purged of Roman heresies, and restored to primitive truth, and was made the most efficient instrument in the world for the propagation of the gospel and the edification of Christians.

At the Reformation the doctrinal truths held by the Church were authoritatively declared—truths eternal and unchangeable. Also there were ordained rites and ceremonies—as the expression of these truths—and by Article XX. of Religion the Church reserves to herself the power to decree rites and ceremonies from time to time: for they are not immutable, but may well be varied so as to become suitable to the habits of thought, the education, the understanding, and, within limits, even the tastes of the worshipper. “Eternal truths attend God’s Word,” but the organization of the Church, which proclaims them, need not be eternally stereotyped, or take identically the same shape among Hindoos, Negroes, and North American Indians, as among ourselves. This distinction between doctrines and forms is taken in the preface to the Common Prayer-book, where the particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein are declared to be “indifferent and alterable, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions.”

Of the many instances which might be given in which power to make a change is desirable, I suggest a few:—

(1) The sub-division of dioceses, and the consequent apportionment of episcopal incomes should be feasible by the Church itself without an Act of Parliament.

(2) Changes are required in the parochial system, which is yearly becoming more and more unequal to the demands made upon it.

(3) The people are leaving the country and crowding the towns. The clergyman remains in each “deserted village.” Some plan is needed by which the priest may follow the people—his place being perhaps supplied in the villages by a sub-deacon.

(4) Additions to the Prayer-book should be made—an alternative burial service, a children’s burial service. A shorter marriage service and prayers for missions are desirable.

(5) When men lived close to their work and led leisurely lives—when few of them had piety or knowledge to conduct family prayer; when Bibles, Prayer-books, and devotional books were scarce and costly, and when populations of parishes were small, two services a day in church were right and useful. Nearly all could be there.

Things are different now. Every Christian man may be a priest in his own house. The exigencies of modern life hurry him off ten miles to business. It boots not to have “A clanging bell to call the

worshippers who do not come," and the parson can employ his time better in visiting his parishioners at their homes or giving religious instruction in the schools, than in exhorting "Dearly beloved Roger" in an empty church.

(6) The questions dealt with by the Benefices Bill, Parts II. and III.

I need not labour this point, that some power of change is necessary. In 1854 the Upper House of Convocation resolved that some modification of the Church's rules is needful to enable her to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people. The subject has been debated at many a Church Congress, and there has been but one opinion as to the need.

The next question is the *way*. Who should have the power of alteration? When the laws of the Church were made, Church and State were practically identical; a dissenter from the one had few rights in the other. Convocation was taken as representing the spirituality—Parliament, the secularity; and the Acts of Uniformity, which legalized and altered the Common Prayer-book, were passed by Parliament after consulting Convocation, and so both clerical and lay elements joined in the legislation.

Things are different now. The House of Commons is not elected on religious principles, it contains many members who dissent from, or are hostile to, the Church: some of them do not even recognize her orders. Such a body is as unfit as it is unwilling to discuss in committee the details of any Bill for amending the organization of the Church of England. Possibly the present Parliament might pass such an Act if it were sure that the Church desired it. But the Church is at present a dumb animal, and cannot make her voice heard, even when she knows what she wants; which is not always the case.

But the thing has to be done, and as Parliament will not do it, it must give the power to some other body. There is one ready; that which is called Convocation, but, is in reality two Convocations, of Canterbury and York. These have been recognized by the State since the time of Edward I., but as both Hallam and Murray's Dictionary observe, by the word Convocation, only that of Canterbury is meant, that of York being of minor importance.

One hundred and fifty years ago Dr. Samuel Johnson expressed his readiness "to stand before a battery of cannon" to restore to Convocation its full powers. "Shall," cried he, "the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have its General Assembly, and the Church of England be denied its Convocation?" His reasoning was just. The Established Church of Scotland can exercise, through its General Assembly, most of the powers which I am claiming for the Convocation of the Established Church of England. Why should it not have them?

But Convocation must be reformed. First—There must be only one; the provinces of Canterbury and York must combine. We cannot give them Home Rule. Next—Convocation must be made truly representative of all the clergy; bishops-suffragan should be members of the Upper House; and all the clergy, beneficed and unbeneficed, should have a vote in the choice of proctors. The election should be so ordered as to ensure the fair representation of minorities. Lastly—There must be adequate representation of lay Churchmen, without whose consent no law of the Church must be altered.

There was a time

“When want of learning kept the laymen low,
And priests alone were authorized to know.”

That time is happily past. The distinction between “religious” and “lay” no longer obtains. The right of the laity to be a constituent part of the Church is vindicated, and Hooker’s maxim, “*Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet*” is no longer questioned. “Therefore,” says he, “until it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant*to equity and reason, that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian commonwealth without consent as well of the laity as the clergy, but, least of all, without the consent of the highest power.”

Before Hooker wrote, Convocation had been deprived of the power to make Canons without the king’s license ; and the courts have since decided that new Canons not ratified by Parliament, though they may bind the clergy, do not bind the laity. If, then, the laity are to be bound by the laws, they must have a voice in making them. A few priests, I believe, still object vehemently to giving laymen authority in the Church. They are like the Nonconformist minister who said, “a deacon is worse than Satan—resist the devil, and he’ll fly from you ; resist a deacon, and he’ll fly at you.” Their objection may be disregarded as an anachronism.

In 1853, a committee of the then revised Convocation reported in favour of lay co-operation in diocesan synods. “The principle,” said Bishop, now Archbishop Alexander, at Croydon in 1877, “that Canons framed by the clergy alone require the agreement of the laity to make them vital, is written in characters that cannot be mistaken in the laws and political condition of the most intensely Roman Churches.”

Then comes the question, Should the laymen sit separately, or should they and the clergy together form the lower House ?

Against the latter proposal two objections are urged. (1) That the number would be too large for a deliberative assembly. But five clerical and five lay representatives from each diocese gives only three hundred and thirty members, less than half of the number of the House of Commons. (2) The other is more formidable, viz., that, though this new body might be an admirable legislative assembly, it would not be Convocation, and the introduction of laymen would be a revolution. This objection will not hold water.

Convocation is a body peculiar to the Church of England. It came into existence when the principle was established that the people could not be taxed without the consent of their representatives in the House of Commons, and, at first, its sole function was to tax the clergy. Its attempts to pass Canons binding on the laity were immediately frustrated by Parliament. To permit them to do so would be a far greater revolution than to give the power to a mixed body.

The difference between a clergyman and a layman is less, I believe, than the difference between a man and a woman ; yet no one suggests that, when women have the franchise, or even when (*ὁ μὴ γεννητοῖς*) they become members of Parliament, the House of Commons will cease to be the House of Commons.

There are strong reasons why laymen should sit together with the clergy as one House, due provision being made for voting by orders on occasion.

(1) Matters will be debated from both points of view, and a decision come to after hearing both sides.

(2) Each will learn from the other. The clergy will have more intimate acquaintance with the facts, and also—no unimportant matter—with the feelings or sentiments involved. The laity will contribute practical common-sense, and the teachings of experience in the world. "Of all mankind," wrote the first Lord Clarendon, "none form so bad an estimate of human affairs as the clergy by themselves." The *odium theologicum* is, or used to be, especially strong in ministers of religion, making it sometimes "necessary," to quote Clarendon again, "by prorogation to throw a little dust over the angry insects." "*Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?*"

(3) The chances of collision between the two constituents will be greatly diminished by their debating and voting together. A vote by orders can always be claimed, and the consent of all three should be essential to legislation.

In the governing bodies of the Church of Scotland, and in the Episcopal Churches in Ireland, the United States, Canada, and Australia, South Africa and Colombo, clerical and lay representatives sit, debate, and vote together, with provision for voting by orders on occasion. There is not, I believe, any Church or diocese in which they form two separate Houses.

The next point is, who are to elect the lay members of Convocation? The constitution of the reformed Convocation, and its powers must, in the first instance, proceed from Parliament, and both Houses will take care that the franchise is wide, and especially that it is not restricted by tests. To make baptism the test, would cause the admission of many who make no pretensions to Churchmanship. To make the Holy Communion the test, as of old, would be abhorrent to all true Christians. And, so long as the Church is established, no one should be excluded from a right to membership, except by his own act or default. I would suggest that a written declaration signed by an adult claimant, of either sex, that he or she is *bonâ fide* a member of the Church of England should give a vote.

One question remains. Should a rule, passed by the two Houses of Convocation thus constituted become *ipso facto* a law of the Church, binding its members, and cognizable and enforceable by the courts of law, or is any other safeguard necessary?

So long as the Church is connected with the State, and has certain privileges, Parliament has a right and duty to see that its laws are not injurious to the well-being of the State, or unfair to the out-voted minority. Therefore, a copy of any new rules or bye-laws should be signed by the two archbishops, and sent to a Secretary of State, to be by him submitted to the Sovereign for approval, and a copy should be laid on the table of each House of Parliament; and, if either House should, within a specified time, present an address to the Sovereign praying that the Royal approval be withheld, the rules should not become law.

This is but a rough outline unshaded, and a very imperfect sketch at best. There will be plenty of time to correct the design and to fill in details, and the next practical step will be for the Convocation to have a Bill drafted for effecting the desired object, either in this or in some similar way.

DISCUSSION.

STANLEY LEIGHTON, Esq., M.P., Sweeney Hall, Oswestry.

I HARDLY ever remember being at any meeting in which all the voices were raised in the same sense. No one has said anything to-day against the general proposition put forward by each of the speakers in succession, and therefore I only come forward to support and to emphasize what has already been said. There is danger lest we should remain satisfied with having asserted our opinion, and fail to carry the matter on to a practical issue. This sort of hesitation, this satisfaction with the words spoken, alienates the strongest men, who work best when there is the best chance of seeing the results of their labours. What has been shown to-day is that the proposal to give the Church a greater measure of home rule is safe and is possible. We have had, I think, sufficient experience in the last Parliament and in the last Session of the present Parliament to assure ourselves that, as Churchmen, we cannot trust implicitly either to the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. It is time that the Church should take the management and control of her own affairs into her own hands. Now I have always been impressed with the inherent weakness of discussion in the absence of experts, and the dangers of legislation in the absence of experts. In matters ecclesiastical the House of Laymen is acting under a disadvantage; the Church party in the House of Commons is acting under a disadvantage, and the House of Commons is acting under the greatest possible disadvantage. I do not conceal from myself that there is another danger, when experts act entirely alone. Therefore, although it seemed to me well that the House of Laymen should be organized, I have always hoped that a joint committee composed of the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation and the Houses of Laymen would be appointed to consider the financial and Parliamentary affairs of the Church, and to report thereon to their several Houses. An Enabling Bill such as has been advocated by the previous speakers ought not to be beyond the powers of the friends of the Church to pass during this present Parliament. Sir Walter Phillimore said truly that such an Act might be a very short Act. I think he is the best man in the whole world to draft such a Bill. We know how difficult it is to carry through the House of Commons Bills of many clauses, which give opportunities for obstruction at every turn, and I think that what he said was very true. In addition to what he urged, I would say that there should be included in any such Act power to the Church not only to control her own internal affairs, but to control her own property, to administer her own ecclesiastical revenues, revenues now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty Board. Why should not the Church nominate a board of directors of her own to manage her finances and to report to Convocation, thus controlling by her own officers the whole of her ecclesiastical revenues? That should be part and parcel of any short Bill giving the Church home rule. I agree with every word which has been spoken by Archdeacon Watkins. He put the matter perfectly clearly. But, if such a Bill as has been suggested is to be carried forward, we must look for the active support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose absence from this Congress we regret so much; we must also have the support of the bishops; we must, in fact, have the support of the whole Church; we must act all together; we must put aside for the time all those small, and almost peddling ecclesiastical reforms which have occupied during the last Session so much of the time of the House of Commons. We must have a short but more far-reaching Bill, which will cover all these reforms and give to the Church enabling power to carry them out herself. Because the work of the Church has been splendid and progressive under many legal and unnecessary disabilities, we ought not to be satisfied with things as they are. We ought rather to conclude from such evidence of her capacity that our Church is worthy to be entrusted with more control over her own affairs, and ought to be allowed a freer hand in ordering such matters as may enable her better to fulfil her duties to her Master.

The Very Rev. H. M. LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield.

THERE is a provision in the title of the subject which is before us, that these powers should be put into the hands of the Church through her reformed Convocation. It ought to be mentioned that this reformed Convocation is very likely soon to become a reality. At the present moment there is a canon being framed in the Upper and Lower Houses of Canterbury for an increase of the elected proctors of Convocation, and I have very little doubt that when we meet in a new Parliament, the *ex-officio* members of Convocation in the Lower House will no longer swamp the elected members, but that it may be quite the other way. But that is not all that is required. There will be, as a necessary step following that, I believe, a great extension of the franchise, so that every priest—I will not go so far as to say every curate, because I think the deacon may well have a period of probation—I think that every priest, whether benefited or unbenefited, should have a voice in the election to Convocation. Only when that comes to pass will the clergy have an adequate representation, and only then will the nation listen to the voice of Convocation. There is one word in the title of the subject before us, and though I was on the Subjects Committee, I do not think I could have passed it if I had thought of it, for I should certainly have pressed for, instead of the word “concession,” the word “restoration” of legislative powers, for these powers are as old as the Church itself. They were possessed by the Church from the beginning of its existence. It was from the lips of our Incarnate Lord that the Apostles, as the representatives of the ministry of all future time, received their commission to “bind and loose,” and every reader of the Talmud, and all who are familiar with the old Jewish literature of the time, know perfectly well that to “bind and loose” at the time meant primarily and prominently to exercise legislative powers, and so it was that through all the earlier development of the Church this right—this constitutional right, I would say—was exercised, and was acted upon. I have no time in ten minutes to go over the stages to which the Archdeacon introduced us, but I will take a tremendous leap from the fourth century to the end of the eighteenth century, when Parliament appropriated—I will not use the term usurped—the powers which had formerly belonged to the Church. I do not say usurped, because I think that the fault lay in a great measure with Convocation itself. The Convocation was older than the Parliament, yet it suffered itself without any real effort to have its voice silenced, and its authority and influence altogether extinguished. What we have to do is to recover our lost prerogatives. It is no easy matter, and it is made all the more difficult because so many years have passed since those prerogatives were taken away. But we are bound to do it, and particularly at the present time. I will give you one or two reasons for saying so. The first is, because the body that now exercises these powers has forfeited every moral right to their possession. There was a time when this certainly could not be said of Parliament, but now we know—I will not pass any opinion as to whether it is for the weal or woe of the State, but it is a fact, that those who sit in Parliament sit there not even on the oath of a Christian; and this tells us that they need not of necessity be even the Church’s friends, and in the absence of any security for that, we have no certainty that they will consult for its best interests. That suggests at once another reason. We are living in an age of reform, in an age when every secular institution of a public character is sooner or later subjected to the fierce light of searching criticism, and when, as the result of that criticism, it is not only allowed but compelled to reform itself. But the grand old historic Church which has come down all through the generations, when thrown into the self-same crucible of criticism, is denied the only good that that criticism can do her, and has no power to reform any abuses, or to correct any imperfections which are so gladly pointed out by her enemies. Why is that so? The reason is obvious to everyone; it is because there are in Parliament at the present time a number of members—not a large number, happily, but still with a power quite out of proportion to their numbers—who positively hate the Church, and who see in the continuation of those abuses and imperfections the surest guarantee for its dislodgment from its time-honoured position as the National Church of the land. What we have to do at the present time is, I think, to create a strong public opinion against the injustice of that principle of obstruction which has been stopping for so many years all legislation in Parliament for the good of the Church. We have to create this opinion. We have a difficult task to persuade people that the Church wants the restoration of those powers which it formerly possessed, not for self-aggrandisement. We know how difficult it is to persuade Europe that England wants to stop the frightful misrule now existing in Turkey apart from self-interest. We have to do that in both instances, and we

have to satisfy the nation that the Church only desires to be left in the plenitude of her God-given strength to do her duty, body, soul, and spirit, for the purification of her members and the regeneration of mankind. Then we shall only have reached the position which Guizot said a National Church should alone be content with, namely, that the "Church should in its own sphere be as free and independent as the State is in its own." I think that time is coming; but let each individual member of the Church strive his utmost to hasten it, and it may be that it will not tarry.

The Rev. WM. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., Vicar of S. Mary's,
Cambridge.

IF I venture to say a few words to-day, it is with no idea of disturbing the harmony which has reigned so far; but I confess I look upon the matter from a somewhat different point of view from that of the previous speaker. I have been much interested in many of the discussions in Convocation, and it seems to me that there is much to be said in favour of trying to make the best of it now as it is, rather than of calculating the possibilities of the re-constructing it in the future. It seems to me that it is not the opportunity of legislating that we specially need in the Church at this moment. There are some of us who dread hasty legislation, and Convocation, as it is constituted, or is likely to be constituted, is not, as far as my experience goes, likely to be a very good body for giving detailed consideration to the wording of Bills, as the House of Commons does in committee; and some such careful discussion is necessary if the legislative measures are to be workable and satisfactory. What we want most of all at present is some means of forming and co-ordinating opinion. That is the first preliminary to any useful legislative measures; and I believe Convocation as it is can do, and might do, much more towards such formation and co-ordination of opinion. Look at the education question. Everybody is asking what the Church wants, and none of us knows what the Church of England as a whole desires. We know what is wanted in our own parishes, but we do not know what is wanted in other parishes, and there is, at present, no good method by which all the opinions of other places can be co-ordinated. We cannot tell Parliament what we want, and why? It is because we do not use the existing machinery for bringing the discussions now going on throughout the country into one focus. There is talk in chapters, and in diocesan conferences, and if it were collated we then should have the opinion of the Church of England. What would this Congress be if there were no "Committee on Subjects" to prepare its business. If Convocation would fulfil a similar function, then we should have the same subjects discussed in the same way in all parts of the country, and if attempts were made to collect and collate the opinions reached, we should then have a real expression of the mind of Churchmen, not merely of the beneficed clergy, but of the unbeneficed clergy as well. Take another instance. It is a matter of business which has actually been before Convocation for some two years. I refer to the alteration of the Accession Service. A report has been prepared as to a new service; but, during that couple of years, it would have been perfectly possible to consult every single priest in the Church of England as to the alterations, and thus to get a real consensus of opinion in favour of any change that is introduced. A general approval would be much more probable if the attempt had been made to bring the discussions of local deliberative bodies to bear on this topic by laying the draft before them, and taking account of what they said. Hence it is that, at the present stage, what I desire to point out is, that it is not for Convocation to undertake fresh legislation. For that it is unfitted, not merely because of the small number of representative members, but also because of the difficulty of introducing that representation of minorities. There must be such representation if the Lower House is to reflect the opinions of the clergy as the House of Commons reflects that of the citizens generally. I believe that, even in regard to the unbeneficed clergy, there is hardly a diocese where they would unite to carry one of their own number in opposition to a man of greater standing and experience. That goes to show how insufficient any of these reforms of representation really are to alter the character of Convocation. What we want to do is, not to tamper with the constitution of Convocation so much as to utilize the post-office and the press in such a fashion as to introduce some method, like the Swiss *referendum*, by which the opinion of the whole of the clergy could be obtained and stated.

The Rev. J. WYCLIFFE GEDGE, Rector of S. Anthony's, Stepney.

ONE of the speakers this afternoon gave us a list of Church reforms which he hoped to see carried. I will only speak of one of these. I represent a large parish of five thousand, mostly very poor people; and in connection with them the suggested reform to which I wish to allude was that of cutting out the rubric ordering daily services. I can only say I would rather in a poor parish have any other Church reform in the world than that; for if there be one thing that binds together the parish priest and his people it is these daily services. In Stepney, at least, we can always get half a dozen together day by day, and we intercede for the parish—not only for those who are present, but for those who are absent. Many of these absent ones when they hear the church bell ring, as they have told me many a time, join their prayers with ours, and those prayers go up together to the God of Love. The same speaker suggested as a reason for the change that we should be far better engaged running about our parishes, and going here, there, and everywhere, than saying the service with only a few in church. But is that so? How would the people know where to find us if we did so? But at present they do know that at a certain hour on every day in the year their parish priest is always to be found in his right place in the house of prayer; and lastly, if the suggestion were adopted, our Church workers would at once strike, for it is by means of our frequent celebrations of Holy Communion, both on weekdays and Sundays—by our daily common prayer in our Father's house—that the spiritual life of parish priest and Church workers can be best maintained.

W. GISBORNE, Esq., Lingen, Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire.

I WISH to ask this simple question, Why Parliament should not, without destroying or even impairing the existing connection of the Church with the State, give the Church an Enabling Act granting her once for all large powers of legislation for her own self-government. Parliament can do this now as easily as it could two hundred years ago in the case of the Established Church of Scotland, and as it does in our own times in passing Local Government Acts respectively for counties, districts, or parishes. I will mention another instance of self-government in the Church of England in one of our Colonies, not as a parallel instance, because that Church was never a State Church in the Colony, but as suggestive. I will mention the case of the constitution of the Church in New Zealand; and I allude to that case with confidence because I was in New Zealand when a constitution for the Church of England in the Colony was first established—under the auspices of one whose name is almost as familiar as a household word to so many at this Congress—I mean the revered and illustrious prelate, the late Bishop Selwyn, who was at that time first bishop of New Zealand, and who afterwards became Bishop of the Diocese of Lichfield. The distinctive feature of that constitution was that it was founded by voluntary compact, and its scheme of constitution was that there should be a General Synod and Diocesan Synods. Three orders were constituted in each Synod, viz., the bishops, the clergy, and the laity; the laity to be elected by laymen who signed a declaration that they belonged to the Church of England. Those three orders met collectively, but voted separately, and a majority of votes in each order was necessary for the passing of any measure. That constitution, as I personally know, has worked for the last thirty years, and has given general satisfaction to the members of the Church in New Zealand, and has done much good to the spiritual and temporal interests of the Church in that Colony. Now, to revert to the case of the Church of England, in England and Wales; I assume, and I think I assume correctly, that the Church has no power to legislate for itself, and is obliged, as occasion arises, to have recourse to the Imperial Parliament—a body which includes many persons who are not members of the Church—for special legislation. The position of the Church of England at present in its relation to Parliament is that of having its own hands tied, and of waiting year after year for spasmodic legislation; which, if the Church of England were allowed to do so, it could pass more quickly and with much better effect for itself. Then I come to the question—What is the remedy? I say that the remedy is to reform Convocation, and give it large powers of legislation and of self-government. I would call it a General Synod for the Church of England in England and Wales, and my idea is that the Synod should consist of those three orders—the bishops, the clergy (elected by clergymen throughout England and Wales); and laymen (elected by the laity belonging to the Church of England); and I would require from the electors

of laymen no other test than a declaration that they are members of the Church of England. Then I would say that these three orders in General Synod should meet in public assembly, and when it came to vote that the members should vote separately, and that the majority of each order should be essential to the passing of any measure. I would provide that anything the General Synod passed should be submitted within a year or some less period to Her Majesty in Council for confirmation. If it were thought necessary that there should be Diocesan Synods, I would have them created either concurrently by Parliament with the General Synod, or created by the General Synod itself. The powers of these Diocesan Synods should be more limited and local, of course, than those of the General Synod; but in each case the powers they exercise should be accurately defined. I believe that in this way you would create a feeling of self-reliance and usefulness in the Church of England, which it cannot possess while it goes on in the present desultory, haphazard way of trusting to legislation by a Parliament, many of whose members do not belong to the Church of England. Before I sit down I wish to say that I support this movement in the earnest hope that it will lead to a representative system of Church government which will place the Church of England in England and Wales on a true and proper footing of self-government, and will unite all estates of men in the Church of England; so that every man in his vocation and ministry, each and all, will combine to strengthen the hands of the Church of England in the doing of its duties, and more especially in its sacred work of inculcating and maintaining sound doctrine and true religion, to the glory of Almighty God and the edification and spread of Christianity.

The Rev. T. A. LACEY, Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge.

I THINK we ought to be grateful to the Dean of Lichfield for his protest against the use of the word "concession" in the title of the subject of our present discussion; but did he go far enough? He spoke of our recovering something which has been lost. He spoke of the destruction of the legislative power of the Church. He spoke of lost powers which, he said, are to be recovered. But are these powers lost? The Church possesses legislative powers; no power on earth has granted them to the Church, and no power on earth can take them away from the Church. They were bestowed upon her by our Lord Himself in the commission to bind and loose which He gave to His Apostles, the first bishops of the Church. The bishops still have this power to legislate for the Church, just as the Queen in Parliament has power to legislate for the kingdom. They may be hampered by vexatious and intolerable restrictions, but the hampering of the powers is not the destruction of them, else the legislative powers of the Queen in Parliament would be destroyed by the hindrance of an organized obstruction. The concession of which we are speaking can only mean one of two things, either a grant of new powers to the Church in her Convocations, or merely the removal of the hindrances which interfere with the due exercise of the powers she already possesses. Does it mean the grant of new powers? I think a great deal of what we have been hearing this afternoon tends in that direction. If that is what is aimed at, two questions arise. The first is, by whom is the grant to be made; and the answer appears to be that new powers are to be given to the Church by the authority of the State. We have been hearing of the passing of a short Act of Parliament for the purpose. The second question is, what are these new powers which are to be granted to the Church? What is to be their scope, their nature? Are they to be spiritual powers? I think we have heard enough during the last twenty-five years of the creation of new spiritual powers by the authority of the State, and I do not think many of us who look to the bottom of things, and who realize what words mean, are anxious to see a continuance or an extension of that policy. Such vain imaginings belong to a period of past history. Well, then, are temporal powers to be conceded by the State? A great deal that we have heard this afternoon looks in that direction. The readers of Papers have spoken of the concession to the Church of powers of enforcing her legislation, and of altering those Statutes and provisions of the common law which in various ways affect the working of the Church. That really means a grant to Convocation of co-ordinate legislative power in the civil sphere with Parliament. Now, can that possibly be imagined? There can be only one power to legislate for England, and that is the Queen in Parliament. It is futile to think of giving to Convocation power to alter the laws of England. In the past it has been the bane of the Church to have temporal power, and surely at this period of history we are not going to fall back upon that. So I

really cannot find any new powers of legislation which the Church ought to accept if it were proposed to confer them upon her. Well, then, is it simply a removal of the hindrances that is aimed at? If it means only this, I think we shall really be unanimous. But the question is, how are these hindrances to be removed? And here again the doubt arises, is there the slightest probability of the removal of these hindrances by Act of Parliament? If anyone dreams of such an enfranchisement of the Church, unless, indeed, by some sweeping measure of disestablishment, he is indeed a dreamer. Shall the hindrances, then, be allowed to go on untouched and unassailed? No. I think that if looked in the face they are far more imaginary than real. What has been the history of almost all the gains we have made during these last years? We have been told over and over again, mostly by lawyers, "You cannot do such and such a thing." We have replied by doing it. May not this be the case with these legislative powers of the Church? Archdeacon Watkins has reminded us that the chief difficulty lies in the fact that the Church is debarred from enforcing any rules that she may make without the concurrence of the State. But the weapon of the Church is not force; it is persuasion. I would appeal to the bishops. I would say to them, "My Lords, we do not need revolutionary or heroic legislation; let us learn first to obey the laws we have. But if you tell us that for the good of Christ's Church some reforms are necessary, some modifications of the legislation of the Church are required, we beg you to make them on your own authority; do not wait for the State to give you power, enforce them; we for our part will obey them." Has not this been the method of the Church? She has made Canons, not of discipline only, but of doctrine. Has she refrained from enacting these because she has no power to enforce obedience to them by controlling the hearts and consciences of her people? Can she not act in the same way still, remembering always that persuasion, and not force, is her characteristic weapon?

The Rev. E. C. E. CARLETON, Vicar of Holy Trinity,
Warrington.

I WISH to go back for a moment to the constitutional question spoken of by the first of the readers, and I do so entirely in the spirit that was adopted by the previous speaker. Reference has been made to the supremacy or authority of Parliament towards the Church in the matter of legislation. I suppose that authority, if traced to its source, would be found to rest on the Clergy Submission Act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. By that Act all efforts at ecclesiastical legislation in Convocation must have permission to proceed in the first instance, and required the sanction of the Crown on its conclusion to give it legal authority. I would speak on this important point with the idea of attempting to show that that farce of the Clergy Submission Act is no longer operative; that the Statute is to a great extent obsolete, and that it was designed to a great extent to meet a state of circumstances that has passed away. When that Act was passed, the legislation of the Church in Convocation, when duly confirmed, was practically the law of the land; a lawful Canon was practically the law of the kingdom as well as an Act of Parliament. So it is laid down by Bishop Gibson. And when Convocation had a hand in making what we call Statute Law, it was perfectly fair that the Sovereign's authority should be felt in that way provided by that Act of Parliament. Moreover, sometimes the business done in Convocation at that time was business of a secular character, especially in connection with the power the clergy enjoyed of taxing themselves. That was an additional reason for the Sovereign having control over its proceedings. Then in those days there was also a foreign power which claimed to interfere in the affairs of Convocation, and which was known to be detrimental to the authority of the Sovereign and to the liberties of the people—I refer to the authority of the Pope. It was that state of things which the Act of Submission was intended to meet, and which justified that Act. But now all this is changed. There is no longer the danger to Convocation that the papal power would make itself felt in its proceedings. It is no longer the case that Convocation attempts to do anything of a secular character. The last vestige of that disappeared when the right of taxing themselves was surrendered on behalf of the clergy by Archbishop Sheldon in 1664. And as for Convocation having any part in making the law of the land, all that ceased when the Toleration Acts were passed. How could such Canons now be binding on the whole country, when every man can please himself as to whether he

will obey these Canons or not? The laws of the Church are not binding on anyone who does not voluntarily declare himself a Churchman, and the laws or rules drawn up by Convocation have no more force in the kingdom than the rules of the Wesleyan Conference. Why, then, are we to have the confirmation of Parliament for our proceedings any more than the Wesleyan Conference for theirs? And why are we to have the permission of Parliament to sit in council? How is it that these ridiculous restrictions have been endured by our Church alone? The effect of our boasted Toleration Acts has been to give freedom to every other body in the kingdom save ourselves. How is it that we have still to go to the civil power for confirmation of decisions and regulations, when even such confirmation does not make them binding on anybody on whom they were binding before? The truth is that, amid all the political changes of the last two hundred and fifty years, we have failed to perceive how profoundly the Church has been affected by legislation that was really revolutionary, and that necessary re-adjustment or relations between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers has never been made. The Toleration Acts, which gave freedom to the Nonconformist bodies, should have given the same freedom to the Church; and those old Statutes which the new legislation superseded should have been recognized as obsolete. But that was not done, and so we have an Act of Uniformity on the Statute Book, and nobody is obliged to be "uniform." We have gone on as if there had been no changes in the Constitution at all, and at this moment we are at a complete standstill with regard to the abuses of the Church which need to be reformed. Apparently we cannot do anything ourselves, and I hope that no Churchman is anxious that Parliament should do it for us. I should rather advise that we apply for the benefit of the Toleration Acts, which, I contend, have virtually repealed the Act of Submission. Let the archbishop be perfectly free to summon his Synod as he pleases; the business would go on without fear of interference from Parliament, and there would be progress. Parliament will always be able to take care of itself. But the Church should not be under a disability which is utterly unfair, and which I say is in principle unconstitutional.

The Rev. LUCIUS G. FRV, Vicar of S. James's, Upper Edmonton ;
and one of the Hon. General Secretaries of the Church Reform
League.

THREE texts for my short five minutes' discourse this afternoon : the first from an old document, known as *Magna Carta* :—"We grant to GOD and by this Our present charter We confirm, for Us and Our Heirs for ever, that the English Church be Free and have its rights whole and its liberties unimpaired, and so We will to be observed, which appears from the fact that We have of pure and free will, before differences arose between Us and our barons, granted and by Our charta confirmed—Freedom of Elections which is conceived greatest and most necessary for the English Church."—(*Bishop Stubbs' translation of Charters, page 178*). Freedom for the Church, then, stands in the very forefront of *Magna Carta*, as its first clause; and *Magna Carta* has never yet been repealed. In asking, therefore, for freedom for the Church for self-government, we are only asking for our constitutional and legitimate right as members of the English Church. From that ancient charter of liberty I come for my second text to an article in the *Times* a month ago on "The outlook for the Established Church." That article spoke of the dangers ahead of the Church, and pointed out that Churchmen would never for long ward off disestablishment simply by Church defence—that if the Church was to continue to hold her present position, Churchmen must go in for thorough Church reform; and then the article went on to speak of the need of such an organization as the Church Reform League, and to express a general approval of its five principles of Church Reform. The article, somewhat unfeelingly, blamed the bishops and other Church dignitaries generally for having as yet coldly held aloof from this organized movement which emanated from the rank and file, but it warmly praised the Bishop of Rochester for having had the foresight and the courage to countenance the movement from the very first, and it cheered the hearts of all who had been working in the cause by the following pronouncement as the summing up of its whole conclusion :—"All well-wishers to the Established Church, all who would dislike to see her made the sport of political experiments or the prey of sectarian jealousy, will rejoice to see willingness on the part of the Church to reform herself, and facilities accorded to her for doing it." Surely when the *Times* expresses

a wish for the Church to be placed in such a position as to be able to reform herself, a very great step in the direction of self-government for the Church is already taken. And as a third text, I would quote the first principle of Church reform advocated by the Church Reform League. The five principles of the league were most carefully drafted, after long and repeated deliberations, and after consultation with some of the greatest authorities of the day in theology and ecclesiastical law and history—men, *e.g.*, of the stamp of Canon Gore—and their first principle was as follows:—"That, saving the supremacy of the Crown according to law, and, in respect to legislation, subject to the veto of Parliament, the Church have freedom for self-government, by means of reformed Houses of Convocation (which shall be thoroughly representative, with power for the Canterbury and York Convocations to sit together if desired) together with a representative body or bodies of the laity." It is a rule of the Church Congress that no resolution shall be passed; but if resolutions were allowed, would not I ask that this first principle of the Church Reform League be the resolution that we should at this Church Congress unanimously pass this day.

The Rev. W. A. EDWARDS, Vicar of Bunbury; General Secretary of the Church Reform League for the Province of York.

IT OFTENS happens that a most taut skein can easily be unwound when once the master thread has been grasped. Now it seems to me that the subject of our present meeting furnishes us with the master thread or key of the whole situation as regards all progress in Church Reform on reasonable and moderate lines. Give the Church an instrument for reforming her abuses and supplying her wants, in the shape of an adequate ecclesiastical assembly with reasonable freedom of action, and she will then have the means of doing all that she is prepared to do. The amount of reform which is practicable is simply what the general mind of the Church will accept, but at present we have no adequate means either of knowing what the general mind of the Church is, or of carrying it into effect. The desire for a reformed ecclesiastical assembly with reasonable powers need by no means imply a wish to escape from the proper control of Parliament. It is reasonable and right, while the Church remains established (and long may it so remain), that Parliament should accept and approve all that the Church assembly may do, and there is no ground on which Churchmen ought to object to this. By all means let Parliament approve the finished work; but it should not render all legislative progress for the Church impossible by compelling the House of Commons to execute it in detail, when it has neither the time nor the fitness for such a task. Let the Church assembly prepare legislation, and then let Parliament accept or reject its work as a finished product, instead of usurping the functions which should of right belong to a free ecclesiastical body, by doing the work itself in detail, as now. Many other practical reasons in favour of this might be given, but there is only time to touch upon one. If ever a nation stood on the brink of magnificent possibilities, both political and ecclesiastical, England does so now. If we survey the political outlook, we see the motherland surrounded by a number of great and flourishing young communities, the product, not of conquest, except in a very subordinate degree, but of the natural expansion of a vigorous life. If these communities can be drawn closer to the old country and united with her in a permanent imperial bond, the result will be a magnificent secular power which should constitute the greatest factor for the promotion of civilization and the advance of righteousness that the world has ever seen. And to achieve this consummation should be the aim of English statesmanship. Nor if we turn to the ecclesiastical outlook is the prospect less magnificent and inspiring. We see a number of thriving branches of the Catholic Church, affectionately associated with the see of Canterbury, and all sprung from our own land and race. If these branches can be drawn into close and permanent union with the Mother Church, the ecclesiastical expansion of England will furnish a basis for the reunion of Christendom on historic lines, avoiding the disruption of sectarianism on the one hand, and the stagnation and corruption of Romanism on the other, and thus our branch of the Church may accomplish that splendid destiny which many scholars and thinkers have anticipated for it, and be the great re-uniting force for Christendom. And to promote the accomplishment of that glorious ideal should be the aim of all Churchmen. Now, all the daughter branches of our parent stem enjoy that full expression of their corporate life through synodical action which is denied to us in England. We must in this respect bring the mother into line with her daughters.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I *FEEL* some surprise that hardly any reference has been made—indeed only one, by Mr. Gisborne, from New Zealand—to the conclusions reached by our Church in Greater Britain (including Ireland and Scotland), which has been fully discussed for years past, and found in measure the solution of, questions debated in this chamber as though they were new, and only concerned Great Britain. No doubt Church reform is far more difficult where establishment continues—you are rather “hide-bound” in England in such matters: but in discussing the direction it should take it surely would be wise to consider what plans the Church in the colonies has been led to adopt on such points as representative Synods, patronage, superannuation, and the like. There is no time for details. I will merely remark, first, that the initiative in constitutional reform of the Church was taken, not in New Zealand, as seems to be thought, under the great Bishop Selwyn, but under my late revered friend Bishop Perry, in Victoria, forty-two years ago; and secondly, that the experience of representative Synods of clergy and laity in Australia has been most encouraging, and the fears entertained in some quarters of the introduction of the latter into them on equal terms have proved visionary. It is quite essential to their success, and leads to greatly increased activity and loyalty on the part of the laity. Doubts have been expressed about its catholic authority, but they will be found disposed of, I think, in a Paper to be read by the Bishop of Manchester at the Congress Hall this evening. No efforts at Church reform in England will succeed without a truly representative Synod of clergy and laity to give utterance to the voice of the Church.

Rev. Dr. THACKERAY, 118, Annandale Road, Greenwich.

I *HAVE* listened with pleasure to the speakers, and am glad to hear that they apparently realize the position of the unbeneficed as well as the beneficed clergy; and when the matter comes to reform, we may understand that the real basis is the whole priesthood, and not the fact whether a priest is beneficed or unbeneficed. Dr. Cunningham pointed out that there would be serious difficulties in the way of the unbeneficed clergy getting their opportunity, and having their due voice in the Convocation. That is an important point, because it is not sufficient that the unbeneficed clergy should each have the franchise, but it is absolutely necessary that some of them should themselves sit in Convocation. And I will tell you why. In my diocese of Rochester the unbeneficed clergy, as well as the beneficed, have a vote, but during twenty years I doubt whether three or four of them have sat in the Diocesan Conference. What happens? We have an assembly consisting mainly as regards the clergy of beneficed priests. We debated this morning about the appointment and tenure and retirement of the clergy, in utter ignorance, apparently, of the fact that the beneficed clergy are only half the number of the clergy. In considering this question also, how can people think of it without remembering that some of the clergy do not retire until the age of eighty, ninety, or one hundred from their benefices, and that by their carrying on to such an age they are excluding many of their unbeneficed priests from ever getting a chance at all.

CONGRESS HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

 The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

CHURCH REFORM.

CONSTITUTIONAL: THE PART OF THE LAITY IN THE GOVERNMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH,
IN THE PROVINCE, IN THE DIOCESE, AND IN THE PARISH.

 The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

THE evening meetings have been arranged so as to bring subjects of interest to all classes under consideration; and I hope that if there are any of the working-men of Shrewsbury here this evening, members of our Church, who would wish to speak, they will let me know in good time, so that they may have an opportunity of doing so.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. JAS. MOORHOUSE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Manchester.

WE are all agreed that Church reform is necessary. Further, there is, I believe, a very general agreement that the reform most needed is the introduction of the lay element to a much greater extent than at present into every sphere of Church life and work. We need a larger and more effective co-operation of the laity in the parish, the diocese, and the province.

It will be impossible within the time at my disposal to deal with all the different aspects of this question, and I shall therefore confine myself to the consideration of the first subject on our programme—viz., what reforms are desirable in our provincial constitution. I select this division of the subject, not only because so little has been hitherto said about it, but also because I believe it to be that which is at present of most practical importance. It is certain, on the one hand, that the laity will never obtain their due influence in the parish and the diocese while their proper place in our legislative assemblies is denied to them, and, on the other, it is scarcely less certain that with the attainment of reform in our provincial constitution, all other necessary reforms will be brought within easier reach and accomplishment. Were the laity of the Church adequately represented in Convocation, Parliament would be more likely to sanction such a delegation of legislative functions as was proposed by Bishop Jackson of London—viz., that all ecclesiastical legislation should be initiated in Convocation, and only arrested if, after a specified time, Parliament signified its dissent. And, again, if the laity of the Church were adequately represented in Convocation, the Crown might possibly consent to share with it the nomination of bishops;

permitting it, perhaps, to present three names, from which the Crown should select one, to be submitted for election to the diocese. I merely suggest three questions as illustrations of the importance of my subject, and I shall now proceed, without further preface, to consider it.

At the time of the great Reformation there were two distinct and sometimes antagonistic powers in the Western world—the Church and the State. Through a series of usurpations, or at least of mistaken developments, the power of the Church had been concentrated in the hands of the clergy, who, in their turn, had been made the almost passive instruments of the Roman autocracy. Over against this formidable ecclesiastical despotism stood the various political organizations of Western Christendom. In different degrees, these asserted their claim to some control over ecclesiastical life, a control greater or less in proportion to the more or less independent character of the states or their rulers.

When men became convinced that the time had come for a considerable change in Church government, belief, and practice they had to begin their reform by making changes in the state of things with which they were familiar. In England, our forefathers proceeded with the caution and conservative feeling which have ever characterized the practical English race. They rejected certain superstitious beliefs, and they repudiated the usurped autocracy of Rome. But when they came to deal with ecclesiastical legislation, they found themselves face to face with two existing bodies, the Convocations and Parliament, and it seemed to them, that, while leaving the Convocations substantially as they found them, it would be enough to make Parliament the sole *lay* organ of such legislation.

So long as the mass of the people remained the members of a single Church such a solution of this difficult question might work with tolerable facility. Hence, perhaps, the determined efforts of the civil rulers to maintain ecclesiastical conformity. We know that these efforts failed, as under the new conditions of English life they were sure to fail. And now we are confronted with this formidable state of things—that while the Parliamentary representatives of the English people may be of all beliefs and of no belief, Parliament is yet the only authoritative *lay* representative of the legislative power of the English Church.

This result has only served to make plain to us the original mistake of the Reformation settlement. The Church and the State are not identical, and therefore their essential functions may not be confused without serious peril and inconvenience. It may be quite true that the same people are members of both the Church and the State. It may also be further true that, owing to this fact it is highly desirable that in a Christian land there should be some well-considered conditions of union between the civil and ecclesiastical organizations. Not the less, however, is it necessary that there should be no confusion between these organizations, and that one of them should not be set to perform the essential functions of the other.

The circumstances of our times are making us more and more clearly conscious of this fact, forcing us to perceive that while the State embraces within its civil unity all those who are citizens of the country, whatever their belief or non-belief, the National Church consists only of those baptized persons who have not ceased to belong to its communion,

either by the Church's act or their own. What, then, in these circumstances, we have to do is, I imagine, to endeavour to make our ecclesiastical constitution correspond to the essential facts.

This is precisely what the Church of England has proceeded to do wherever, as in our Colonies, she has been at liberty to reform herself. Recognizing that the Church is more than the clergy, that it consists indeed of all the baptized who have continued in its communion, it has given full representation to its laity, as well in the province as in the diocese and the parish, as well in legislation as in administration. As an illustration of this procedure in respect to provincial organization, let me shortly describe to you the method of legislation adopted by the General Synod of Australia. That Synod consists of all the bishops of the Australian province, and of representative members of the clergy and laity. When any measure is submitted to it, all the members debate together, but before a conclusion can be reached the three orders must approve of it, if required to do so, by separate voting.

Now, is this constitution a lawful one? Is it in accordance with the primitive practice of the Christian Church?

Bishop Hefele affirms, and, I suppose, we shall all agree with him, that "the original of councils is derived from the Apostolic Synod held at Jerusalem about the year 52." Either, then, the later constitution of Synods agrees with that of the first council, or should do so. But who on reading carefully the account of this council in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, can doubt that lay Christians formed a constituent part of it? We read that the whole multitude (*πάν τὸ πλῆθος*) were present, and kept silence to listen to Barnabas and Paul, and that the choice of the companions of those Apostles, as delegates of the council, "seemed good to the Apostles and the elders *with the whole Church*." Into the vexed question as to the meaning of the ambiguous phrase "elder brethren" in the body of the decree I do not now enter; but yet it seems certain, from the words which I have cited, that not only in the consideration, but in the determination of the matters submitted to that council, the laity had their allowed and appointed part. Nothing which has been done in later ages can invalidate the right thus recognized by the Apostolic and model council.

It may be true that in early times general and even provincial Synods consisted only or chiefly of bishops. When indeed the Church was poor, and its congregations were small and widely scattered, it would be scarcely possible for any but the bishops to afford either the time or the money required for attendance at provincial Synods. Early conceptions, too, of the high authority of bishops would contribute no little to the establishment of such a practice. We must not forget, however, that though a very general, it was by no means a universal custom. There are two special periods of early Church history when the laity possessed wealth and independence of spirit, and when as yet they had not bowed either in the East to the Erastian tyranny of the emperors, or in the West to the usurped autocracy of Rome. I refer in the East to the latter half of the third century, when the Church was rapidly increasing in wealth and numbers, and had not as yet been broken either by the persecution of Domitian, or by the tyranny of the Christian emperors; and in the West to the period between the fifth and ninth centuries, when the independent national spirit was still strong in the Gothic and

Frankish monarchies. At such periods as these we might expect, and we actually find, considerable traces of lay influence in the Synods of the Church; of less, perhaps, than the example of the first Synod of Jerusalem gave them the right to claim, but still of so much as shows clearly that the true ideal of the Church had not been wholly lost or obscured.

Thus, in the third century, S. Cyprian says respecting the lapsed, to the people who have stood firm, "When by God's mercy I come to you, I, with many of my co-bishops, being called together, according to the Lord's discipline, and in the presence of the confessors, and *with your opinion also*, shall be able to examine the wishes and letters of the blessed martyrs." (Ep. 11.) Again, he says in another letter to the clergy on the same subject (Ep. 13), that "it is suitable to the modesty and the discipline, and even the life of all of us, that the chief officers, meeting together with the clergy, in the presence also of the *people* who stand fast . . . may be able to order all things with the religiousness of a *common* consultation." Again, the Roman clergy in their letter to Cyprian on the same subject (Ep. 30) request that the case of the lapsed should be dealt with by "an assembly for counsel being gathered together, with bishops, presbyters, deacons, and confessors, as well as with *the laity who stand fast*." And once more, in the third Council of Carthage, held in the year 256, there were present, we are told, from Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, "besides eighty-seven bishops, very many priests and deacons, and '*maxima pars plebis*.'"

From such passages as these, it is apparent that the laity were not only present, but also were taken into counsel at some of the most famous Synods of the third century. It may be doubted, indeed, as Hefele urges, whether any but bishops possessed a *votum decisivum* at these Synods; but, making allowance for the effect of earlier example, it is sufficiently remarkable that the Scriptural place of the laity was even so far recognized.

Let us now turn to the evidence afforded by the provincial and national Synods of the West in the three centuries following the barbarian conquests. As I am speaking of the place of the laity in the ecclesiastical Synods, it will, of course, not be fair to refer to any of those "*concilia mixta*" which were half Synods and half Parliaments. I shall, therefore, pass them by, and confine my attention to Synods properly so called. In the Gothic kingdoms of Spain there was a long series of such Synods, and in the history of many of them the presence and co-operation of the laity are clearly recorded.

The Synod of Tarragona, held in the year 516, decrees in its 13th Canon as follows:—"The Metropolitan should exhort his suffragans to bring with them to the Synods, not only priests of the cathedral church, but also rural priests and *some laymen*" (Hefele, Vol. IV., p. 104). In the acts of the Fourth Synod of Toledo, a national Synod, convoked in the year 633 by King Sisenand, we find an order providing places for the laity as well as the clergy in the following terms:—

"The bishops will come and take their places according to the times of their ordination. When they have taken their places, the elected priests, and after them the deacons, will come in their turn. . . . The priests sit behind the bishops, the deacons are in front, and all are seated in the form of a circle. Last of all those *laity* are introduced

whom the council, by their election, have judged worthy of the favour " (Hefele, I., p. 65).

When bishops were thus directed to bring laymen with them and special pains were taken to provide places for them, we are not surprised to find their presence noticed at many of the other Spanish Synods of this period. Thus, at the Fifth Synod of Toledo, held in 636, we read that "the King was present, with the heads of the people and the officials of the palace" (Hefele, IV., 450). Somewhat later in 647, at the Eighth Synod of Toledo, "sixteen *comites* and *duces*" were present (Hefele, IV., 470). At the Fifteenth Synod of Toledo, called together in 687, to consider important doctrinal questions, "Sixty-one bishops, several abbots, and representatives of bishops, also seventeen secular grandees were present" (Hefele, V., 217). And, once more, at the Sixteenth Synod of Toledo, held in 693, no fewer than sixteen secular counts were present" (Hefele, V., 243).

While the presence of the laity at these Spanish Synods is unquestionable, it is not very clear how far they were permitted to participate in the business. I have already admitted it to be probable that none but the bishops had a *votum decisivum*, but that, at least in the earlier Synods, the laity took part in all discussions may be fairly, I think, inferred from the Canon of a late Spanish Synod—the Seventeenth of Toledo—held in 694. It runs as follows:—

"At the beginning of a Synod all the *sacerdotes* (bishops) shall fast for three days in honour of the Holy Trinity, and in this time, *without the presence of the laity*, hold converse on the doctrines of the faith, and on the improvement of the morals of the clergy. After that, they shall proceed to other subjects (Hefele, V., 247).

This is the first notice I have been able to find of the exclusion of the laity from the discussion of doctrine and discipline, and we may, I think, fairly infer that no such definite exclusion would have been necessary if it had been already prescribed by immemorial custom. I conclude, then, that the laity were probably admitted to a share, not only in the sitting, but also in the debates of the Synods to which I have referred.

Nor shall we, I think, be led to any other conclusion by a survey of the Frankish Synods of the same period.

At a Burgundian Synod, held under King Sigismund, at S. Moritz, between 515 and 523, we find that sixty bishops and as many *comites* were present, and we are told that after the bishops, through Maximus, one of their number, had set forth "the leading rules of Christian morality, all who were present (among whom were many of the laity) expressed their approval of the statement made by Maximus" (Hefele, IV., 96). In the letter of summons sent by the Archbishop of Lyons to another Synod held under the same King at Epaon in 517, the Archbishop said "that beside bishops, clerics were also required to come to the Synod, and *laymen* were permitted to come, and that perfect impartiality and liberty of speech should prevail" (Hefele, IV., 109). Liberty to be present and to speak is clearly implied in these words, but from another passage in the same letter it would seem that the laity had no right to vote. "We permit the laity to be present," says the Archbishop, "that the people may know those things which are ordained by the priests alone" (Hefele, I., 24). In the

Council of Orange, however, it would appear to have been otherwise. This was one of the most important councils of the middle ages. It was called in 559 to consider the semi-Pelagian heresy, and it embodied its conclusions in Canons which were largely used at the Council of Trent. This Synod determined as follows :—

“ Since this doctrine of the Fathers and of the Synod is wholesome for laymen also, the distinguishing members of the laity who have been present at the solemnity should also subscribe.”

In consequence of this determination the laity did subscribe, and with the very same formula as that adopted by the bishops—viz., *consentiens subscripsi* (Hefele, IV., 165, see also I., 25). The presence of the laity at these Synods continued to a much later period. Thus a Frankish national council was held by Chlotar in 618, “ with the bishops and barons of Burgundy ” (Hefele, IV., 441), and another was held at Bordeaux in the latter part of the same century, at which “ secular magnates from Aquitaine ” were present (Hefele, IV., 478).

In Wales, in the year 519, a Synod was held at Cardigan at which the bishops of Wales, many abbots, and “ many other clergy and *laity* of distinction ” were present (Hefele, IV., 124), while in England a Synod was held at Whitby in 664, which was attended by “ distinguished ecclesiastical and secular persons, including the famous Abbess Hilda ” (Hefele, IV., 481). Laymen were present at many other English Synods, though, no doubt, some of them might more properly be called *concilia mixta*. I cannot, however, include under this title those Synods held at Chelsea and elsewhere in 787 to receive certain doctrinal and other decrees from the Papal legates. And we are told that these decrees were not only verbally approved, but also signed with the Holy Cross by the “ senators and chief men and people of the land,” as well as by the bishops and abbots (*Documents, &c.*, by Gee and Hardy, pp. 43 and 44).

I conclude this brief review of the councils of the most independent age of the Western Church by noticing that laymen were present not only in the councils of England, Spain, and the Frankish kingdoms, but also at that very Lateran Synod held at Rome in 769, which for the first time forbade laymen to participate in the election of the Pope. Hefele's words are (V., 333) :—

“ There were present . . . fifty-two bishops, or representatives of bishops, together with several priests, monks, secular grandees officers, citizens, and many of the laity.”

I think that I have sufficiently proved to you that the laity had a place and a voice in provincial and national Synods in the most vigorous and independent ages of Christian history. And if we find ourselves compelled to come to the conclusion that even in those ages a vote was generally denied to them, we must regard this disability as a departure from Apostolic precedent, and a mere vicious following of a later custom. I hope that the day may speedily come when this unscriptural disability may be removed, and when, as in the Synods of Australia, the laity of the Church of England will be adequately represented in her authorized legislative assemblies.

The events of later European history have made such a reform more and more clearly desirable. The greater freedom of thought which was fostered by the Renaissance and the Reformation has led to serious

secessions from our National Church ; the French Revolution has been followed by enlargements of democratic power and privilege in all directions ; and, lastly, the inevitable and desirable removal of religious disabilities in this country has introduced into the House of Commons not only Nonconformist Christians, but also Jews, Hindoos, and professed unbelievers. Is it not, then, clearly expedient and even necessary in our present circumstances to revert to the large and true ideal of Apostolic times ?

I hope that I am not blind to the lessons of history. I know the many evils which have resulted from independent ecclesiastical legislation ; how prone Christians have shown themselves to meddle with matters which do not concern them, and how often they have used the weapons of spiritual censure and excommunication to oppress those who have opposed them. The introduction of lay representatives into our Synods would not, I admit, of itself present a sufficient safeguard against the renewal of those evils. It is expedient, no doubt, for Parliament to hold in its hands the power to disallow all ecclesiastical canons and resolutions which are inconsistent either with the prerogatives of the Crown, or the common or statute law, or any legal custom of the realm. But this power it can surely retain, if it demands, as now, that no Convocation shall be summoned without the King's writ, and that no ecclesiastical Canon shall have authority until it has been submitted, in some convenient form, to the review of Parliament.

It remains only that I give you a summary of the principal conclusions to which my examination leads. That the laity should have a place, a voice, and a vote in the legislative assemblies of the Church is suggested (1) by the very idea of the Church, that it consists of laity as well as clergy ; (2) by the example of the first Apostolic Council ; and (3) by the more or less complete assertion of this right in the post-Apostolic Churches of the East and West. This right of the laity is affirmed and conceded to-day in the unestablished Episcopal Churches of Ireland, America, and the Colonies. And finally, we can easily perceive that, while its assertion by us may correct an error of the Reformation settlement, it need not interfere in the Established Church of England with the effective control of Parliament.

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IT is indispensable to a useful discussion on the position of the laity in the government and administration of the affairs of the Church in the province, the diocese, and the parish, that we should previously have a clear idea of what these three are in themselves, and what in relation to one another ; and laymen, at any rate, may be forgiven some mistakes in the past as to their position in the Church when we remember how very recent, to the average mind, whether lay or clerical, is any true conception of the functions of the Church itself. A generation or two ago, when "the Church" was mentioned the term was scarcely understood, except as connoting "the clergy." Men knew, indeed, "the Establishment," but the idea of the Church as a spiritual

body, founded by and deriving its functions from our Lord Himself, was almost unknown to the men of that day. They might, it is true, have known if they had studied their Prayer-books. But too generally the Prayer-book was little studied then, and there was hardly any outward evidence of the existence of such a thing as a Church.

Until the restoration of Convocation in 1852 there was scarcely anything to teach the layman what the Church was, or at any rate might be. The first Archbishop of Canterbury who seems to have felt the stirring of this great conception was Archbishop Tait, but, as his biographer acknowledges, his idea was to rule the Church rather from the House of Lords than from Convocation; from Westminster rather than from Lambeth. It has been reserved for the present occupant of the throne of Canterbury to realize, to enunciate, and to popularize the doctrine that the Church has existence, duties, functions, rights, as a Church and not merely as a part of the constitution of the realm.

The *Church*, then, is a spiritual body constituted by our Lord, consisting of clergy and laity, and governed by bishops, not alone, but in conjunction with others.

For it is evident from well-known passages in the Acts (xv. 13, 22, 23) that the Apostles, whilst they defined the faith by virtue of their commission from the Lord, yet ruled the Church in conjunction with the elders and the brethren, *i.e.*, the priesthood and the laity. And in their government and administration the various orders in the Church are not separated, but united. The words of the Council of Jerusalem set the note for all time. "It pleased the apostles and elders with the whole Church" to do so and so, and "they wrote letters after this manner: 'The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren.'" A very early father says that "nothing should be done without the bishop," and it was "Cyprian, who is really the father of Church organization, who, at the beginning of his episcopate, expressed to the laity that it was not his intention to do anything of great importance without consulting them."

The title of my paper speaks of the province, the diocese, and the parish. I will, with your leave, take these in the reverse order, and begin with the parish. And for this reason. Our first contact with the Church occurs at our baptism, administered, at any rate in theory, by the parish priest: the Church at first presents itself to our waking consciousness and conscience under the form of the parish.

It will perhaps disappoint any who may have come to this Congress only "to hear some new thing" to learn that a layman's duty in his *parish* is all contained in the Baptismal Service and the Catechism. To have been baptized in the threefold Name; not to be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified; manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world and the devil; to continue through life Christ's faithful soldier and servant; to be continually mortifying all evil and corrupt affections; daily to proceed (*i.e.*, to go on) in all virtue and godliness of living; to believe all the articles of the Christian Faith; to keep God's commandments; to thank God for his baptism, and to pray for grace to do his duty to God and his neighbour: here is a catalogue of duties which may well take a lifetime to get through.

My point is that these are personal duties—duties to neighbours as members of the same spiritual family. Born again spiritually, through

the instrumentality of the parish priest, the layman owes to him a duty analogous to that which children owe to their natural parents. And in like manner as little children owe to their parents an implicit obedience, and grown up sons and daughters a rational obedience, so it is in the Church. As in a grown up family a father rules rather by all-attracting love than by all-compelling authority, and yet the sons and daughters are not thereby deprived of their privilege of obedience, so it is in the parish. The grown up laity will still owe all fealty and all manner of assistance to their spiritual father; his honour is their honour, his success their success, and if he fall his fall is theirs too.

If there be truth in this analogy between the natural and the spiritual family, it cannot be necessary to go into questions of detail as to how much a layman may (or, as that too often means, how little must he) do? May he do this? Must he do that? There is but one rule: where there is need, it is he that is needed. If the will be absent, he must ask God to give him the will; if the power, the Holy Ghost will supply it.

But, after all, the authority of the parish priest is to a great extent only an authority derived from the bishop. The *diocese* is the real unit of the Church. And as we may be said (in a figure) to be admitted into the parish by baptism, so we may be said (by the same figure) to enter the diocese by confirmation, that being our first official contact with the bishop. The note of baptism is obedience, the note of confirmation is wisdom and understanding, counsel, ghostly strength, and a daily increase in the Holy Spirit.

The change from the parish to the diocese is analogous to the change from infancy to manhood. The duties of a layman to his parish priest are, characteristically, filial; those to his bishop are, in character, those of a grown man to his superior. To the bishop are due the fully-developed powers of the whole manhood of the diocese, from the most highly cultured to the poorest and least considered member of the flock.

In estimating the duties of the laity towards the *province*, we must understand what a province is in itself. A parish is a subdivision of a diocese; but a diocese is not a subdivision of a province. A province is an aggregation of dioceses. The bishop, in his diocese, is the visible representative of the Chief Shepherd of the flock; and as such he is supreme over his flock. But it is not so with an archbishop, or metropolitan or primate. He is an elder brother, to guide, to counsel, not to rule, his comprovincial Bishops. This is a doctrine very necessary to be firmly grasped. For the great twin enemies of primitive Christianity, popery and protestantism, both work in their special way for the degradation of the diocesan bishop; the one by ignoring him, the other by absorbing him, first in the archbishop, then in the so-called vicegerent of Christ.

The chief duty of a layman in the province is, therefore, conference between his own and other dioceses within that province.

It is a tolerably plain matter in reality. The laity are an integral portion of the Church; from which it clearly follows that they should have a recognized part in the government and administration of its affairs. Why, then, it may be said, was I asked to write a paper on the subject? I imagine, because the laity think that the clergy have usurped the whole government of the Church. There is some truth in

this: but how has it come about? Wycliffe, long ago, propounded his theory that dominion was founded on grace. There is a high spiritual truth in this maxim, but, without mounting so high, one may at least say that dominion, power, influence, is founded on good work done.

If the laity have not the power which they ought—or think they ought—to have, the reason lies in their having neglected their duties. The clergy have done these duties; as they are the only persons who have done the duties, their dominion has followed in natural course.

What is said to be wanted is, that the laity should have an integral part, a recognized place, in the administration of the affairs of the Church. This thesis has been discussed over and over and over again: the odd thing is that, in all the discussions, one thing has been overlooked, viz., that the thing said to be wanting has been there all the time. The place is offered to the laity, the part is assigned to them: if they do not fill that place, if they do not take that part, the reason is, not that they are not called, but that when they are called they don't come.

The House of Laymen for the province of Canterbury some years ago formulated a scheme for the due representation of the laity, parallel with every similar representative body of the clergy. This scheme is in more or less active operation all over England, for it has spread from the southern to the northern province. The manifest first duty of a layman is to acquaint himself with this system, and to take care that good men are elected to all these bodies. The Archbishop of Canterbury has said truly that this is a conciliar age; that is, that work formerly done by individuals is now done by representative bodies. Hence the importance I attach to elections to such bodies.

But when one urges all this, one is met by the objection that such exhortations are all very well, but that bodies such as the Houses of Laymen, and even the Convocations themselves, have no legal power, they are only houses of talk, they cannot give practical effect to their resolutions: where is the use of the laity giving their time to such futilities? I, in my turn, would ask, why is there this hankering after legal powers, State recognition, and the like? Is it really true that bodies without legal powers are powerless? Ask of the men of old; did the Corn Law League effect nothing? Ask of our own day; are the Trades Unions powerless? What is the secret of their success? It is that they mean to get what they ask for. Whence is their influence on governments? From the fact that they are believed to be bodies really representative of the wishes of their constituents.

But, with all our shortcomings, we are, I believe, at the dawn of better days. The laity have at last discovered a work which they can make all their own, the effects of which will before long be felt in parish, diocese, and province, and which, if done on an adequate scale, will obtain for them all the influence they can desire; I refer to what is called the sustentation of the clergy, a work which I hope will, with growing confidence, grow into the re-endowment of the Church of England. I refer to this work, partly on account of the object itself, but more on account of its being undertaken in the new spirit, that is the spirit, not of a society, but of the Church. It is an object lesson of what the laity may do, of what they can do, and, I believe, of what they will do.

It is by such works as this, and, as I trust, by other and greater ones which will follow in its wake, that the problem is to be solved; and after all, as I love to see, in no novel way, but in the way of the old proverb about how to learn to walk, *solvitur ambulando*.

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THE Local Government Act of 1894 completed the work of the Church Rates Abolition Act of 1868; it took away the last visible sign of the connection which had so long existed between the parson and the people in the parish. The Church has suffered, but it ought not to have suffered. The conception of a National Church is in some respects widening. At any rate, we no longer talk of going into the Church when we take Orders, and the priesthood of the laity is being more and more recognized, and that by some of the strongest and most orthodox Churchmen. But we have lost the visible expression of the fact by the secularization of the vestry, first in the refusal of the power to levy rates for the fabric, next in depriving the parson of his position by right as chairman. The parish was once a miniature of the realm. It was a kingdom which, if it had not an hereditary king, was never without a ruler. "*Le roi est mort; vive le roi!*" is the motto of the Church as of the State. There was a perpetual succession. The churchwardens and sidesmen were in some sort in the position of a ministry holding office by the will of the people. In the vacancy of a benefice, the churchwardens are still responsible for the rule. It had, in the assembly of parishioners in vestry, a parliament, and that parliament held in a very real way, though to a somewhat limited extent, the power of the purse, which has brought many a secular and religious monarch to his bearings. The churchwardens, as the parson's ministers, exercised considerable influence by the fact that they could in the last resort appeal to the vestry. The material loss to the Church in the withdrawal of the rate has been little felt. The fabrics and the appurtenances of worship are better cared for under a voluntary system than they were by a cheeseparing vestry, actuated sometimes by hostility to a clergyman who even then often used his power unwisely. But the real loss has been in the absence of that personal interest of the parishioners, that popular support of the parish, which the church-rate involved and expressed. We have not only lost this; we have lost, as I have said, that visible expression of the fact that the clergy and the laity are one in interest, which belonged to the days when the vicar or rector presided by right of his position at the vestry. That was a symbol of the authority by which the clergyman considers himself entitled to enter every house and invade the Englishman's castle. In the present transition state of affairs, for the truth is great and must prevail in some expression of that identity of interest, there has been a development of the autocracy of the parish priest, which I venture to think is one of the dangers of the Church.

There has been much discussion lately on clerical poverty, and on the absence of laymen in church. Both questions would be solved if we could develop the interest which Nonconformists take in their Church concerns. Nonconformists do not allow their clergymen to bear the expense of the necessary machinery, and if the fact of endowments is

to some extent responsible for much of the labour thrown on the clergy in collecting the resources, it is not the only cause. The absence of any sense of property in what the clergyman too often still calls "my church," the denial of any real power to those he calls "my congregation," is to be reckoned with. The power which Nonconformity exercises so largely in the State is due to the education their laymen receive in congregational matters.

Now, as regards the influence which the power of levying church rates exercised over the incumbent, that may seem to some of you to be exaggerated. To those who, like myself in early days, have been engaged in beating up lukewarm parishioners, and in securing the attendance of the loyal, in face of the opposition to be raised at the Easter vestry, it is known that the power was real. If the actual battles were few, the possibility of such an event influenced the clergyman and made him discreet. All this has been changed, and how has the autocracy of the clergyman worked? We have seen in our days a religious wave sweep over the land, which has borne on the summit a section of the Church, displacing a party which once had the control. Anglicanism under various forms now rules, as Evangelicalism once ruled, itself divided like the new party, into various sections. If the change which has come about has elements of unmixed good—has brought blessings which none can ignore, there have been certainly attendant evils. The changes made have been the cause of much friction, due to the autocracy of the parson.

A clergyman is appointed to a parish, and straightway the whole furniture of the church, the whole order of the service, the style of the singing, the method of saying the prayers is completely changed at a cost of disturbance and alienation which it is hard to overestimate. In large towns this has tended to the development of Congregationalism, those who dislike the new system finding a home in the neighbouring church. In the country the outcome is necessarily more painful. Some are driven from the parish church; some who are loyal enough to attend have lost their interest in it; some are permanently alienated. All this was by no means unavoidable. Had church rates existed, the evil would not have been so extensive. In an ideal church, which belongs to the laity as well as to the clergy, parish councils would have taken the place of the vestry, and would have obviated the mischief. "*Sic volo, sic iubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*" has been the rule. The congregation may have been ignorant; that was no reason why they should be ignored. The action does not belong to one party alone, but the change has been more acutely felt on that side on which the rising tide has set. The alterations of which I have spoken would none the less have come to pass in most places, though they would have been delayed. The difference would have been that the clergyman would have been obliged to convince the parish council, and the parish council the parishioners. The delay would have been troublesome, but the result achieved would have been doubly valuable. It would have come after the people had been educated for the change. It would have come by their full consent. Trust is rewarded with confidence. I do not speak theoretically. Did time allow, I could give you instances. I have worked with Church councils for years, and though one does not always get one's way, one gets it in essentials. The

establishment of parish councils seems to me the correlative of that authority which we claim over all the parish. The days are gone when there can be authority which rests solely on despotic power, and when the Church awakes to the fact, as the State has done, there will be good days in store for it. The throne, founded on the allegiance of the nation, is stronger than when it rested on the claim of Divine right.

As to the constitution of these councils, I might differ very largely from the majority of those present. I will only say that the State has discarded tests because they were found to be unworkable. The net which is made so small as to catch all fish must be made of such fine material that the big fish will break through it. Or, to put it in another way: tests impede the tender in conscience, and exclude the best men; the designing men disregard the test, and are found out when the mischief has been done. But I care very little for the nature of the franchise, seeing that the authority of the laity, again recognized as it was in the days of the early Church (when the decrees ran in the name of "the Apostles, and elders, and the whole Church"), is not likely in these times to lack assertion. Waves of feeling do not affect the action of principles. The Anglican supremacy will one day give place to another order of thought, and we should be prepared in time for the new development.

I have not attempted to define the place of the layman in the diocese, and in the province; I have been contented to allot him his place in the parish. The rest follows; given that, given the interest which must necessarily come of the change, the layman will fall naturally into his place in larger matters, just as the vestry and the board of guardians educate the man for the County council and the Parliament. A barrister was once interrupted by a judge, who told him that he had repeated the argument a dozen times. "You forget, my lord, that there are twelve jurymen." I must repeat myself. The power of the clergy implies responsibility to the layman, and the acceptance of his advice. We are ready and willing to give the laity anything but what they need, if they do not yet want it—power. We charge them on their duty, which they know probably as well as ourselves. We patronize them as if in spiritual matters they were wholly our inferiors. That is not the way to interest the people in the Church, and without this interest it will die of respectability and isolation. It is the old story of the wind and the sun. The wind tore at the fastenings of his cloak, and the man wrapped it the closer round him. The sun shone, he unbuttoned it. Confidence, and not authority, is the basis of influence.

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I AM deeply sensible of the great responsibility which I have incurred in accepting an invitation to address this Congress, and I trust that in recognizing as the greater part of that responsibility a solemn obligation to express myself candidly and plainly, that I shall not be thought lacking in that moderation and charity which, as a Churchman and Christian, I feel it incumbent upon me to observe and practise. I am not an authority on the government, the doctrines, or the history of our Church. I speak as a voice from the crowd, as one of the rank and

file, as one of thousands of workers, who, through love and devotion to their Church, are engaged in the glorious drudgery of Church work—workers who are not permitted to see any great results of their labours, possibly no results at all, but who go plodding on, trying to brace themselves up with the thought of the truth contained in the plain and simple words of one of our greatest living divines, “There is no failure in religion excepting in ceasing to try.”

But we laymen, who, not so much owing to our natural gifts, but because of the greater privileges we have received through the special circumstances of our lives, our early training, or our associations, have entered the ranks of the workers and helpers, and have penetrated beneath the surface of present-day conventional lay Churchmanship, although numbering it may be thousands, form but an infinitesimal proportion of the total number of those who call themselves Churchmen. We, I suppose, have been able to realize to a greater degree than our less favoured brethren the unbounded power for good of which the Church is capable, if moulded and worked in accordance with the plans and intentions (so far as they can be understood) of its Divine Founder—a power quite consistent with His Omnipotence. But we have been brought to realize, also, how very greatly our Church's power is hampered and obstructed for want of means of reform, and how sadly she fails in making use of her golden opportunities. We have learnt to face as real and present difficulties, and as matters affecting ourselves personally, what the majority of the laity and many of the clergy look upon as things which do not concern them, and for the existence of which they are in no way responsible. And we feel that the existence of real Church work, of real life, even to the extent to which, thank God, it does exist under present circumstances, is nothing less than miraculous, and is one of the most convincing proofs that the Church is a Divine Institution. And here I would pay my tribute—and I beg that this may not be forgotten as I speak further—here I would, I say, pay my tribute to the champions of the Church, those who are living and fighting amongst us now; men whose faith, self-denial, devotion, and noble humility have raised them so far above these perplexities, as to give them a clear vision of the Church's mission. The zeal and enthusiasm of many of our bishops and clergy (and the number of such is increasing), but above all the sermons preached by their lives, are beginning to tell, and are arousing the laity from that gloomy apathy into which they appear to have sunk—an apathy, an indifference, an unconcern (call it what you like) which hangs as a dark shadow on every scheme and endeavour for Church reform. For what is the attitude of the great bulk of the laity as regards the Church? We live in a speaking and writing age. Bear this fact in mind. Then consider that there are vast numbers of all sorts and conditions of laymen who would be insulted if they were not looked upon as loyal Churchmen. Then contrast these great numbers with the comparatively small numbers of the clergy. Yet you cannot but be struck by the significant fact that by far the greater number of speeches and addresses, at almost every description of Church meeting, is made by the clergy. It is enough to fill us with grave concern. We hear torrents of impassioned eloquence, we read columns of stirring language in our papers relating to other subjects, but upon the subject of the Church, the subject

before which all others pale into insignificance—and no one can deny this and call himself a Churchman—upon that subject the laity are mute. Let me be just. There are occasionally here and there zealous and good men who make their voices heard, but these seem only to emphasize the silence which generally prevails.

What does this general silence on the part of the laity mean? Occasionally it is broken. When? When a Radical Government is looming in the near future, with Disestablishment as an item on its programme, then the laity are aroused—we become intensely loyal. What to? Let us be straightforward. To our endowments and to our social position. When a School Board election is on, or an agitation to establish a School Board in the place of a Voluntary school system is afloat, then we become intensely concerned. What about? Rates. Sometimes the battle is fought on principle, but the money question is generally uppermost. It would be interesting to know how many times candidates during the last election were asked if they would support the maintenance of the Establishment and the endowments of the Church, and compare that with the number of times they were asked as to whether or no they would support drastic measures of Church Reform; and yet the former questions directly affect pockets, and the latter souls; and still it must be admitted, and freely admitted, that notwithstanding the generally unsatisfactory feeling of the great bulk of the laity as regards the Church and State question, there are many who do view it from a high standpoint, and who use their utmost exertions to oppose Disestablishment, because they feel most strongly that if adopted a great blow would be struck at real religion, and that the spiritual loss to the country would be irreparable.

Coming to parochial matters. We often see published statistics of the amount of money spent upon building and endowing new churches, on the erection and extension of schools and mission rooms, on the maintenance of services, etc., but how would these sums appear if, side by side with them, could be published figures showing the incomes of the laity, the annual amount the Church receives from the accumulated donations of past generations, and the annual amount spent by the laity on luxuries. Only those who have had the labour of raising special amounts for various Church purposes know how grudgingly in most instances the money is contributed. Two or three guineas for a box at the theatre are given without a thought, but before the same sum can be given to the Church the matter must be carefully considered. What unworthy methods have to be resorted to to raise money. Has anyone in this meeting ever analysed the offertory taken in a crowded church in the season at a fashionable watering-place? And those of us who reside in suburban parishes, amongst the rich, with a good supply of clergy whom we do not pay—how about our poorer neighbours, the parishes in the slums, with their teeming thousands of the poorest, and their inadequate supply of clergy to minister to the sick and dying, and to keep in work those numerous and absolutely necessary parochial arrangements by means of which the Church works? What do we do for them? “Am I my brother’s keeper?” Do we not forget the fact that our own parish boundaries are not the limit of the extent of the Church of England. And when the priest, true to his office, obeys the distinct command, “Charge them that are rich in this world, that they

be ready to give and glad to distribute," and preaches accordingly, how often do we hear the sneering remark—another begging sermon? But why should I go on describing what everybody knows so well. Is it not a fact, and an awful fact, that so far as we can see from what appears on the surface, the money question in its varied ramifications is the great subject upon which the majority of our laity is concerned—how much must I give, or how little may I give? I say it with humiliation, that so far as the expression of opinion is concerned, so far as outward indications go, so far as agitation is concerned, an enormous majority of our laity have not risen above the recognition of our Established Church than anything more than a commercial undertaking—a "limited" soul-saving concern, with shares fully paid up (the preference shares being held by the rich and respectable middle-class), and no further calls to be made on any account, the expenses connected with the revenue account to be kept as low as possible.

Now, as I have already said, this state of things is what really obstructs the progress of Church reform. For if schemes of Church reform are adopted, they cannot be put into force by the clergy, even if they were unanimously in favour of them (which I doubt). Their practical application would rest with the laity, and there could be no practical application without lay opinion; and I say with sorrow, but deliberately, that lay opinion does not exist. I refuse to call the miserable controversy about money and possessions lay opinion. What is the cause of this lamentable condition of things—who is to blame? It is the Church's own fault. It is the result, the natural result, of a long-continued wrong system. There is the root of the mischief. The Church consists of clergy and laity. So far as the position of the laity is concerned, the Church is entirely out of harmony with our best modern ideas of representative and elective government, and also distinctly out of harmony with the earliest and best Christian ages. For generations we have been unable to exercise any direct power or influence in Church matters, excepting in two ways: one being in the giving or withholding of our money, and the other in the giving or withholding of our services as workers. The charge of our souls has been bartered for monetary considerations, or has been made the sport of the whim or fancy of a patron whose fitness or capability for properly discharging so awful a responsibility as the nomination of an incumbent formed no element whatever in his becoming possessed of such a power. Our incumbent, once appointed, he becomes a Pope, practically answerable to nobody. The bishop never comes near excepting for a very special service or a Confirmation. Such a thing as his lordship paying a surprise visit and overhauling parochial arrangements, and ascertaining what is being done, is almost unheard of. Please do not misunderstand me—I am not blaming the bishop—how can I, when he has about three people's work to do? We want twice as many bishops. I do not blame the bishop, I do not blame anyone; I say that bishops and clergy and laity are all the victims of a most absurd and impracticable system of Church government. If the incumbent gets over-zealous as to ritual or ceremonial, although everybody may freely admit he is doing an enormous amount of good, he is pulled up and called to order—he may even be prosecuted. I do not complain about that. But if the incumbent is a drone or

incapable, so long as he is not legally proved to be immoral or intemperate, though souls may be starving or perishing by scores for want of spiritual help, though the whole parish may be steeped in ignorance and sin through his neglect and idleness, he is let alone, he is not prosecuted. I do complain of this, I say it is monstrously iniquitous.

Now these are a few of the facts which for generations have been driven home, often by bitter experience, to the minds of the laity. They alone reveal a condition of Church government and control which is diametrically opposed to common sense. And so the laity, having this object lesson of unreasonableness and senselessness before them, have at last come to take an unreasonable and senseless view of Church affairs generally; and we often find men eminent for their common sense and correct judgment in worldly affairs, entirely devoid of both when they begin to discuss Church matters. And they apply this feeling of unreason to the two ways only in which they can make themselves felt—giving and working. They give as little as possible, although they are admonished by what as Churchmen they are bound to admit is an infallible guide (the New Testament) “to be glad to distribute.” And they will not work, they say, for the parson; the latter is so completely beyond their control in every way, and has the Church so much in his own hands, that they have learned to look upon the Church as *his* Church, not *my* Church.

Now how is this state of things, as regards lay opinion, to be remedied—for remedied it must be. For if schemes of Church reform are adopted, unless the laity take a higher view of the affairs of their Church than they do now, judging from outward appearance (which, after all, is the only evidence upon which we can base an opinion), those measures of reform will be like a mechanical contrivance lying useless and inert for want of the fuel and steam to put it into motion.

Now, what is to be done?

First, of course, prayer. It is, I am sure, not necessary for me to do more than just name that in an assembly of Church-people such as this.

Secondly, let the clergy speak out fearlessly and plainly, reminding the laity of their responsibilities as to Church government. And let me plead for every possible latitude—never, of course, at the cost of principle—being given to laymen, who may, perhaps, be a little over-zealous and tryingly eager. The clergy who gain the most personal influence are those who exercise the greatest self-sacrifice. And may I add that, besides self-sacrifice in parochial work, there might also very often be most fruitful self-sacrifice in the surrender on the part of the clergy of personal fads (of no vital importance), as regards ritual or the lack of ritual, and methods of work. Let the clergyman be less ready to insist on everything being done exactly as he wishes, if he can find the laity ready to do it.

Thirdly, let every layman who is really concerned for his Church, and who feels and realizes its deeper work, use every effort to create lay opinion. I am sure there is something deep down in the hearts of English Churchmen, something bound up in their very life, notwithstanding outward appearances, it may only be a germ or a flickering light, but still it is there, only awaiting the proper conditions and the

opportunity to blaze into active, energetic, and vigorous life. I earnestly appeal to my lay brethren, the workers, those who can speak, to take up this great question of Church reform actively and energetically; to do all they possibly can to dispel lay indifference; to strive to convince the laity that this glorious Church of England is theirs, a golden, priceless talent entrusted to them; and that it rests with them whether the light of the Church is to grow dim and obscure through their indifference and carelessness, or whether it is to wax brighter and more glorious, and so become a source of blessing and salvation alike to the richest and the poorest of our land.

The Rev. J. J. LIAS, Rector of East Bergholt; and Chancellor of Llandaff Cathedral.

I HAVE been long convinced that the cardinal point of Church reform is the restitution to the laity of their true place in the Church of God. What that place is, no reader of the Scriptures will find it difficult to ascertain. They are an integral portion of the Body of Christ. Each one of them enjoys the privilege of direct access to the great Head of the Church by reason of his union with that Head through the Divine Spirit.* The Christian body politic has duly appointed rulers, guides, and teachers, no doubt—no rational Christian will question this—but they are not regarded as a class standing altogether apart from the rest of their brethren. They are not men of different mould from the laity. They are not “lords over God’s heritage,” but simply “ensamples to the flock.”† Though, of course, like all other Christians, they receive the guidance necessary for the special duties of guiding, governing, and teaching they are set apart to perform, we read of no other privileges belonging to them which are not equally shared by those under their care. No slavish submission to authority was required of the laity, or in fact of anybody, in Apostolic times. S Paul, it is true, gave explicit directions to the infant Church of Corinth what was to be done in a particular case; but it was done according to his instructions, not by certain officials, but by the *whole Church*.‡ He used words of threatening to certain rebellious persons; but it does not appear that he meant anything more than a proclamation of the Divine wrath which in God’s own good time would be sure to fall upon the gainsayers. S. Paul is accustomed, as a rule, to depend on argument and persuasion, rather than on the exercise of authority. If he ever does exercise such authority it is only in the last resort.§ In minor matters, such as the choice of persons to take charge of the alms from a particular Church, and the time and mode of their departure on their mission, he leaves the point to the decision of the community.|| Neither he nor anyone else orders the “brother Apollos” to go here and there against his inclination. Apollos follows his own judgment as to the proper time for a visit to Corinth.¶ The idea of the Church as an army, however wide-spread it may be, and however convenient in many ways, has no place in the New Testament. The

* Rom. v. 2; Eph. ii. 18; iii. 12.

† 1 Peter v. 3.

‡ 1 Cor. v. 4.

§ 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

|| 1 Cor. xvi. 4.

¶ 1 Cor. xvi. 12.

Church is not represented as an army, but as a body politic. The implicit obedience of the members would seem to be due to the Divine Head alone. Even Titus and Timothy are "desired" and "besought," rather than commanded to do this or that. The influence S. Paul exerts over them is the moral influence of age, office, and character, rather than the absolute authority of an ecclesiastical superior. And the same freedom of action belonged of right to the laity. When S. Paul might very fairly claim a right to "enjoin" on one of them that which was fitting, he prefers rather to entreat.*

When the Apostles, the founders of the Church of Christ, were removed, we naturally find a still greater tendency to corporate action rather than autocratic rule. When Clement wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, he sent it, not in his own name, but in that of the Church over which he presided. When he rebukes the Corinthians for their contentiousness, he reminds them that no one had ever thought of appointing rulers over any Church without the consent of the ruled.† If Ignatius urges very earnestly respect for the office of the bishop, he is not thinking of the bishop as an autocrat, but he so writes because he fears that the undisciplined spirit of neophytes might overbear the wise counsels of men who were appointed to their office by Apostles, or who at least had grown old in the service of Christ, and in the oversight of his Church. Cyprian appeals to his people to witness to the fact that he invariably not only consulted his clergy, but obtained the assent of the laity before he took any step of importance.‡ And he even asked the opinion of the laity on a question of ecclesiastical discipline, such as the restoration of the lapsed to communion; although in these days we might be inclined to think the matter one with which the laity ought to have nothing to do.§ The laity in those days elected their bishops, were consulted about the choice of their pastors, enjoyed to the full their rights as members of the Church of Christ. In the fourth century, however, that crisis of the Church's fortunes, when she had at once to face the perils of establishment and the consequent rush of half-converted heathens into her pale, the principle of Christian liberty began to be infringed. Clergy began to dominate over laity, bishops over clergy, Metropolitans over bishops, Patriarchs over Metropolitans. Students of ecclesiastical history well know how by degrees the right of self-government was wrested from the Church as a whole, and all authority concentrated in the hands of bishops alone, and how much this process was accelerated by the break up of the Roman empire, and the ignorance and brutality of the barbarians who destroyed it. So complete was this revolution, that the idea of any inherent legislative, or even consultative, power in the Church at large has come among many in our own time to be regarded as of most dangerous tendency, instead of, as it really is, the original principle of the Church of Christ.

The Reformation in England, by the powers it gave to the representatives of the laity in Parliament, was doubtless, as far as it went, a return to the primitive principle; but inasmuch as it was not accompanied by the grant of full powers of local self-government, it was only a partial return to that principle. And the growth of religious separation on the

* Philem. 9.

† Ch. 44.

‡ Ep. v. (Oxford xiv.).

§ Ep. ix. 4 (Oxford xvi.); x. 4 (Oxford xv.); xi. I (Oxford xvii.).

one hand, and the recent decline of the powers formerly exercised by parish vestries on the other, have still further interfered with the rights of the laity of our Church. Parliament no longer consists of Churchmen; and the power of the purse, as exercised until lately by the parish vestry, has been taken away by the abolition of Church rates. Then the Public Worship Regulation Act, the principles on which it was based, and the manner in which it was worked, have produced a strong disinclination both on the part of those in authority, and on the part of the people at large, to bring the powers of the law to bear on the clergy. This, again, has left the clergy in a position to do very much what they please in their churches. Thus the laymen in our various parishes have within the present century been reduced to a position of impotence as complete as in the Middle Ages. If they have no voice whatever in the choice of their clergymen, it may no doubt fairly be contended that in this country at least they never had such a voice. But of late they have lost even the partial control they once had over parish affairs, as well as the power of effective protest against changes in the mode of conducting the services of the Church of which they disapprove.

Opinions will no doubt differ about the effect of this on the prospects of our Church. There can be no doubt that the increased industry of the clergy, the improvement in their character, as well as in their attainments; the vast change for the better in the conduct of divine service; the sober, Scriptural, and rational theology of our Church; the Catholic, yet primitive, tone of her service book, has amazingly increased the respect in which the Church is held in the nation at large. Nor can we doubt that the vast change which is taking place in the principles of Nonconformists by the operation of what has been called the "down grade" movement, is also operating very largely at present to the advantage of the Church. But if we fail to recognize the fact that there are other causes at work in precisely the opposite direction, and tending to diminish the influence of the Church in the country, we may one day find that we have been living in a fool's paradise, and may meet with a very unpleasant awakening, all the more unpleasant because by some of us it will be altogether unexpected. There is a great, and I am not sure whether it is not an increasing, tendency among the members of various classes among us to absent themselves from the services of the Church, and especially from the instructions given by the clergy. And this tendency, it appears to me, is most strongly marked among the very classes of persons over which it is most desirable, and even necessary, to retain our hold. The Church in these democratic days cannot continue to rest entirely on the character of her clergy. She must ultimately depend on the enthusiasm of her intelligent, educated, and thoughtful laity. It was once our boast that this enthusiasm existed among the class of men I have described. If in the future it be damped, instead of sustained, we shall soon lose all that we have acquired with so much care and pains. It is impossible to imagine that in these days of extension of the suffrage, of School Boards, of County, District, and Parish Councils, that the Church in England and Wales can continue to be the only body in which the principle of popular representation is set at nought. I say the Church in England and Wales, because in every non-established branch of the

Anglican communion there is popular representation. And if the repression of the voice of the laity of the Church come in this country to be identified with Establishment, we shall some day find a reaction taking place which neither the excellence of our formularies, nor the virtues, attainments, or labours of our clergy, will avail to check. Already, in some quarters, there is a decided feeling of dissatisfaction. It may have something to do with that tendency to absent themselves from public worship altogether to which I have referred, and which displays itself among the members of the wealthier, as well as those of the artisan class. We cannot tell how far this indifference may be due to the utter impotence to which those who feel it are condemned if they happen to disapprove of the person appointed to take charge of them, or the manner in which the services in their parish are conducted.

In these days there is practically no control over the incumbent, provided he can find the funds wherewith to conduct his Church services. He can put his own construction on rubrics, and his congregation have no remedy. The bishop, taught by bitter experience, does not like to make himself obnoxious by interfering. The solution of continuity, too, in Church services and parish work, when a new incumbent is appointed, is often a source of much friction. One hears again and again of changes arbitrarily made by the incoming clergyman which cause ill-feeling, and often throw back the progress of Church work for a decade or two. Nor do these remarks apply to any particular party in the Church. Clergy of both parties have made sudden changes in a high-handed manner—a course which seems to many Englishmen unjust and unfair. This is the one serious blemish in our Church system—so admirable in most other respects; and at the present moment it does more than anything else to keep Dissent in existence. There is a strong feeling among lay people, of which we clergy seldom hear, against what is mistakenly called Sacerdotalism, though its proper name is undoubtedly Clericalism. Not that there is any jealousy of a moral ascendancy on the part of the clergy, due to their office and the high sense of responsibility they display in discharging its duties—quite the contrary. The hostility of which I speak is evoked only by the claim, which is frequently made, to act independently of lay wishes and lay opinion. If there is a spirit of resistance to this kind of clerical ascendancy to be found in every country in Europe, we may rely upon it that the freest and most spirited people in the world, the people whose virtues and qualities have won for them an imperial inheritance, will not continue without protest to accept the subordinate position in the councils of the Church, whether in the Church of England at large, the diocese, or the parish, to which they are at present confined. They will expect to have a distinct and effective voice in all Church affairs. And if we neglect or decline to give them that voice, we shall very likely before long find Nonconformity re-organizing upon a new basis, that of the rights of the laity, and we may find it supported by the ablest, the most independent, the most high-principled among us. Or, if we escape this danger, at the very least we shall find our strongest laymen holding their hands when the question of Disestablishment recurs, as it will most certainly recur, and either secretly rejoicing when it comes to pass, or actively co-operating with those who promote it. We may rely upon it that the

laity will not be much longer content with being permitted no direct voice in the choice of their bishops and clergy, and in the conduct of the services in which they have to take part. In our Diocesan Conferences, I am thankful to say, the voices of the laity are freely raised, and receive their full share of attention. But I have heard even members of the Houses of Laymen complain of the subordinate relation they hold to the two Houses of Convocation—of the disposition to regard their House as an auxiliary organization, not as part and parcel of the true and proper constitution of the Church. Whether this is over-sensitiveness or not I am hardly in a position to say. But I may venture on the remark that it is not a feeling which it is at all desirable to arouse, and that in our present transition state, while the rights of the laity are as yet only partially recognized, it is extremely likely that occasion may sometimes quite unintentionally be given for it.

If I am challenged, as I have sometimes been challenged when expressing these views, to state what I mean by the laity, I reply, the communicants of the Church. They, and they only, accept the test of continued membership of His Church unquestionably laid down by Christ Himself. I cannot see how anyone who deliberately refuses to obey the injunction laid upon the whole Church by Jesus Christ at His Last Supper can be looked upon in any other light than as excluded by his own act from effective membership in the Church. But I can easily understand that in view of the widely-spread misconceptions at present existing on this point, we may be obliged, for a time at least, to be content with half measures on this point.

But whatever course may in our judgment be best fitted to attain our end, I have myself no doubt whatever on the question what that end ought to be. I venture, therefore, to say to this important and influential assembly, Restore to the laity the rights of which they have been so long deprived. Regard them as integral portions of the Church of Christ. Ignatius bade the Church of his day "do nothing without the bishop." Had he lived in our age, that Apostolic man would, I am convinced, have said, "Do nothing without the laity." What difference there is between the clergy and the laity is simply a difference in office, order, and degree. All the privileges so freely offered us in Christ's Church belong to all except those of teaching, guiding, governing, and leading the worship of the Church. Each individual is one of the "joints and bands" whereby the body is "knit together, receives nourishment, and increaseth with the increase of God."* To each member of the Church it was said, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things."† Let us, therefore, ask counsel of our people in everything that we do. Not only is no other course safe for us in these days of general education and widely extended freedom, but no other course is in accordance with the most ancient traditions of the Church. We clergy need not fear to take the step. "*Experto crede*" I have found that the less I have relied upon my legal right and ecclesiastical authority, the stronger has been the moral influence I have been able to wield. The laity are almost too anxious to follow any clergyman who in a kindly spirit is ready to lead. But they

* Col. ii. 19.

† 1 John ii. 20.

refuse, and will refuse, to fly before the face of anyone who attempts to drive. Let us, then, make the rehabilitation of the laity the foundation of all our efforts after reform. If this be carried into effect, all other reforms we need will follow in due time. Neglect it, and you will find that other reforms, however desirable in themselves, will somehow fail to produce the results you have expected of them. Let the British Church, like the British Empire, rest upon the broad basis of the general consent of a contented people, and the Church, bound hand in hand with the Empire in loving alliance, will prove the greatest power for good the world has ever known.

DISCUSSION.

The Ven. W. M. SINCLAIR, Archdeacon of London.

THAT prerogatives of guiding, teaching, and function in worship belong to the ordained official clergy, all of us are agreed. That the laity also have rights there is no less certainty; but as to what those rights are there is some amount of doubt. I shall follow the Bishop of Manchester in seeking to get some guidance from the facts and precedents of the primitive Church. That will be my contribution to this discussion. (1) As to the *importance* of the laity. You will remember that when S. Paul and S. Barnabas came to Jerusalem, it was not only the Apostles and elders received them, but the whole Church; when an official letter was sent to the Gentiles, it was sent by the whole Church as well as the Apostles, and addressed to the brethren generally. (2) As to *function*, especially with regard to precedents for the action of the Bishop of London in authorising certain laymen to preach in churches at certain extra times. In the time of S. Paul the custom of the synagogue in inviting laymen of high repute to expound in the weekly assembly was continued. Laymen preached the Gospel amongst the Jews and heathen, as S. Paul at Damascus before the laying on of hands, Aquila, Priscilla, and Apollos. Hilary, the deacon, says:—"At first all taught and baptized on whatever days and seasons occasion required . . . that the people might grow and multiply, it was at the beginning permitted to all to preach the Gospel and to baptize, and to explain the Scriptures in church." And then he explains how the rights became restricted. Justin Martyr was an illustrious lay-preacher, and he said on this point:—"Everyone who can preach the truth and does not preach it incurs the judgment of God." Origen was allowed by the Bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea to preach before them while still a layman; and in defending him to the Bishop of Alexandria they referred to the authority and example of the Bishops of Larandi, Iconium, and Smyrna. In A.D. 398 a council at Carthage merely forbade a layman to preach in the presence of clerics unless they asked him. It was not till A.D. 453 that Leo I., writing to the Patriarch of Antioch, urges that in the face of the current heresies none but the ordained should preach. It was not till 691 that the Council in Trullo forbade lay-preaching absolutely. (3) As to *Election in Parish and Diocese*. Laymen had the right of joining in the election of their ministers. The consent of the whole congregation was required from the almost Apostolic age of Clement down to and beyond the development of clerical authority in the days of S. Cyprian, who calls this "an Apostolic and almost universal regulation." In the election of a *bishop* the *suffragium* of the people accompanied, and often preceded, the *judicium* of the clergy of the diocese. (4) As to *Position in the Province*. Laymen bore an important share in the General Councils. The Christian emperors considered themselves entitled to select certain learned and distinguished laymen, conversant with ecclesiastical law and Christian doctrine, to sit in General Councils as members or assessors. These laymen bore the high title of "*judices Gloriosissimi*," and exercised a powerful influence over the councils. In the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon they rise and say, "This appears to us just, if it shall please our most sacred and pious lord the Emperor." They then pronounced the decree, and the bishops exclaimed, "This is a just decision." (5) As to *Lay Patronage*. The origin of individual lay patronage was in

the time of Justinian, who legally sanctioned a growing practice. His law of 541 A.D. enacted that anyone who should found a church, and endow it with a maintenance, might nominate the incumbent. *Conclusion.* We have seen that in the beginning the laity were on equality with the clergy, submitting to the superintendence of the ruler whom they have themselves elected, and who has been ordained by authority. We have seen them preaching without limitation out of doors, and with the consent of bishop or clergy in church. They baptized at first freely, afterwards in case of necessity. They elect clergy and bishops. They receive letters from Apostles and Churches. They are represented by Imperial Commissioners in General Councils. They at last acquire the right to appoint to churches which they have built. At the present day, when Christian ministrations are needed so sorely on all hands, we may well take these facts into our most serious consideration. I may remind you of the fact that the Bishop of London has already appointed laymen to preach in churches at times other than those of the regular services. In the dearth of spiritual ministrations amongst the vast masses of our population, perhaps other opportunities may be discovered for lay work, under proper restrictions, in accordance with primitive precedent. With regard to laymen in the deliberations of the Church, I believe that the properly regulated association of the lay mind with the clerical is highly advantageous to both. I believe all here heartily welcome the existence of the Houses of Laymen in the two provinces, and strongly approve the presence of the laymen in the diocesan conferences. The restoration of some sort of participation by the parishioners who are members of the Church in the appointment of their clergy has been strongly recommended this morning, and has my earnest and hearty support. At a time when the Church of Christ in this country is putting forth so much effort to combat indifference and irreligion, we need the united co-operation of the whole body, so that, having nourishment administered by that which every joint supplieth, it may make increase with the increase of God.

H. W. HILL, Esq., Churchwarden of Horsley Down, Southwark.

IN considering the just demand for a democratic reform in the Church, I think perhaps I may usefully occupy a moment of your time with a thought or two as to the means to be employed. I take it we are all fairly well agreed as to our ideals. Much has been said as to the usefulness of the laity in such a body as the House of Laymen, and in such assemblies as diocesan conferences; but I would ask, who sent these gentlemen there? It was not the whole body of the laity; not the whole body of the baptized, but certain little autocracies of them. These bodies may for the moment form not a bad means of enabling the Episcopate to obtain in a rough manner the prevailing opinion of the laity; but in this age of democratic reforms in civil matters the wise plan on the whole has been followed of bringing about reforms when the people have an intelligent idea of what they want and how they will use the reforms when obtained. Although the diocese is the unit, we must, for present practical purposes, consider this matter from the point of view of the parish. I think the time will come when the parish priest, in some way or other, before he is instituted to the cure of souls by the bishop, will have to obtain some kind of mission from the laity in regard to his election. I deprecate rather the notion that a priest is ordained for all and every possible purpose. He is ordained to administer the doctrine, the sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, and not to bother his head about drain-pipes, Boards of Guardians, or as to how streets should be repaired. We can do that very well ourselves. If we want to create in a parish a sense of real possession in the parish church, and in the sacraments administered there, the priest must confine himself more than he does at present in this reforming age to his own particular business, baptizing all the babies, seeing that not a child is born in his parish that is not incorporated in the Body of Christ, bringing all the young to confirmation, and administering the other sacraments for the spiritual well-being of the parish. If he does this, perhaps the laity will become fit to exercise the high prerogative so long denied to them of having some share in the election of their parish priests. By means of reforms working upwards we might become fit to go on to realize the ideal of a better corporate government of the Church by means of diocesan, and provincial, and, if needed, national synods. But as a layman who has devoted a little more than a quarter of a century to hard Church work, I want to disavow any desire whatever to vote in a synod. I did not gather from the address of the Bishop of Manchester that the laity at any time had anything more than a consultative voice in any synod. The

government of Christ's Church has been committed to the bishops, who have to rule in a constitutional manner with the assistance of their synods. Do not let us attempt to bring about a state of things which would be infinitely worse than that now in existence. I have no desire, and I have not come across any appreciable number of laymen who have a desire, to interfere with the ritual and the doctrine of the Church in the way in which they might be interfered with if the claims set forth by the Bishop of Manchester were granted. I am persuaded that the sore spot in regard to the attitude of the laity in reference to Church government mainly relates to the appointment of their parish priests, and I think I have indicated a way in which we may travel on the road of real reform.

The Rev. LUCIUS G. FRY, Vicar of S. James', Upper Edmonton.

THERE are two striking features about this Church Congress: first, that it is essentially a Church Reform Congress, and, secondly, that on the subject of Church reform the Congress is practically unanimous. But what is to be the practical outcome of all this unanimity? Ten years ago there was a similar wave of opinion passing over the Church, but there was no organization to take it up and turn it into a practical channel, and as a consequence the force of the wave soon spent itself, and little practical good came of it. At the present time, however, the prospects are more hopeful; already an organization exists for this very purpose, independent of party, both in Churchmanship and in politics, and having but one purpose at heart, the furtherance of thorough Church Reform on Church and constitutional lines. Twelve months ago this organization, known by the name of the Church Reform League, was started by one hundred and twenty clergy and laymen, who lived in various parts of England and Wales—men who were of diversified opinions on the wide subject of Church reform, but who were united in their desire to have something done, and who were willing to lay aside many of their own pet ideas, so that, instead of each man having a Church reform programme of his own, they might draw up a scheme of Church reform which would be likely to commend itself to Churchmen generally. After some months of deliberation, such a scheme was drawn up and published, and met with considerable approval; and many Churchmen of eminence, both clerical and lay, were now throwing in their lot with them; and during the coming winter months they hoped to hold many meetings on Church reform in various parts of England, and thereby help to sustain the enthusiasm which is here so manifest. The *Guardian*, indeed, in four leading articles on our proposals, a few weeks ago "damned us with faint praise;" but if the writer of those articles could have witnessed the display of feeling that has been so conspicuous here this day at each of the three meetings on Church reform, he would surely never have said that their proposals were impossible of attainment. If Churchmen will only be in earnest and unite and organize, no scheme of Church reform is impossible.

H. J. TORR, Esq., Treasurer of the Church Reform League.

It seems to me that the question we are now considering is, as Chancellor Lias said, the very crux and centre of this Church Reform question. Before we can decide what reform we want, we must decide what constitutes the Church we want to reform. I think from the way in which previous speeches have been received, that all here are determined to vindicate, for all time, the claim that the Church consists of the laity as well as the clergy. If so, the reason why the Church is not now in fact, as well as in name, the Church of the whole English people, is simply that she has neglected to use all her power; she has been fighting like a man with one hand behind his back, and has never used the immense store of work and energy which rests in her laity. What has been the result of this past policy? In the first place, emphatically, I say that Nonconformity is the result of it. We all know of the remark once made by the Nonconformist: "If I come to church I am only a miserable sinner; if I go to chapel I am an elder." That, I think, crudely put in homely language, expresses our weakness. We fail to impress our laity with a sense of their responsibility, and it is responsibility, and responsibility alone, which will ever produce support. If you want the support of your laity, you must make them responsible for that which you want them to support. The second result of our past

policy is to be seen at every Easter vestry. Instead of that being regarded as the great Church Council of the year, what do you find? Three or four fellows half asleep, who drift out at the first opportunity. Another result of our past policy has, as Mr. Hollis said, been the absolute refusal of our laity to give. Some of us are fond of going to the "Church Year Book" and totting up the figures, and congratulating ourselves on the fact that £5,000,000 were given for Church purposes last year. Surely, instead of being proud of it, we should sink down on our knees in humiliation at the thought that a community, whose income is probably some seven or eight hundred millions a year, can only raise for Church purposes a paltry £5,000,000. There is another fact I should like to allude to. Some of you were glad when the Disestablishment Bill was defeated, but did it ever strike you that ten days after the Disestablishment Bill was carried in the House of Commons by forty-four votes, Mr. Gully was elected Speaker by a majority of only eleven—that is to say, that on a strict party question, the Government of the day could only command a majority of eleven—while on the question of Disestablishment it was able to command one of forty-four. Surely that fact tells us something about the indifference of the laity, does it not? May I remind you of this, that the laity of England includes the women of England? We must never lose sight of that fact. We are sometimes apt to argue the question as if it affected only the men. If we want to get social and moral questions settled on the right lines, it is to the women of England—with their keen perceptions and their keen sympathies—that we must go. If we are to have reform, let us do everything we can to enlist the sympathy and hearty co-operation of our women. Remember, too, that England is democratic now, not aristocratic; and that what we want is not so much the guinea of the squire as the copper of the peasant. You want the strong right arm of the artisan of England given to the support of his Church. The squire, I admit, has been a good friend in the past, but he has not the power to help us now, even if he would do so. It is the others to whom we must go now. Surely the House of Laymen is a very mockery as representing the Church of England. There is not a man upon it, I suppose, who does not count his income by thousands a year. The representative body of the laity of the Church ought to consist of representatives, not of one class alone, but of every class.

The Rev. W. A. EDWARDS, Vicar of Bunbury, Cheshire.

It was said some time ago by a thoughtful writer (let us hope that the truth of the remark has largely passed away) that the working man was left by the Church of England, disregarded, like a loose stone for which she could find no place in her building; but may we not, alas, apply the same metaphor to the position of the faithful laity as a whole, as far as any definite provision, based upon unmistakable principles, is made in our branch of the Church for their participation in its common life and responsibilities! The Papers and Speeches to which we have had the pleasure of listening this evening give a magnificent outline of the means by which this state of things may be amended. It is impossible to dwell on the whole subject brought before us in a few minutes, and I will confine myself to that part of the discussion which deals with the formation of parochial Church councils. Their formation throughout the country is most desirable, and would produce admirable results. If they had a legal basis and reasonable powers they would secure a rational continuity of Church-life in the parish. Now, by the caprice of patronage or from many other causes, the whole system of Church work in a parish is liable to be violently and suddenly altered. The clergyman's position is unduly autocratic, and that of the faithful laity practically helpless. The parochial council would also obviate many mistakes and difficulties by enabling the clergy and people to know each other better, and to meet on common ground for fuller co-operation. It would also enable a great deal of work of a philanthropic character to be done without burdening the clergyman and distracting him from his more immediately spiritual duty. These and many other objects, on which there is no time to dilate, would be admirably served by these councils. But if the laity are to occupy their true position in Church life, they have a work to do themselves. Their exclusion from it is due in a large measure, not to jealousy of their just claims on the part of the clergy, or a reluctance to concede them, but to the indifference and apathy of many among the laity themselves. If our lay Church-people are to enter upon their great heritage, which they now imperfectly possess, their interest in it must be excited, and they must be educated to appreciate

its possibilities. To educate, we must organize, and it is to promote an organized effort to solve the problem of Church reform in all its aspects that the Reform League exists. Let all who wish the faithful laity to take their true position in the Church's life and work strengthen the hands of the Church Reform League.

Dr. CHAS. J. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, Forest Gate, E.

THIS is the first time I have ever attended a Church Congress, but I presume that one of the most desirable things at which the members of such a Congress could aim would be that it should have a practical conclusion and result. I would suggest that, while it is of the greatest importance that we should keep before our minds the necessity of some change of legislation which would give more power to the laity, there are certain practical points which we can deal with at once. In my opinion it is very necessary that something should be done to remedy the state of things which exists in many parishes, by which the clergy attempt to do all the work themselves; or, at any rate, if they cannot, think the only way out of the difficulty is to apply to some Church society for an extra curate, instead of attempting to utilize the great power that lies behind them in the laity, many of whom would be only too ready to help them. It is a very sad fact that in a very large majority of parishes the clergyman rarely thinks of approaching the layman, unless he wants to bleed him for his charity or his Church schools. I do not think that the way to encourage the layman to give is to refuse him any voice in Church affairs, or in the administration of the parish. At the same time there exist in certain parishes committees, which are known as Church committees, but which very often are only committees in name. The clergyman, who does everything, merely wishes to have his work backed up, as it were, by the names of a certain number of parishioners. I hope that before we leave this Congress meeting we shall seek to find out what we can do to remedy the evil which we have all acknowledged. I think the great difficulty is that we are so ready to criticise each other, and are not ready to find out what is wrong in ourselves. I remember hearing of a certain incident in point, which is said to have taken place on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee. Her Majesty's Judges met together in order to draw up some address to the Queen, and one of them suggested the inclusion of the words: "Conscious as we are of our own imperfections." There was some demur to the insertion of these words, and one of the Judges said, "If we cannot adopt that, we shall all be agreed upon this: 'Conscious as we are of each other's imperfections.'" I hope that we laity shall all go back to our parishes determined to find some *modus vivendi* by which the clergy can be helped in their work, and that the clergy will go back to their parishes conscious of the fact that there are reforms that can be carried out even under the existing law. What we want all round, I think, is simply this—mutual confidence.

The Rev. W. CROUCH, Vicar of Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire.

FEW things have surprised, and at the same time pleased me more than the general expressions we have heard, both this afternoon and this evening, of democratic principles, and the appreciative acceptance which those principles have met with from this Congress. I do think that it is one of the most hopeful signs for the Church of England that we are beginning to come more into touch with the people, and more into sympathy with democratic feeling. At the same time I feel that this afternoon and this evening the democratic principle has been in some respects misapplied; because the Church of Christ is not a human, but a divine institution. It is the kingdom of God; and we cannot touch the constitution or the government of the Church of Christ upon democratic principles, because it is to the bishops that Christ has intrusted the government of His kingdom upon earth. Therefore, heartily as I am in sympathy with democratic principles, and being a democrat to my very heart, I dare not apply those principles to the government of the Church of Christ. It is not a question here of what we may like. I have tried hard to reconcile some of the suggestions we have heard with the true principles of the divine institution of the Church of Christ, and I have failed.

We have been told this evening by the Bishop of Manchester that laymen had their place in the early synods of the Church. I have not time now to traverse that argument of the Bishop of Manchester. Mr. Hill said, however, that the bishop had failed to show that laymen ever had more than a consultative voice in the synods of the Church. He might have gone farther than that. Hefele and other writers prove up to the very hilt that laymen never had a decisive voice in the synods of the Church. It has been claimed that laymen should have authority in the Church, on the ground that they cannot be expected to obey the laws of the Church unless they have some part in the making of them. I want to know whether laymen are bound by the Sermon on the Mount and by the Ten Commandments? They had nothing to do with the making of them. We are told again that laymen are thirsting for the powers claimed on their behalf. We have had several speeches from laymen this evening. One has distinctly repudiated any such desire, and certainly only one out of all those who have spoken showed the least wish to have a place in the synods of the Church. We are told they ought to have authority in the synods because they are members of the Body of Christ with us. I fully admit that they are as much members of the Church, the Body of Christ, as we are; that they share as fully in the life of that Body as we do; but we all know perfectly well that all the members of the body have not the same office. The laymen who have spoken this evening have shown that they want to do their work in the office they hold just as the bishops have to do theirs, and we inferior clergy have to do ours. What I feel is that what the laity are sometimes inclined to resent is not the just claims to the government of the Church that are possessed by the bishops; and it must be remembered that the Lower House of Convocation has no legislative powers; it is the Upper House, and the Upper House alone, that is the legislative body in this Province of Canterbury. I deny nothing here to the laity that I claim for myself or any other priests. It is the bishops alone who are the supreme rulers in Christ's Church, and when this claim is made, if the laity are inclined to resent it, it is not because they resent the claim itself, but because the claim has not always been made in the right spirit. From my short experience of a quarter of a century's work in the ministry of the Church, I can say that there is a far greater readiness on the part of the clergy to accept the authority of the bishops than was formerly shown, and the reason is that we are now, as a rule, treated in a more fatherly way than we used to be. It is because of the spirit in which the claim is made upon us. And when we go to our people, if we go saturated with the democratic spirit, and in full sympathy with the wishes, the aspirations, and the needs of the people, not showing any wish to lord it over God's heritage, but acting as the servant of the flock, then the delegated authority, which we derive from the bishops, will be accepted. What we want is that the claim of the bishops should be accepted as that of the sole supreme rulers in the Church of Christ.

JASPER MORE, Esq., M.P. *

SOME of the speakers have related experiences different from mine. I can say that no subject arouses so much interest on the Unionist side of the House of Commons as the interests of the Church. We have a large committee in the House which is well attended, and which discusses these subjects thoroughly. Another speaker made reference to the supposed indifference of the upper classes in Church work, but the attendance and the number of communicants at churches in the West End, and the help given to Church work, entirely disproves this idea. The subject we have been discussing is a subject of great interest to me, because I brought it forward this year at the first meeting of the House of Laymen, and I did so because in the diocese of Lichfield, to which I do not belong, there had been a most able discussion on the subject upon a paper written by Bishop Anson. The Church of Scotland, an established Church, had the good sense to get a Church Assembly centuries ago: why should not the Church of England do a similar thing? It must be remembered that there are even fire-worshippers in the House of Commons, and I have often wondered what might be the opinion of a fire-worshipper on the 27th Clause of the Education Bill. The proposal of the Archbishop to summon the Houses of Laymen to meet with the Convocations in November will lead up to national Synods.

* The MS. of this speech, sent for revision was not returned in time. The above remarks are adapted from the *Guardian*.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I AM sorry that Mr. Fry, and those who are associated with him, should think that the bishops have turned a cold shoulder on their endeavours in the direction of Church reform. I would ask them to study the reports of the Upper House of Convocation for several years past. If they do so, I think they will find that there is scarcely a point dealt with in the first four objects advocated by the Church Reform League which the bishops have not at least endeavoured to deal with, either in the Upper House of Convocation or in the House of Lords. They may not have gone as far as the proposals of the League go, but they have had to be regulated in their endeavours by that which comes within the sphere of practical politics. If Mr. Fry and his friends will study these reports, they will see that the objects they have in view have for the most part the sympathy of the bishops themselves. In regard to the fifth object advocated by the League—that relating to finance—I am, as I stated this morning, very much in accord with the proposal of the League; and if it is put in a practical form, I shall be one of the first to see what can be done to carry it into practical effect.

MUSIC HALL.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF SOUTHWELL in the Chair.

THE CHURCH'S LAW OF MARRIAGE, ESPECIALLY
IN RELATION TO DIVORCE.

(*For Men only.*)

PAPERS.

The Very Rev. H. M. LUCKOCK, Dean of Lichfield.

THE Law of the Church is, I believe, that the bond of marriage, lawfully contracted and duly consummated, can never be broken except by death; and, like all her legislation, it is based upon the teaching of Holy Scripture. As the first of many speakers upon the subject, I have deemed it the wisest and most convenient plan to restrict myself almost entirely to this, leaving it to others after me to enter upon that field of history upon which, had time allowed, I would myself have gladly trod.

The subject is dealt with, directly or indirectly, eight times in Holy Scripture. In six of these marriage is regarded as indissoluble, save by death, without the slightest hint of any possible exception. In the two remaining, those who advocate re-marriage after divorce for adultery claim to find Divine authority for the practice. Now, if they are right, I am bound to say that it lays a tremendous strain upon our belief in the inspiration of Scripture. To be told that our Blessed Lord deliberately allowed that upon one condition the marriage tie was broken—changing thereby the whole character of its original conception—and yet that the All-wise Spirit of God permitted, yea, even moved, three out of four of the sacred writers upon the subject to make no mention of the exceptional concession, simply fills us with blank amazement. I purpose now to concentrate your attention upon the two passages in S. Matthew's Gospel on which the claim is based.

The first is S. Matt. v. 32, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery." In the first clause it is claimed that by a natural inference a man may marry again if he put away his wife for fornication; and in the second clause that the woman divorced, whom it is adulterous to marry, is one put away not for fornication.

I am unable to accept either of these deductions. There are several ways of explaining the evidence of S. Matthew which will avoid clashing with the rest of Scripture. First it may be said that our Lord in this verse was not legislating for Christianity, but correcting Judaism; or that fornication means, according to its ordinary use, not adultery, but antenuptial in chastity. Döllinger, the profoundest theologian of this century, as Bishop Lightfoot described him, accepted this interpretation.

I pass them both by now, and proceed to show that even if they are rejected as untenable, yet still our Lord's words contain no permission for re-marriage.

Take the first clause. What does He say? Simply this: if a man put away his wife for any other cause than fornication, *he makes her an adulteress*; he exposes her to such temptations, that, without the natural protection of her husband, she will be led into temptation, and if she yield to it, he is the cause of her sin, the responsibility is his. The only legitimate inference from this is that if he puts her away for fornication, the responsibility of her sin does not rest with him, she herself—not he—makes her an adulteress. Not a word is said about re-marriage; it is not even hinted at.

Take the second clause. "And whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery." It has been claimed that this is only said of a wife divorced for other causes than fornication.* But is it a legitimate claim? It all turns upon a question of Greek scholarship, and as such the matter is more suited to the Professorial Chair of the University than the platform of a Church Congress.

I must be satisfied, then, with giving you the decision of Greek experts, only asking you to be thankful that it does turn upon scholarship, because its rules are so definite that there is little room for theological bias and prejudice to pervert them. I will mention three great Greek scholars—one, Bishop Middleton, the author of a book long recognized as the authority upon the Greek Article: the other, Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, senior classic at Cambridge: both asserted, without any reserve, that the particular form of expression must refer to *any* divorced woman. I have read somewhere that the latter described the opposite view as a Protestant or Genevan evasion. But I can give you far stronger evidence. These were bishops, and the objector will say, naturally liable to have their judgment warped; but Professor Winer was a German, born and bred in a land and Church which looked very favourably upon re-marriage after divorce. He wrote, he said, his treatise on the diction of the New Testament to rescue it from a perverted criticism, and true to his scholarly convictions,

* It is in Greek, ἀπολελυμένην, without the def. article, τὴν, which would have been necessary for this interpretation. The Revisers have acknowledged this in one place, but by a strange inconsistency not in the parallel passage.

in the very face of his country's laws and his Church's laxity, which his interpretation of our Lord's words flatly contradicted, he said it must be "*any divorced woman.*"

It is the testimony, then, of the greatest authority we have on the language of the New Testament, that our Lord said it was adultery to marry any divorced woman.

Now it is impossible to emphasize this too strongly. The ground upon which our Lord forbade a man to marry any divorced woman is that by so doing he was guilty of adultery. Carry this to its logical issue, and it forbids re-marriage *alike to the innocent and guilty*. For what is adultery? It is sin with one who is married. The divorced woman, then, whom Christ forbids a man to marry, has still a husband; she is put away, it is true, and separated, but with the marriage bond intact; and if she is still married to the husband who put her away, he is of necessity married to her, and neither can re-marry without the guilt of adultery.

It is most important that we should realize this, for there is a fast-growing belief that what is forbidden to the guilty party is possible for the innocent. If the illogical nature of this conclusion is pressed, men fall back on the excuse that the Church has made a distinction on the ground of *discipline*; but we have called attention to the only ground taken by our Lord, from which the Church may never depart, viz., that the re-marriage of either party is adultery. In His decision there is no loophole for the innocent; and had there been, the difficulty of adjudicating unmistakably upon innocence, so as to satisfy the conditions, would have been insuperable. The law-courts could not do it, as we know full well.

Hear what Mr. Gladstone, who has studied the question more than any man living, and to whom the Church owes undying gratitude for his noble defence of her laws in 1857, writing to me last week, said:—"I have a firm impression, founded upon such facts and reasonings as I am master of, and upon all my experience of legislation, that if the law ever comes to draw a distinction on behalf of the innocent party in divorce, it cannot be permanently or stably held. There are without doubt parties entirely innocent, and their cases will be blazoned before us until the Church, now so solidly based, shall have been got upon the ice. At that stage a resistless battery will be opened upon her." His letter is full of illustrations drawn from his wide knowledge of the subject; the above extract will help, I am sure, to strengthen our conviction that no such distinction is possible.

Now take the second passage: "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery" (S. Matt. xix. 9). If the Authorised Version is right, re-marriage is here allowed. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that we should subject the text to the most careful examination, to ascertain whether it represents what our Lord said truly and exactly.

There are four reasons which create grave doubts on the point.

The first is this; for Him to have sanctioned the severance of the bond, which re-marriage implies, would imperil His claim to be the Second Adam, to have become incarnate, to restore to the world what the first Adam had lost. The Church has always taught that as

touching the laws of morality, Christ came to restore the ideal. Unlike the human legislator, who is satisfied with "the greatest ethical advantage" practicable for his own generation, the Divine Lawgiver must frame His laws not only for life as it is, but for life as it is designed to be. He must frame them on principles of perfect right. Now let us see how Christ did this in regard to marriage, which is woven into the whole web and fabric of all morality. When He was appealed to to express His judgment, He took His enquirers back at once to the times of man's innocence. Whatever concession man may have made, God has made none. "From the beginning it was not so." "They are no more twain, but one flesh. What, *therefore*" (mark the word), "God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." He makes the Father's standard His own; and it is inevitable that if, after such an avowal, He had said anything to indicate the acceptance of a lower standard, some of His enemies, who were always trying to catch Him in His words, would have charged him with contradiction and inconsistency.

A second reason. To have sanctioned the severance of the bond through unfaithfulness would have stultified, in a most crucial case, His teaching on forgiveness and reconciliation. "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him" (S. Luke xvii. 4). "I say not unto thee, until seven times; but until seventy times seven" (S. Matt. xviii. 22). To allow the re-marriage of either party is to close the door of reconciliation; it is to bar it once and for ever. The primitive Church felt the inconsistency so strongly that we find three of the earliest of the Fathers, who deal with the question of divorce, *Hermas*,* *Clement*,† and *Tertullian*,‡ all condemning re-marriage not only as adultery, but because it makes reconciliation impossible. In so doing, we believe, they exactly expressed the mind of Christ.

A third reason. Read what S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. Paul say upon the subject in the light of the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead them into *all* truth. They give not the faintest intimation that they knew of any relaxation whatever of the marriage bond. If it be insisted that, as historians, we must read into the record of one what is written by the other, it was not as an historian that S. Paul wrote to his converts, but as a counsellor, giving advice for the resolution of perplexing doubts and difficulty. No wise director, least of all one who was inspired by the Holy Spirit, would ever leave absolutely unnoticed such an exceptional case as is here provided for, if he believed it to be valid, for it was one of the most important factors in the problem to be solved.

I base no argument upon the passage in the Epistle to the Romans, vii. 1-3, nor yet upon that in the Epistle to the Ephesians, vi. 31, 32. In both cases he uses marriage only as an *illustration*, and no illustration requires complete and exact correspondence. It must, however, be acknowledged that the force of the parallel is infinitely increased if the indissolubility of marriage is taken for granted.

* Pastor. ii., Mand. iv. In this passage *Hermas*, while stating that re-marriage is adultery, pleads for the opportunity of reconciliation, though he says the wife who sins and repents may "not often" be taken back.

† Strom. ii. xxviii.

‡ Adv. Marc. v. 7. De Patientia c. xii.

I turn, with confidence, to his directions to the Corinthians. Here he uses no mere illustration, but issues a command, and the command he expressly notices in order to ensure their acceptance, is not his own, but Christ's: "Unto the married, I command, yet not I but the Lord. Let not the wife depart from her husband. But, and if she depart, let her remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband; and let not the husband put away his wife" (Cor. vii. 10, 11).

The advocates of re-marriage have laid stress upon the word "depart" as implying voluntary desertion, not formal divorce. It was flippantly said—and that by a bishop—that these words had "no more to do with divorce than the man in the moon." It can be shown that they have everything to do with it. S. Paul bases his decision on Christ's command. Now the only place where Christ gave any command about a woman "departing from her husband," was when He spoke definitely and distinctly of a legalized divorce.* There is no doubt upon this, though it has been strangely ignored. "If," He said, "a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery" (S. Mark x. 12). Nowhere else does He speak of the woman taking the initiative, as S. Paul here implies, for separating from her husband.

It will be said—it has been said—that there is a different law for the man and the woman; it has received some recognition in the provisions of State legislation;† but I venture to think that they are few indeed whose Christian instinct does not rise in mutinous rebellion against the assertion that God Incarnate sanctioned one standard of morality for woman, and another for man. Nothing could give a severer shock to His claim to perfect justice.

The fourth, and last, reason is based on the corrupt state of the Greek text—so corrupt in one or other of its parts that hardly any two authorities agree upon one particular reading. It deserves great consideration that the oldest manuscript in existence, the Vatican, so reads the verse as to lend no sanction whatever to re-marriage; viz., "whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, causeth her to commit adultery"; moreover—and it is deeply significant—the earliest Fathers who quote or comment on the text, Clement and Origen (three times), two centuries earlier, endorse this reading of the Vatican; and yet further, the text is never once alluded to in the early Church in any dispute, as supporting re-marriage, although, on the supposition that the text is genuine, it *must* have been seized upon; and in these later days, in the face of an almost overwhelming array of opposing arguments, it is pressed into the service as a conclusive authority against them all.

On these grounds I believe, and believe as firmly as I believe in the Incarnation, that our Lord and Master taught that nothing but death could sever the marriage bond, and that S. Matthew's record is not inconsistent with this.

Would that time allowed me to show how far the evidence of the Church in its purest age endorses this belief! I can only touch on one item of the evidence—but an important one. It has to do with the

* S. Augustine shows most conclusively that S. Paul meant divorce on account of the husband's adultery. *De Conjug. Adult.*, i. 1-8.

† e.g., That a woman can only sue for a divorce if cruelty can be proved in addition to adultery.

first occasion in which the voice of the Church in this land made itself heard.

In 314 A.D., just after the Church had allied itself to the State, Constantine summoned to Arles, tradition says, six hundred bishops; he himself says bishops from innumerable parts of the Empire. Though not strictly Ecumenical, it was regarded as a council of universal force and obligation.* The laxity allowed by the State was beginning to invade the Church, and they passed this Decree: "Concerning those baptized Christians who detect their wives in adultery, who are also young men, and are forbidden to marry, it is resolved that counsel as strong as possible be given them, that so long as their wives are alive, although in adultery, they should not marry others" (Can. x.). The advocates of re-marriage say that the most the Council did was to advise against it; it did not enact a penalty if they neglected the advice.

See what this view involves: first, the explaining away of those three simple words—*et prohibentur nubere*—"and are forbidden to marry" placed in the forefront of the Canon, as the very ground for the advice to be given; words that erect such an insuperable barrier to re-marriage that Petavius said a *non* (not prohibited) must have dropt out, and Lord Grimthorpe accepts the suggestion.

Secondly, it places the Council in a hopeless position, for if our Lord sanctioned re-marriage after adultery, He could only have done it because it was a lawful concession; and yet, in a case where, if ever, it might be claimed with a show of justice, where the injured husbands were pleading their youth and long widowhood in prospect, as an aggravation of their hardship, a conclave of bishops took upon themselves to say that they should be most urgently advised not to claim something which Christ allowed. They took, that is, a higher standard than their Divine Master! Well may the greatest living authority† upon Councils have written with irony upon such an interpretation.

There is, I believe, only one interpretation that involves no inconsistency. The Council was brought face to face with an appalling danger. Certain young husbands, whose wives had been unfaithful, pleaded for a relaxation of the marriage laws—pleaded for the liberty granted to the innocent by the laws of the State, with which the Church had just allied itself—but the bishops, true to their high calling, told them that though they were in the hey-day of youth, and their hopes of married happiness had been so prematurely blighted, yet there was a standing prohibition—*they were forbidden to marry*‡—which barred the concession they asked, and it was the duty of the pastors and rulers of the Church to urge them to the utmost to accept their fate with resignation, and not transgress the law of God.

It has always been a source of infinite satisfaction to know that that decree was subscribed by three bishops of the British Church. Let us pray that in this and every age their lineal descendants may be able to protect the trust bequeathed to them by their forefathers.

* Augustine de Bapt. contr. Donat. ii 9. Ep. xliii. 7. (§ 19.)

† Cf. Hefele, *Hist. of Councils*. Clarke's Tr., pp. 189, 190.

‡ It matters not that no formulated Canon is extant, for it depended on the general tradition of the Church.

The Rev. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, Rector of Tyneham,
and Prebendary of Lincoln.

CHURCH and State have somewhat different functions. It is the province of the State to tell people what they *can* do legally. It is the part of the Church to teach people what they *ought* or ought not to do, so as to live rightly as disciples of Christ. (*Council of Hertford*, A.D. 673, canon 10.) The State is concerned with God's character of justice, as applied to temporal things. Rights of persons, contracts, property, civil and social *status*, these are her proper care. Of the custody and legitimacy of children she has at least a word to say. When a petitioner has called upon the State for temporal justice on account of marriage contract broken, and injuries sustained, and when the State has recognized the petitioner's grievance as a just one, and goes on to urge the Church to add her blessing to a second wedding, what answer is the Church bound by her very nature and her heart-written law to give? "I also," she answers, "have a plain duty to perform. I, the Church, have to speak to men and women, and specially to mine own sons and daughters, who have a citizenship with larger rights than those which our beloved England herself can give, even the right of sons of God. My song is of mercy as well as judgement; but, above all, of the truth and holiness of One Who 'hateth putting away' (Malachi ii. 16): Who in no case approved or advised divorce, Who curtailed rather than enlarged its toleration: Who, when His Own covenanted spouse (be she Church, or be she simple soul) deserts Him, or is, after His long forbearance, for a time removed or separated, has never yet irrevocably shut His door against her return, nor broken His vow: Who by precept enjoins a practically inexhaustible forgiveness of brother or sister turning and repenting."

Here, perhaps, the petitioner breaks in: "Ah, yes! Repenting! But I see nothing like repentance in my faithless spouse."

The Church will reply: "Then wait and pray until you do see signs of sorrow. It is (my child) I know, a severe and narrow way, this way of the Cross, which many a married person with a sick or absent spouse has received grace to climb: and your spouse is sick to death." To a wronged husband, the Church further says: "If I had my Lord's direct permission to bless your union with another (and that is, at least, not clear), if I should consent, I shall thereby be helping you to condemn your neighbour to adultery (S. Matthew v. 32); and not her only, your rejected wife, but any *man* likewise who takes some sort of pity on her by consorting with her. For 'whosoever marrieth any divorced woman committeth adultery.' You, surely, do not wish the Church to help forward that result, even towards your most cruel enemy; how much less for her whom you once *vowed* to love in 'sickness' or in '*worse*'?"

"But you tell me that you are a young man and cannot live single. I know your sad complaint. It has lain upon my heart for nine and seventy score years. I would I could do more for you than pray, and bid you watch and pray that you enter not into temptation. And yet, how much it is to pray for grace to Him Who in His agony prayed more earnestly."

Regarding what follows, the Church Universal, in her great womanly pity, has spoken (it is but candid to admit it) with a somewhat faltering voice.

The Church in the East (not in herself the whole Church of Christ) has said, "I will give you my marriage-blessing a second time if you are truly injured, and not guilty." In the Western Church, the Church of Rome (again, not the whole Church, nor yet speaking for us, though in accordance with some of our old councils) at Trent gave her *non possumus* against what the average Englishman calls divorce *a vinculo*.

We members of the Anglican branch of the Church do not receive the decrees of Trent as binding on us in themselves. Concerning the injured party, there has been a division of opinion among us in every generation. Suffer me to take what comes nearest home to me. My own father, in several points, inclined rather to the East than to the Roman West, where the two at present diverge; but he held in this perplexed question the difficult middle course between Constantinople and Rome, a course which he consistently believed to be that which was prescribed by the Council of Arles in A.D. 314. Some, I know, question his interpretation of the 10th canon. The Dean of Lichfield, as we have just heard, has taken a different view of this Canon. Nevertheless (so far at least as I can judge in a case where one in my position can hardly, perhaps, be quite impartial) my father's critics have not really turned the points of the dilemma with which we meet their gloss on *prohibentur*. "What Christian Synod (we ask) would resolve tamely to counsel and *advise* a man to abstain from a thing, *if* Christians really held that thing to be a manifest sin like killing or stealing?" And [*quantum possit consilium iis detur*] "*Counsel* them—*counsel* those young men *with all your power* not to remarry while the adulterous wife is living," is all that this Synod said to those whom it concerned. Be that as it may, the Church at Arles (the late Bishop of Lincoln said) did not bid answer the injured young man thus: "*You* are an adulterer if you shall take another woman while your adulterous wife is living." But the Church at that time bade her ministers reason with him rather than brand him, and reason with him to some purpose, in no half-hearted or ineffectual manner, simply to show him the more excellent way. "For the love of God, and by the charity of Christ, have pity on the wretched sinner who has wronged you! Do not cut off her last chance of restoration to your bosom, and perchance to mine, and God's. Do not, by an irrevocable act of yours, make it almost inevitable that she shall either become an harlot, or else be 'called an adulteress' if she be 'married to another man.' Have pity on your erring sister's soul."

Brothers in Christ! The responsibility of marriage rests in the first instance with the *male*, who asks his future wife to marry him. The key to re-admit the penitent adulteress must likewise be to a great extent in the hand of the husband to re-open for her; for he "is the head . . . even as Christ is of the Church" (Eph. v. 23). And the Christian husband must be made to feel that *his* is the responsibility, like the Saviour, and while life lasts never finally to close that door.

The case of the Christian *wife* is somewhat different. The great Lawgiver of the Church has "given honour" to the wronged wife, making His strength perfect in her weakness, because He, the Virgin-born, can trust the woman's heart to be "likest God's," ready to have mercy and forgive. He Who made male and female trusts His daughters

to share gladly in that apparent "weakness" which is "stronger than men," and more effectual than any law.

But sometimes the injured husband will not listen to Christian counsel. Forgetting that *he* also made a *vow*, he will have what he thinks to be his bond. "The law allows it, and the court awards it."

The man then perhaps goes to a parson, and says to him, "Put up my banns; I am an injured party." Expostulation failing, the Church's minister answers, "I have often published banns of 'N., bachelor,' or of 'N., widower,' but for 'N., divorced person!' we know no such custom, and for my flock's sake I refuse to create the precedent."

Then perhaps the State says to the Church, "I, the State of England, by my minister the judge, have given this party what, according to my law I consider his just due, a right to take another wife. Do you, therefore, O Church, concede to him, through your minister, the parish priest, the sacred ceremony which I say is due to him in justice." Echo answers, "Injustice!" Justice, possibly, to one, but a grievous wrong to many who in Christ's Church have heard the words of the vow, "Till death us do part." And the Church replies, "A Balaam could not ban, a Christian cannot bless, under compulsion. It is not *every* legalized circumstance that has my Saviour's *special* blessing.

"I have to show forth the sanctity of marriage, and the holiness and truth of God Who instituted it when human judges were unknown, and priests unrecognised, and Who hates putting away. I have to set forth the mystical union which is betwixt Christ and *me*, which union knows no such divorce. Recognize me as what I am. Do justice to me also.

"I, the Church of Christ, have not (at heart) been party to your divorce law; some, at least, of my bishops, notably some who had an experience of pastoral work, dissented from it then as now. My faithful laymen, some of them favourably known to you, and all my most highly esteemed divines, adjured you to refrain. My parsons, my faithful congregations, they likewise have a claim upon your quality of justice. To *something* I *have* been a ratifying party. I solemnized (alas!) no inconsiderable portion of those unhappy marriages which you claim to have dissolved, from which (without a word as to my consent)* someone seems to have removed my seal."

The State dissolves the marriage contract so far as it is a civil contract, and gives leave to the parties as her citizens to enter on fresh contracts, solemn civil contracts, with what heart they can. Then, in the name of justice itself, let the State's own officer, the registrar, perform such secondary contracts if they are to be.

We do not say (some of us) that they are in every sense illegitimate, for the present law of the State allows them, although her Blackstone and her Cairns held them *pessimi exempli*. The Church may not (I speak with diffidence) deny communion to all such contracting parties indiscriminately. The State may see justice in cancelling the broken contract, so far as property, children, civil *status*, are concerned. But the Church sees in holy marriage something besides a civil contract,

* "Matrimonial Causes are proper subjects for Ecclesiastical Cognisance."—Bp. Chr. Wordsworth on Ezra x. 4.

and that something, which has in it the character of divine sanctity, involves Christian duty and abiding lifelong obligation, which no human law can take away."

The State expostulates: "I have seen that between this couple married love is dead." The Church answers, "What do I know of death? Love *seems* dead if you will; but Love is of God, and is not dead, but sleeping. To me (Christ's spouse) is given a larger hope; for I also was a faithless wife to Christ, and I had wronged Him. But love is stronger than death. Christ forgave *me*, and I believe in the resurrection of the love."

The Right Hon. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, President of the
English Church Union.

THE propositions I have to submit to the consideration of the Congress depend on the assertion (1) that a validly contracted marriage is indissoluble by the existing law of the Church of England; and (2) that in the interests of religion and morality it is essential this law should be vindicated and maintained. The first of these assertions will, I understand, be sufficiently dealt with in a subsequent paper. I propose to confine myself to the second. It is denied by no one that the welfare and the happiness of individuals, the life of the family, as well as the welfare and security of the State, depend on the sanctity and inviolability of marriage. It is certain also that the object of the law should be to secure the happiness and well-being of the greatest number. Our existing law in regard to divorce proceeds on exactly the opposite principle. It jeopardises the happiness of the greater number by the facilities which it gives to divorce for the sake of the supposed interests of the individual, and it attempts to justify the existence of such facilities by reasons which it dares not push to their legitimate conclusions, which it is itself obliged to disallow in numberless other cases where they are equally cogent, and which in reality are destructive of the Christian idea of marriage altogether.

If it is hard upon a man to forbid him to marry again when his wife has run away from him, why is it less hard to refuse him the same facilities if she is imprisoned for life, or is a confirmed invalid, drunkard, or a hopeless lunatic? There is no answer to that question, and it cuts at the roots of most of the popular arguments alleged in favour of divorce. People think that the object of life, and therefore of human law, is the immediate and present happiness of the individual. There cannot be a greater delusion. We are put into this world with the object of being trained for the next, and there is no greater reason for supposing that amongst all the various trials which God's providence may allow to come upon us, the unhappiness caused by an unfaithful wife is a reason why she may be rightly got rid of, than there is for supposing we may rightly decline any other duty, merely because it is painful, and involves, it may be, the sacrifice of our individual happiness. The truth is that in seeking what may seem for the happiness of the individual we are really sacrificing the happiness of the many. The Divorce Court and the reports of the cases heard in it are a source of

corruption to the whole country. It is a matter of notoriety that its proceedings are disgraced by perjury and collusion to an extent that can hardly be exaggerated, and I have no hesitation in saying that there is no one who knows anything about the working of the Divorce Court, and who cares for the morality of the country, but would be glad, quite apart from any religious reasons, to see it swept away to-morrow.

I turn to the religious aspect of the question. Except for a belief that our Lord condemned remarriage, even when there had been adultery, whence comes the strict tradition in the first ages of the Church? Jewish and pagan ideas were all for laxity. Does divorce *a vinculo*, which cuts off for ever all hope of repentance and reparation, look like a Christian institution sanctioned by our Divine Master?

A man who divorces his wife, a woman who divorces her husband, say, in fact, so far as they are concerned, that there shall be no forgiveness, no possibility of reparation. How does this attitude accord with God's treatment of His own people, having regard to the special figure, which, more than any other, is employed in the Old Testament to express the relations between God and Israel of old? How far does it accord with what is revealed to us of God's dealings with His Church? How far does it accord with His dealings with ourselves? Does He treat our unfaithfulness to Him as men think they may treat our unfaithfulness to one another? and if not, how will such conduct on our part, whatever it may do now, look when we ourselves stand at the judgment seat of Christ?

Again, the Church is bound to uphold the Christian ideal of marriage, and to bear witness to the fact that the solemn words of the marriage service, "To forsake all other so long as ye both shall live," "for better, for worse, till death us do part," and that it shall never be lawful to "put asunder those whom Thou by matrimony hast made one," are no empty form of vain words, but involve solemn obligations to which God is a party, binding in very deed and truth for better and worse those who have consented to them. Is it tolerable in the interests of religion, truth, and morality—is it consistent with the honour due to God's Holy Name, Who is invoked as a witness to the vows given and received—that those who have set at nought such solemn obligations should be allowed to call God again to witness similar vows made to another, the original husband or wife being still alive?

That it should have been thought possible for a man or a woman to free themselves from those obligations, and that bishops should have allowed dispensations to issue in their name to enable unions to be contracted by which such obligations should be trampled under foot, and that God should be invoked to bless what He had declared should be for ever unlawful, is an illustration of the extent to which an evil custom can blind men to the real nature of their deeds.

In conclusion, as to the remedies for such grievous scandals, I believe the first to be, pending an alteration of the law, and as the most effectual means for getting the law altered, for the clergy, whatever the consequences, boldly and unitedly, to refuse to celebrate the marriage of divorced persons in church. It is really an intolerable scandal that the blessing of the Church should be given to such persons. Nothing, indeed, can justify it.

I am not aware that there is any penalty provided against an incumbent who should refuse to marry a parishioner who has been divorced ; and in the case of the guilty party it is quite certain, whatever the penalty may be in the case of an incumbent who refuses to allow a strange priest to intrude into his church for the purpose of performing such a marriage, it is a penalty which could never be enforced. The clergy have the remedy in their own hands. Let them avail themselves of it, and, even if it be at the cost of some suffering, vindicate the law of the Church, the cause of religion, and the cause of morality, on this matter. The second remedy would be, although I know there are objections which can be made to it, to obtain such a change in the law as would make a civil marriage for legal purposes compulsory in all cases, leaving the Church of England entirely free to enforce her own law of marriage on her own members.

This would enable all persons to contract marriages valid for all legal purposes such as are now, or may be in the future, allowed by law, while it would relieve the Church from the difficulties to which she is now exposed in regard to the marriage of divorced persons, or may be exposed in the future, in the event of marriage with a deceased wife's sister being legalized.

It would also leave the Church free to discriminate between cases and individuals, so as to make those differences in administering and withholding the sacraments which may be demanded by the great ends she is bound to consider—the maintenance of God's law, the ideals she is bound to keep before the eyes of men, and the need and necessities of individual souls.

The Rev. W. BARKER, Rector of Marylebone ; and
Prebendary of S. Paul's.

THE subject allotted to me for discussion and argument is the Church's Law of Marriage especially in Relation to Divorce. It will only be possible in the brief space at my disposal to touch the mere fringe of the subject, which is of such vast proportions and such overwhelming interest and concern. In dealing with the question of holy marriage, we are dealing with the question that goes to the very root of the family and the State, and to tamper with such a subject without due regard to these facts is endangering the very stability of Christian society. A Divorce Act, therefore, should have for its justification the highest sanctions and the highest authority. Let us therefore see what is the actual basis and character of Christian marriage as taught us in Holy Scripture. The Church knows no laws respecting this matter outside Holy Scripture, and therefore her canons and her marriage service are framed upon the very words and teaching of Holy Scripture. Hence to know the laws of the Gospel is to know the laws of the Church on this subject.

Now Holy Scripture seems to be quite clear and explicit in those passages which refer to holy marriage. Let me again refer to them.

S. Matt. v. 32.—“But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery ; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.”

S. Mark x. 11, 12.—“And He saith unto them, Whosoever shall put

away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery."

S. Luke xvi. 18.—"Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery : and whosoever marrieth her that is put away from her husband, committeth adultery."

Romans vii. 2.—"The woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth."

1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.—"And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband : but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband : and let not the husband put away his wife."

1 Cor. vii. 39.—"The wife is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth ; but if her husband be dead, she is at liberty to be married to whom she will."

Matt. xix. 9.—"And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery : and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."

In these passages, two, namely, S. Mark x. 2 to 12, and Luke xvi. 18, treat remarriage as adultery ; and Matt. v. 31 and 32 makes as clearly the remarriage adulterous of a divorced woman put away for her adultery, saying nothing as to the possibility of the remarriage of the husband. One passage only, Matt. xix. 3 to 9, contains words which seem to imply the possibility of the remarriage of the husband who has divorced his wife for her infidelity. Now it is this last passage which has perplexed commentators, and has afforded an argument for divorce *a vinculo*, and it is this text which the advocates for the remarriage of the so-called innocent party always quote. It is not, however, possible to discuss now this difficult text fully. But I would observe in the words of the Rev. Oscar Watkins, whose valuable book, "Treatise upon the Divine Law of Marriage," should be studied by all interested in this subject, that "there are extraordinary variations in the reading of this text. The original reading may well have contained no reference to remarriage at all. And in any case the uncertainty of the reading makes it very undesirable to base any argument upon it." However, whatever interpretation is put upon it, it is inconceivable that our Blessed Lord should contradict Himself ; and to interpret it in the sense of giving His sanction to divorce *a vinculo* would be in flat contradiction to His own words in other and undisputed passages, e.g., "Have ye not read, that He which made them at the beginning, made them male and female ; and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife ; and they twain shall be one flesh ? Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Christ, in fact, raised the divine ordinance of marriage to the position of a sacrament. He made the marriage bond indissoluble except by death, because it was impossible to sunder it. The relation between husband and wife is not in His view an artificial relation, but an essential one, like that between father and son. Once a son, always a son. Once a wife, always a wife. Once a husband, always a husband. Having by God been made one, they could never be divided so as to be at liberty to remarry while

either lived, any more than the mystical union, to which S. Paul compares marriage, between Christ and His Church can ever be broken.

All these passages from Scripture are quite plain. The Church, following the teaching of Scripture for the first three centuries of her history, declared in no uncertain voice that Christian marriage is indissoluble. Divorce *a mensâ et thoro* was permitted, but in no case were the divorced persons permitted to remarry. No canonical or authoritative voice can be quoted in support of such unions. S. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, the Council of Elvira, the forty-seventh Apostolical canon, are quite explicit in their expressions against them. But subsequently, after the conversion of Constantine, the moral laxity of the East began to tell upon the Church. And the stand she made was not so firm, and such marriages were not opposed with that determination which marked the first three centuries, and the attitude of the Western Church in subsequent centuries. It is true that while S. Chrysostom recognizes no remarriage in the lifetime of either party, it cannot be said that in the East there was anything like an approach to unanimity of opinion upon the question of remarriage. But the same causes were not operative, at least to the same extent, in the West. Hence the stricter view of the first three centuries was resolutely maintained. S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and S. Augustine alike maintained the indissolubility of the marriage bond in the case of the baptized. The position has been well summed up by Mr. Watkins in these words: "In Constantinople the provisions of the civil law, the pleadings of a present expediency, the blandishments of place and power, dimmed the clear outlines of the moral law of Christ. In Rome, Christian men had the courage of their convictions, and their convictions held the day."

Coming to our own country, which concerns us most nearly, it is clear that for the last eight centuries the Churches of the British Isles have been firm in maintaining the indissolubility of the marriage bond. And at the time before the Norman conquest, when a gross state of immorality prevailed, and it was difficult for the Church to maintain a high Christian standard, it is striking to notice the firm attitude that Adam, an abbot of the monastery of Iona, S. Finian, and the Venerable Bede, take up with regard to the indissolubility of the marriage tie. And in the English Church S. Augustine and his companions would bring with them the teaching of the Roman See and the practice of Western Christendom. After the Norman Conquest the Church adopts the ancient Christian law, and the law of the realm on the subject of remarriage came in no collision with the law of the Church. Till the Divorce Act of 1857, the English law on these matters was the canon law of Western Christendom. The canon law, as we have seen, according to the teaching of our Lord, permitted in certain specified instances divorce *a mensâ et thoro*, but no divorce *a vinculo*.

The marriage bond once established was indissoluble except by death. And the Prayer-book of to-day, equally with that of 1549, itself a part of an Act of Parliament, is in absolute agreement. Remember once more the solemn words of the question put to those presenting themselves for marriage. "Wilt thou, forsaking all other, keep thee only unto him or her so long as ye both shall live?" The plighting of the troth is, "Till death us do part, according to God's holy ordinance."

At the joining of hands the words are, "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." The Collect before the blessing declares that "God did teach that it should never be lawful to put asunder those whom Thou by matrimony hast made one," and marriage is spoken of as "that excellent mystery like unto the spiritual marriage and unity betwixt Christ and His Church." These solemn words have expressed the voice alike of Holy Scripture and the Christian Church for centuries. But in spite of these, the highest authorities, the disaster befell our Church and country in 1857 of a Divorce Act, which has done more to undermine the morality of the people, to destroy the idea of the sanctity of marriage, and to wreck the happiness of homes, than anything else besides.

The results of the Divorce Acts in the United States ought to be a warning and a lesson to ourselves. When once laxness on this question is allowed to creep in, the floodgates are opened, and the demand for divorce grows with every fresh concession. In the United States the divorces have increased in twenty years one hundred and fifty per cent. They numbered in 1886, 25,535, and are still increasing at such a rapid rate that, within thirteen years from the present time, they are expected to equal marriages in number. And the saddest thought of all is, that it is estimated that 10,000 children are annually practically made orphans by divorces, and deprived of due parental care. In England, in 1887, the last year to which our returns extend, the divorces *a mensâ et thoro* were fifty, those *a vinculo* were 390. Since the Act of 1857, divorces have mounted up from 1,481 in the first ten years, to 3,458 in the last ten years; the real increase from the first decade to the last being at the rate of 133 per cent. Such is the present position of this momentous question. What is the duty of the Church? It is her first duty at all hazards to guard and uphold the moral life of the people; and therefore to watch against and prevent as far as possible any lowering of the sanctity and Christian idea of holy matrimony. "For society," Sir Cresswell Cresswell concluded, "it was better to treat marriage as indissoluble." And Lord Penzance endorsed strongly the words of Lord Stowell in a celebrated judgment, in which he said, "It must be carefully remembered that the general happiness of the married life is secured by its insolubility." This is a question affecting every citizen, and the purity of the life of the nation itself. "There is no safeguard," to quote an eloquent passage in the *Guardian*, "for the home, for morals, for children, save that estimate of holy matrimony which the Church has consistently upheld, and which we trust she will never debase: that it is a sacred union which man's unfaithfulness may render miserable, but cannot destroy."

We call upon the faithful laity of the Church to aid the clergy in their strenuous opposition to any State legislation which shall compel the clergy either to open their churches for, or to allow any priest to bless with the Church's blessing, the so-called remarriage of divorced persons. If the Church presents a united front, and our people are well instructed, there is a possibility of stemming the tide of disastrous laxity, and checking, if not preventing, the lowering of the high standard of holy Christian marriage, the true basis of a people's happiness and morality, and the safeguard of the sanctity of hearth and home.

W. DIGBY THURNAM, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Member of the Canterbury House of Laymen.

I DO NOT venture to discuss this subject from either the Scriptural, the patristic, or the conciliar point of view. In an assembly so largely composed of masters in theology, it would be a presumption; after the exhaustive treatment of these aspects by the very reverend and reverend speakers who have preceded me, it would be superfluous. As a layman, I express what I honestly think to be the existing law of my Church. And, as a lawyer, I am constrained to add that, if that law be clear, then, unless and until altered by competent authority, it is binding. What I propose to myself is to deal with some of the legal and historical aspects of the question as it concerns the Church and Realm of England—aspects which recent controversy has tended to obscure, but which go far to show that, while exposed to many abuses and much laxity, our Church is really committed to very much less than is generally supposed.

Dealing, then, especially with the question of divorce, I assert that until the year 1857—less than forty years ago—neither the Church nor the Realm of England knew of such a thing as divorce in the modern sense. It is always well to begin by defining your terms, and the word “divorce” has lent itself to three separate and distinct senses. In our modern usage it is generally taken to denote a dissolution of an existing marriage; but formerly it was not so. It meant either (1) a divorce from bed and board, now called a judicial separation; or (2) a declaration of nullity. For example: the two divorces of that much-married monarch Henry VIII. were really declarations of nullity. The judicial separation and the declaration of nullity were the only forms of “divorce” which any Court in England ever did, or ever could, grant before 1857. The declaration of nullity is often called in the old books a divorce *a vinculo*. The change of meaning in these words is responsible for much of the confusion of thought on the subject. Their modern use is, I think, the more accurate, for a sentence of divorce from the bond surely presupposes the existence of a bond.

The laws of Church and Realm were one and the same in England from the time of legal memory. The State, in fact, took her law of marriage from the Church—one of the many proofs that the Church established the State, rather than the State the Church. But we are sometimes told that, at the Reformation, a change was made—that marriage ceased to be a sacrament, and therefore became dissoluble. I deny both the premiss and the conclusion. We are to hear to-morrow (what, I hope, most of us already know) that the continuity of the Church of England is an historical fact, and was not broken by any doctrinal or disciplinary changes in the sixteenth century. Whatever sacramental character the estate of Holy Matrimony had it still preserves. Certainly there is nothing in Article XXV. to conflict with this view. And whatever estimation our English Reformers placed on the sacramental aspect of matrimony, it is clear as daylight that no shadow of change was made legally or ecclesiastically as to its indissoluble character. In fact the “continuity” on this point was all the more marked, as every sort of foreign influence tending in the direction of laxity was being pressed, but unsuccessfully. We are not over fond, now-a-days, of seeing our

children's toys labelled "made in Germany." And it was, I think, to the credit of our ancestors that they repudiated both a religion and a marriage-code of German manufacture. The *Reformatio Legum* compiled under Edward VI., which would have allowed dissolution for adultery, desertion, or cruelty, had to be dropped under Elizabeth. Canon 107 of 1603 bears its clear and unmistakable witness to our Church's mind at the time. Has any change been made since?

Here I shall, no doubt, be pointed to the private Acts, purchased by means of the "long purse," from 1669 to 1857. But these were merely exceptional acts of sovereignty, proving by their very existence that the common law, which was simply the received canon law, allowed no such thing as dissolution with liberty to re-marry. A theory has been broached that, though in form legislative, these Acts were in substance judicial. It seems to me that this theory cannot hold water, because the legislature was not bound by its self-imposed rules, in fact, disregarded them. For instance, a Standing Order of 1809 provided that no Bill should be introduced without a clause forbidding the intermarriage of the paramours. But this clause was invariably struck out of the Act, or, to be precise, the only two cases on record in which the clause was retained, were those of parties related within the prohibited degrees, who, independently, were unable to intermarry. There is another point in connection with these legislative divorces which, to my mind, disposes of any analogy between them and the judicial divorces now granted. Every one of these private Acts contained an allegation that the "guilty party" had, by his or her misconduct, dissolved the bond. The Act accepted the theory for the particular case that adultery was dissolution. Parliament in plain truth legislated on a mistaken view, certainly on a view which is not that of either Church or State to-day. According to the Act of 1857, the decree of the court is the dissolution, and the adultery of the "guilty party" is simply a cause (and, in the case of a husband, by itself an insufficient cause) on which the "innocent party" may take action. If my criticism be well-founded, it is surely inaccurate to say that the Divorce Act merely opened to the many what was before the privilege of the few. We are thus brought to ask if any change was made in the Church's Law by the legislation of 1857. I may at once say that I consider it a gratuitous and groundless assumption to hold that any change was worked, or could be worked, by the Civil power alone.

I am not going to contend that, because the Divorce Act was unconstitutional, it is therefore not of legal force. As the Lord Chief Justice of England told the American Bar the other day, "With us, there can, in the strict sense of the words, be no such thing as an unconstitutional Act of Parliament." As an English lawyer, I admit the omnipotence of Parliament; as an English citizen, I admit its morally binding force; but, as an English Churchman, I deny that, when it travels outside its proper sphere, it is the last word to my conscience.

The legislature in 1857 merely treated marriage as a civil contract. Certainly it did not affect to touch the terms of the marriage vow in the solemnization of Holy Matrimony. It has been suggested that the forthcoming Lambeth Conference of 1897 should bring the marriage service into harmony with modern feeling. The Lambeth Conference is

not, and does not profess to be, a Synod. It has no sort of canonical or legal authority. If it claimed either, it would destroy its moral force. To bring the marriage service into so-called "harmony with modern feeling," some obscure "Jude," some "Woman Who Did," some "Christian with Two Wives," might more fitly lend a helping hand than our Fathers in God. I would fain hope, however, that the language of the Book of Common Prayer, enshrined as it is in the hearts of the English people, may never be adapted to the "short service system" in marriage. While that language remains intact, our position is impregnable.

Every reader of the newspaper knows of the enormous multiplication of divorces since 1857, a growth out of all proportion to the increase of population. Every lawyer knows that the normal atmosphere of the Divorce Court is one of perjury and collusion, and that the vaunted safeguards against those abuses are all but illusory. It is not too much to say that, in nine cases out of ten, the "innocent party," on whom so much pity is being expended, is a pleasing fiction. I grant that the tenth case may possibly be one of unmitigated hardship, deserving of unbounded sympathy. But if personal hardship is to be the reason for relaxation of the law, divorce and remarriage cannot be confined to cases of only one form of matrimonial misconduct.

On purely utilitarian principles, the greatest good of the greatest number is to be sought. Human nature has not changed since the days of Lord Stowell. That great civilian's classic reminder, "that the general happiness of the married life is secured by its indissolubility," is as true now as it was when uttered. It is not without significance that the two distinguished judges, under whom the new jurisdiction was built up, Sir Cresswell Cresswell and Lord Penzance, speaking by the light of experience, expressed themselves in the same sense. If our Church is to fulfil the noble mission, claimed for her yesterday, and to be "the expression of the conscience of the nation," a double duty is surely cast upon us. We owe it to the nation as well as to the Church to maintain our ideals.

The Catholic Church is episcopal. In other words, a disciplinary movement must begin with our bishops. We respectfully ask their lordships to take such common action as will prevent the marriage of divorced persons in our Churches. The battle will be more than half-won when (as happily is the case in this diocese of Lichfield) no licence for such a marriage is allowed to issue in any diocese. What is this marriage licence? It is merely a canonical dispensation from banns, which the bishop through his delegate, whether vicar-general or surrogate, may grant or refuse at pleasure. Till the proposition is proved, I decline to regard a bishop or his officer as an automatic machine, to be set in motion by the "penny in the slot." So far from doubting if a licence may be refused to a divorced person, my own doubt, as a lawyer, is rather whether it may be granted. That it ought not to be granted is clear. It needs no profound canonist to see its incongruity. A statement that a marriage has been dissolved by a temporal Court is followed by a permission to one of the parties to proceed to "true and lawful matrimony." This is surely putting new wine into old bottles with a vengeance. In some dioceses, licences are issued not only to the "guilty party" to an English divorce, but to a party divorced by a foreign court,

possibly for a cause other than adultery and of the most frivolous nature. I must leave it to more subtle minds to reconcile the issue of these licences with the irreducible minimum of strictness put forth by the Lambeth Conference in 1888.

The difficulty arises from the twofold view of a clergyman's function. As a priest of the Catholic Church, he is bound by her laws. As a public officer, he is empowered to confer a civil *status*. If these two positions clash, which is he to follow? Can there be a doubt that he must prefer the higher? The legislature regarded him solely in the lower aspect in 1857. We may be, in some sense, paying the penalty of the control anciently obtained by the Church over the marriages of the nation. Let us look at facts in the face, and do not let us be frightened by the bogey of disestablishment. It may be that the only way out of an intolerable position is to make a civil marriage compulsory on all, and to leave the Church free to bestow her benedictory rites in suitable, and only in suitable, cases. At any rate, this solution has long commended itself to thoughtful minds. The rupture recently effected between the temporal and the canon law in Jersey may even indirectly do good, if it disposes of the idea that everybody who the State says may marry has a consequent right to be married in Church.

One thought more, and I have done. Let it not be laid hereafter to our charge that we have to-day raised a fresh obstacle to re-union, by speaking with uncertain sound on a vital part of the common faith of Western Christendom.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. C. T. PORTER, D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Southport.

IF Bills for the marriage with a deceased wife's sister and for the marriage in our churches of divorced persons are passed by the House of Commons and the House of Lords, they can only be carried by the votes of Churchmen; and I only wish we had one of those Churchmen here to plead their cause and state their views; for, after all, though we may generally agree in these Congresses on some particular question when we hear only one side, as to-night, I have always a feeling that there must be something to be said on the other side. I remember reading that, during the debate in the House of Lords, Lord Herschell said he came with a perfectly open mind to the consideration of the subject; and yet, after hearing so forcible a speaker as Lord Halifax, and a full statement of this nobleman's views, Lord Herschell gave his vote against Lord Halifax. The mere fact, however, that you can argue a question throws a doubt on the whole thing. You cannot argue the question of murder, for example, or theft, and the mere fact that you are arguing the cause of divorce and of the marriage law raises a doubt as to whether the subject is as clear as some might wish it to be thought. I recall the argument when I was a curate, then carried on upon the strength of a single text, that a bishop should be husband of only one wife. I remember the learning and the ability with which that point was argued. Yet what Churchman is prepared legally to condemn episcopal second marriage. And therefore it raises in the present question the same uncertainty whether Scripture is so clear as it might be, and whether the matter is or is not placed beyond doubt. But I would go further, and would direct your attention to the original marriage in the garden of Eden, which was celebrated by the Creator Himself. Here is the high ideal of marriage. It is a sacred function. It is now to be degraded to a civil contract in a secular office. But if it be wrong for certain things to be done by citizens in a church, it is wrong equally that they should be done in the registry office. Sweep, if you will, these divorce marriages away altogether, whether at the registry office or elsewhere; stop marriage with a deceased wife's sister if you will—I happen to be

"free," and, therefore, I am not personally concerned—but stop these marriages in your clerical capacity, and stop them also in your civil capacity. I object to the distinction between these two. It cannot be right to authorize as a citizen what you condemn as a Churchman; and therefore I say that, if what Lord Halifax says of a certain kind of marriage be true and correct, and that the Church should refuse to sanction "State" marriages, this means disestablishment pure and simple. It was a mere chance that the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill was not passed this last session. We have to face the possibility of such a Bill being passed, and I ask you to look at it first from the view of the children of such marriages. Are the children to be driven out of the Church? (Cries of "No.") Exactly so, but do you expect the parents to bring them to the Church for baptism, or confirmation, or anything else, when you have driven themselves from the church doors? No, you have barred the parents from coming to the church, and barred them out, and you are thereby injuring the children in order to carry out what you consider the ideal of marriage. I hope you will consider this point. When Christ denounced divorce, He was labouring to protect the children. Then look at it from the point of view of the establishment. Do not sacrifice everything for the establishment, but consider the two evils, and it may be that you will find the lesser of the two evils. If the State passed a certain marriage law, and allowed those who chose to take the State marriage, then it would disestablish the Church to refuse to perform the ceremony in our churches, and bring about the evils which would come as the sequel to Disestablishment. Just remember we are the National Church. (A voice, "No.") Well, I think we are, and there are many of us who say, "Let us endeavour, in the interests of this great nation, whatever infirmity and difficulty there may be in maintaining an ideal Church—let us endeavour to maintain the establishment unless it brings us into actual wrong." I hope you will think over these arguments, and before you commit yourselves to Lord Halifax's view as to the separation and distinction between civil contracts and the benediction of the Church, that you will consider all the arguments and hear both sides, and shun a one-sided conclusion.

The Rev. and Worshipful THOS. E. ESPIN, D.D., Chancellor of Chester and Liverpool; Prolocutor of the Convocation of York.

I DESIRE, as the Prolocutor of York, to call attention to the very significant changes made at, I think, the Reformation in our marriage service, as compared with the mediæval service. The Roman priest asked, "Wilt thou take her for thy lawful wife, according to the law of our holy mother Church?" and the man said, "I take thee, etc., if holy Church will it permit." The stringent clause, "Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife," etc., has nothing to correspond to it in the Roman rite, and the Anglican priest must say, not "if holy Church will permit," but "according to God's holy ordinance." And again the Roman priest said, "I join you together in marriage in the name," etc., but he did not say, "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," as the Anglican priest does. I therefore need not point out how important the alterations were. That marriage is a mere contract which could be put an end to by a mere act of misconduct by either party has never been recognized by the Church of England; and I think the whole character of the English service is most emphatically against any idea of divorce, under any circumstances, during the lifetime of the parties. Moreover, whilst the Roman priest declares, "I join you together," etc., the Anglican says "I pronounce that they be man and wife together in the name," etc. The general effect of these changes was to emphasize the character of Holy Matrimony as not only an ecclesiastical, but a divine ordinance. I also draw your attention to a legal opinion of Sir Charles Pratt given in 1760, to the effect that the grant of a marriage license was purely discretionary. Early in November last three judges were sitting to clear off the arrears in the Divorce Court, and were dissolving marriages at the rate of fifteen or twenty in each court each day. The results could not but be disastrous to family life in England. With regard to the argument from Holy Scripture, it turns practically upon the text in the Sermon on the Mount, S. Matt. v. 31-32; the reading in chapter xix. being unreliable. And in that passage the terms "put away" and "fornication" are the important ones. It has not been proved that the former term means divorce *a vinculo*, nor that the latter means adultery. The word translated "fornication" was used nearly forty times by our Lord and His Apostles, setting aside some passages in

the Revelation where it was undeniably metaphorical. And its use was always accurate in the New Testament ; it did not mean adultery, but was distinguished from it. For my part, I cannot get over the impression that the clause rendered "saving for the cause of fornication" is an interpolation ; but if it is to stand in the text the word "fornication" must mean in this passage the same sin as is meant when used elsewhere by our Lord and His Apostles. Those who hold that "the innocent party" (so called) ought to be allowed to marry again, cannot escape the logical conclusion that such liberty can only be conceded on the ground that the original marriage had been dissolved by the adultery. But if this were so, then that marriage was dissolved for both parties, and both are free. Thus the whole of the scandals of the Divorce Court are brought in, for there can be no doubt that the prospect of another marriage has led many to sin.

The Right Hon. the EARL NELSON, Trafalgar, Wilts.

I WISH to say a few words upon the present position in which we stand. I think the point of view which I take has been so wonderfully treated by the majority of the speakers that I need not detain you long. But I want you to understand our present position. It is the duty of the Church, if we are a true branch of the Church of Christ, to be an *ecclesia docens*, and to bear witness not only to the purity of the faith, but to the purity of life among our people, and if we fail in this witness our candlestick would very soon be removed. I say a critical time has come. The Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, that has for a long time been rejected by the House of Lords, has now by a large majority been passed. I believe there will be a larger probability of its being thrown out by the House of Commons during the next Session than by the House of Lords. That Bill opens up all the questions of affinity, and puts the State and the Church, not by the Church's will, but by the will of others, in opposition ; and we must maintain our witness, even if disestablishment be the consequence. Then there are still worse things. You have heard a great deal of the ills arising from the divorce law, which I did my best, with the assistance of John Keble, to oppose. We are now becoming more nearly connected with our colonies ; there is greater intercourse between them and us, and they have passed laws contrary to the laws of the Church in this matter. The Island of Jersey has passed such a law ; and when we look to these matrimonial cases in the courts we see a horrid state of things existing. I believe there is perfect truth in this statement, that in a particular case a man and his wife tried to get a divorce in the courts here. A decree *nisi* was thrown over, the Queen's Proctor intervening. The man and wife and the paramour then went across to the United States together and got a divorce there, and came back and sued for a licence, and I am not sure whether they did not get it. That being the state of things, I say that we could not be in a more critical state than at present. Everybody allows that there is a great increase in the number of divorce cases, and in the number of cases in which there is collusion. But we, as Churchmen, will still try to stop encroachments on the liberties of the Church, to stop the passage also of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill ; but side by side with such opposition, we, as Churchmen, should press the Government to appoint a commission to investigate the state of our marriage laws—a commission which should be composed of Judges and of learned people—in order to see how some of the evils of our present position can be remedied, and if it be possible to enable the nation to withstand the licence that is growing up, and the setting of the law of the Government against the Church. It is not of our seeking, but it must be clearly shown that there should be only civil marriages in the case of marriages permitted by the State that are against Church law, and that the Church should be free to bear her witness and thus to secure the purity of the family life amongst the people.

The Rev. CHAS. BODINGTON, Canon Residentiary and Diocesan Missioner of Lichfield.

THE position of the young men referred to in the Canon of the Council of Arles appears to be this—their wives were put away for adultery. They were confronted by two laws : the strict law of the Church, which forbade them to marry again while their wives lived ; and the lax law of the State, which permitted them to do so. Counsel was to be given them as strongly as possible to obey the law of the Church into which they had

been baptized, and not to avail themselves of the law of the State. A parallel case at the present time would be that of an innocent man who had been divorced, and to whom the temptation came to be married again at a registrar's office. His parish priest might say to him, "No; go by your Christian teaching, and do not avail yourself of the law of the State." And then there is this other point. English people always like that which is straightforward, and do not approve of playing fast and loose with principles. Even on the racecourse men do not like running in and out, nor do they like priests to act in that manner. Both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Church are clear on this point, that marriage is indissoluble except by death. Mr. Lecky, in his book on "Democracy and Liberty," remarks that, although the Catholic Church strictly forbids divorce and remarriage, yet there are ways of getting out of that strict law. For example, we have the case of Napoleon and Josephine, who were married by civil process, and subsequently the marriage was held to be null and void on three grounds. First, that Napoleon had no *bona-fide* intention of taking her; secondly, because the marriage was not in due form, because it was celebrated by a cardinal appointed by the Pope, and not by the parish priest; and thirdly, because there were certain informalities amongst the witnesses, and so the marriage was pronounced *ab initio*, null and void. The emperor was told that he was living in sin, and the same cardinal who had married him to Josephine married him again to Marie Louise. That was playing fast and loose with a sacrament in a way which ought to shock the conscience of any man. But are we quite clean ourselves in the Church of England in this respect. Our doctrines on this point are as clear and plain as those of the Council of Trent. Suppose a divorced person came to a surrogate and declared on solemn oath that there was no impediment to his marriage, could the surrogate honestly, in the face of the words of the Prayer-book, accept the declaration that there was no impediment, and issue a licence to a priest to marry the divorced man to another woman, and with surplice on say, "Oh God, bless them both, this woman and this man, who has been divorced from his wife who is still living?" Would it not be a mockery, a solemn taking of the name of God in vain? No honest priest could by any possibility do it. One of our speakers said just now, "Get rid of the State law if you will." He should have said, "Get rid of it if you can." Our will is good, but we are out-numbered in Parliament. Yet we Churchmen could do something, and we want to get a sufficient number among the laity to support us, and to enable us to say that we must not play fast and loose with the law of God, and that the marriage bond which He has blessed, and that He has told us it should never be lawful to put asunder, should be always considered by the Church as indissoluble.

THE REV. ARNOLD PINCHARD, Vicar of S. Jude's, Birmingham.

I HEARD Mr. Ingram say last night that the best thing a man could do at the Congress was to give any small bit of personal experience that he possessed and to be content. I happen to have a small bit of personal experience which has a bearing on this subject, and which probably nobody in this room shares with me. It bears on the second remedy suggested by Lord Halifax, namely, that of making civil marriage compulsory in every case, and leaving the Church free to bestow her benediction or to withhold it according to the counsels of her Master. I have had the honour of serving the Church for some years in South America, where the law makes civil marriage compulsory in every case. Therefore, my little experience as a priest of the Church in that country may be of some service to those who are occupying their minds with this subject. It has occurred to me that a doubt might arise in your minds as to whether the establishment of such a rule of law as that might not conduce in a certain degree to carelessness and neglect on the part of those who desired to be married as to whether their union received the marriage blessing or not; or, in other words, whether it would increase the number of marriages contracted without any consecration by the priests of God. Now I do not believe from my experience that there is the smallest reason to fear anything of the sort, and if we in this country should be driven to adopt this system, that doubt and fear may, I think, be eliminated from the field of our consideration. I cannot remember in those six years any one single case in which English people, or for that matter the better class of people of other nationalities, were content with the civil marriage alone. The law declares that they be married first before the registrar, and any priest using the marriage service over two persons, unless those persons were previously married before the registrar, was liable to a heavy fine, or in default of

payment to a year's imprisonment, I think it was. I cannot remember the case of one English-speaking couple who did not make it a point to go direct from the registrar's office to the church to ask the benediction of God on their marriage, and people would have felt it a personal affront if the assumption had been made that they were duly married before they had done this. More than that, I have known cases in which young people, though they might have gone to the registrar, have refrained month after month, deferring marriage because of the distance from a place of worship or a resident priest, and have waited until they could be united by some travelling missionary or other minister of the Gospel, and be enabled to feel that they were really married people in the sight of God. And if this is the case in a country where there is no strong force of tradition or of public opinion to influence people in the right direction, I do not think that we need fear greatly for the result upon our own Church-folk here in England should civil marriage be made compulsory by law in all cases.

STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq.

I WISH to call your attention to one very important consideration. We often hear it said that the Divorce Court promotes immorality. I have the highest opinion regarding the sanctity of marriage, but I wish that instead of directing the attention of so many learned men and audiences to the ecclesiastical question as to the effect of our laws upon the members of the Church, we could direct it to the evidence afforded of the loose ideas prevailing throughout this country as to the union of the sexes. I make bold to say that the state of morality in this country is worse than ever it has been before, and that the sanctity of marriage is far less regarded than formerly. The Divorce Court is only an evidence of this looseness of idea on the subject. If we put terrors in the way of a marriage union, we would often compel people to live in a state which fosters immorality, and from time to time those who could not get relief from consorting with an unfaithful partner would be forced to live in such a condition as to bring discredit on the marriage law. What I would like to see is this, that more of the learning and efforts expended upon the peculiarly ecclesiastical aspect of the question by this great Church, should be applied to the diffusion of right ideas in regard to the principles of true morality. We should strive more and more to rightly instruct our people, and keep far from them the literature of the day which panders so much to irreligion and immorality. I speak from my own experience on this subject, gathered in the work of vigilance and rescue in the City of London.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I AM asked to say that the Subjects Committee believed themselves to have selected speakers who would take different sides in this discussion. The course of the debate indicates that some have changed their minds. This unintended unanimity almost necessarily throws it upon me to take up some of the points which have been omitted. The meeting seems entirely of one mind as to what should be desired. No one can feel more strongly than myself the very grave evils of facilities for divorce, as expressed by the judges' opinions which have been quoted about the effects of the Act of 1857. If Churchmen feel as strongly as they have expressed themselves about that Act, why do they not hand themselves to get it reversed in the light of such judicial experience and the reports of the Divorce Court? Any action to improve the law I should be among the foremost to support, if it were based on wisdom and morality. So, on grounds of reasonableness, I should support proposals such as that of Lord Halifax, to enact that divorced persons should not claim the services of Church or clergy. If it brought the corollary that all marriages should be first civilly contracted, I should not demur. That the very highest idea of Christian marriage should be maintained in every possible way, is clearly the earnest desire of all in this meeting. But the arguments used to-night need, in my judgment, a good deal of qualification. It is not without relief that I have been struck with the almost entire omission, except by one speaker, of reference to Church law; Scripture and wisdom have been rested upon, not Church law. In passing, may I ask you to consider one practical advantage of such a line. In the debate on the Marriage of a Deceased Wife's Sister which has been referred to, a strong

appeal was made by Lord Herschell to the bishops that they must not go against the united sense of Nonconformists. I am not concerned now to criticise that appeal, but to observe that if they are united for that Bill, it is not reasonable that they should, as Nonconformists, be united on its merits. I believe them to care as much as any of us for marriage and its true level for the family. But it is intelligible that political union, even against its merits, may have united them as Nonconformists against what is presented as only Church law against State law. If we desire marriage reform, we must unite with us the morality of Nonconformists no less than the temper of politicians, by basing action on wisdom and morality, rather than by setting Church law against State law. But I must venture to ask you to reconsider some of the historical arguments used to-night. How can we say that the Church has never questioned the indissolubility of marriage, or admitted the remarriage of divorced persons? At what period was this true? Suppose, what is not so clear, that before Constantine the Church carried out this ideal of Christian marriage in its own body. When the Church had to direct the world, we see, *e.g.*, in the position of S. Basil, that the Church had to consider relaxations of rigorism which should prevent worse evils; and that principle appears continuously in Church law. The Greek Church, it is admitted, allowed remarriage from that time. I cannot censure without knowing they could have done better. The Greek Church is now nothing—I do not know why Greek is less than Roman—in the Church. But how can Rome be claimed as consistently rigorous? Remarriage under several conditions was sanctioned by Pope after Pope in the centuries about the time of Charlemagne. And the Bishop of Oxford, in his late able Charge, has not been the least too strong in speaking of Rome and its divorces by evasion, on pleas of nullity, of which Napoleon is type rather than exception. In England, Theodore allowed remarriage so far that apologists excuse him as being a Greek. Pass to the present. The American Church (Canon xiii.) allows the remarriage of “the innocent party,” and of two divorced persons seeking reunion, in a form nearly as half-negative as the like resolution of the last Lambeth Conference. These bodies are not bodies for this meeting to judge as its inferior in wisdom or character. Do we dispute their guidance because we disagree with them? I cannot think the historical point made good that Church unanimity against remarriage can be asserted. At Trent the Greeks claimed that no Œcumenical Council had condemned it; and the Council did not anathematize it, but only those who said Rome was wrong. Let me now say a word about the Gospel texts, on which also I cannot help feeling that there has been some exaggeration. In S. Mark and S. Luke it is clear that we have general and unqualified laws of Christ against divorce for adultery? The question answered by Him was one on which two schools were divided, one saying divorce was allowed for every cause, the other alone for adultery. Jesus was asked if the former view was right, and His answer is naturally to be taken in reference to that. May I answer Dean Luckock from himself? He has in a pamphlet argued that the adulteress was punished by death, and I only apply that as he does, in saying, Then Jesus’ answer does not refer to divorce for adultery. And in S. Matthew xix. much stress has been laid on the diversity of readings; but would the tendency to tamper with the text have been likely to be for inserting the limitation, or, rather, in favour of the rigorism, which has been rightly claimed as the tendency in early centuries, especially in the countries where some of the omissions prevail? I believe that divorce is understood to have implied remarriage in those days. I cordially concur in thinking the ideal of Christian marriage to rest on Scripture, as the Dean put it; but I am not clear that Christ’s law has not been exaggerated. So I must say of our marriage service, which has rightly enough been presented as our Church law on the subject, however State was combined with Church in formulating it. I have never felt that the marriage service was about divorce. It impresses on the married pair and the people the sacredness of marriage, and enjoins those so blessed by God not to make a breach in the union which God has made. How far the Anglican additions which Chancellor Espin has observed may have been connected with thoughts of Henry’s divorce, I have no idea, but we have been reminded that the Greek service contains like passages. The Greeks allow remarriage, and I do not think it natural to regard the marriage exhortations as suggesting thought of divorce. If their solemnity has impressed the people with a sense of the indissoluble duty of marriage, they have had their effect; that effect is only spoilt by misuse of the argument. But if arguments against divorce be based on them, the maxim of the Canon law, “Non homo separat quos pœna condemnat,” requires consideration. The breach of marriage is the adultery, not the judicial decree, though that is its declaration. That divorce should be

necessary is heinous, more so than that, if necessary, it should be possible. The Canons only speak of divorce *a toto*, or judicial separation; but I have not been able to see the vast difference ascribed to this. Separation for life from the duties and happiness of marriage is really divorce, so far as the people's own marriage is concerned in reality; and the difference usually supposed is, compared with that reality, an imagination for most cases. I shall not enter on the purely ecclesiastical idea presented in it. The two real differences are apart from that. In some cases reconciliation may be possible, and your feeling has been emphatic that the Church's mercy should regulate with this view. I am not sure that the Church's mercy is due only to the adulteress. The few likely cases would not be those stopped by early remarriage; but it is a change in Church mercy to advise condonation. Few things are more often forbidden in Canons and Penitentials than remaining with a faithless spouse, and becoming *particeps criminis* by condonation. The idea is not one of Church law. The other and wider difference is that power of remarriage is the common inducement to divorce, and to sin to cause it. It is on this consideration that distinctions between innocent and guilty parties rest. The question why adultery continues for one and not the other, if marriage is dissolved, is all beside the mark. It is not even as penalty that remarriage of the guilty is forbidden. But the same laws of Church, or State, or both, have to provide against creating crime, which remarriage of the guilty may do, while remarriage of the innocent does not. The evil of the Divorce Court is the suggestive easiness of divorce and remarriage, creating perjury and collusion, and presenting such shifty uncertainties as make marriage lightly enterprised and as lightly broken. In itself only a change of procedure, that change has levelled down idea and practice. We see the logic and sentiment which condemned the old illogical but working system. It has been said to-night, divorce is the luxury of the rich. Such words claim it as a right for the poor. No doubt those who voted for the Bill in 1857 argued so. Old Church law, more consistently, only admitted exceptions, "*quia magnorum est*," on account of great public interests at stake. The House of Lords was a Judicial Court for exceptions, and though its decree was in form legislative, its proceedings were judicial and adequate. Let me return to my beginning. If the Church and nation are now prepared to make an advance about marriage laws, the Church should exert herself to promote that advance, and be glad to profess that it is an advance on older Church law. It is the place of the Church to influence, not to make legislation; but it is her place to influence. Church action to reverse the Act of 1857 seems the natural result of such a meeting as this. Any action to improve our marriage law and protect the consciences of the clergy from sudden changes of requirements from them, I repeat that I should be most ready to join. I am not able to advise breaches of the law, as some speakers have advised. Nor can I join in strong censures of the past. I will not impute degrading motives to Church and State for measures which mark struggling imperfection, but also progress. I will not claim to be the sole possessor of spiritual wisdom and foresight. Nor do I think that our own sentiments are adequate proof that former men were not as righteous as ourselves. But on our sentiments we have to act, and I shall rejoice if the sentiments expressed shall lead to well-considered and energetic action.

CONGRESS HALL,

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

- (a) THE NECESSITY OF STIRRING THE HEART AND CONSCIENCE OF THE CHURCH TO GREATER EARNESTNESS IN FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.
- (b) NEED OF A "FOREIGN SERVICE ORDER" FOR INSURING AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF MEN FOR THE COLONIES AND MISSION FIELD.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. EDGAR JACOB, D.D., Lord Bishop of Newcastle.

A MAN who is charged with the duty of trying to stir the consciences and hearts of men to a keener sense of duty in respect of foreign missions may not use honeyed words. It would be a more congenial, though perhaps less profitable, task to dwell on the increase of missionary zeal during the past century; but it is only safe to compare the present with the past if we also compare the actual with the possible, and the measure of obedience with the nature of the command.

(1) What is the nature of the Church's commission? I note four facts. First, that our Lord Jesus Christ presented Himself to men as the desire of all nations, as the need of humanity, of every man and of the entire man, as the absolutely necessary food of man's spiritual life, as the sacrifice for all human sin and the pattern for all human life. Nothing less than a personal Saviour to satisfy a world-wide need is the Gospel which we are bound to teach, and therefore any conception short of this, which may make men acquiesce in rival religions holding sway, is at once put aside as impossible.

Secondly, that with this central idea permeating His whole life our Lord devoted the main part of His ministry, not to the multitudes, whom sometimes He seemed to neglect, but to the training of twelve men who should be world-wide missionaries, and that when at last after His Resurrection He sent them out, it was to preach the Gospel to every creature, and form a world-wide society with definite means of admission, definite laws and ordinances, which by attraction and aggression should grow wider and wider until His Kingdom should come. Nor could anyone be admitted to this society without the use of words which are at once the first clear revelation of the doctrine of the Trinity and a condensed creed, and are so inextricably bound up with the command to evangelize all nations that no honest man can hold the doctrine of the Trinity and maintain that it was meant for himself and a favoured few.

Thirdly, that He supplied a world-wide motive, and, unlike other

teachers, appealed to the heart of entire humanity. "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me." And that this motive might never be forgotten, it was to be embodied in a perpetual object-lesson, and commemorated in a sacrament which His Church could only neglect at her peril.

Fourthly, that as a matter of method He never waited until one part of the Holy Land had accepted His Gospel before going to another, but bore His witness throughout the country, and then yielded up His life.

(2) How was this commission interpreted in Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages? I note that on the Church's birthday the Holy Spirit gave a missionary impetus to the Apostles, who were impelled and empowered to impart to others what had brought sunshine to their own hearts; that after a few years to consolidate the infant community, the centre of interest shifted to Antioch, and that the Church of Antioch, being largely Gentile, gave a great lesson to the world as to responsibility for extending the Kingdom. For we note three distinct stages of growth: (a) personal faith, (b) corporate life, and (c) missionary zeal. It is an utter mistake to consider the call of Barnabas and Paul to the apostolate apart from the spiritual condition of the Antioch Church. No call could be less arbitrary. The law of gravitation is not more unerring in its working than the law by which a Church, which had shown the proofs of personal faith and the realization of the corporate life as common to all the faithful, however distant apart, which characterized the Church of Antioch, passes on to a supreme discontent with the limits of the Church as it is, and burns with a missionary zeal that makes it willing even to give up its best men to push further the borders of the Kingdom. The fulness of time had come for the Son not only to be sent forth, but to be made known to men. The Jewish dispersion supplied colonies in every centre, which a mighty converted Pharisee might make the basis of his operations. Greek culture and philosophy supplied the language and the thought which none better than a S. Paul could use as a tool for his trade. Roman law and imperial administration suggested the lines on which the greatest Jew who ever inherited the Roman citizenship might conduct a spiritual campaign, and the framework which might aid the new society in developing its constitution. The spiritual life of the Church of Antioch leads firstly through its great representative missionaries to the founding of the Churches, which after the labours of Professor Ramsay I shall venture to call the Churches of Galatia. Secondly, to an invasion of Europe and the founding of an important Church at licentious commercial Corinth. Thirdly, to a partial conquest of the greatest city in Asia Minor—Ephesus. Flushed with the success at Ephesus, the great Apostle who had been the main agent in all this work will now not be satisfied with anything short of the capital of the world; and with a dramatic fitness the first volume of Church history closes with leaving him at Rome, a prisoner indeed, but a prisoner who had learnt that to preach in chains was but to follow in the footsteps of One Who from a cross had reigned as king. The New Testament gives us a later glimpse of the Asiatic Churches, cared for by the one surviving Apostle, and after this our knowledge of the growth of the Church is derived from ordinary sources, but we observe that the borders are being

continually extended; and there is not one single instance known in Church history of a country being Christianized by another country already fully won to the faith. It is always imperfect conquests that lead to further conquests in other lands. When the early British Church was planted there was no land where Christians were more than a small body—a minority of the people. Examine the condition of Rome when Augustine was sent by Gregory to convert the Angles, and you will find the most terrible need of home missions in Italy. The north of England owes its Christianity to a mission from Iona, to which the Gospel had been brought by a man who desired in some measure to atone for a deed of blood in a land where Christianity had still but feeble hold.

To sum up this sketch, I will say that the interpretation placed on our Lord's commission to His Church was this, that it was the bounden duty of the Church to be perpetually moving on, not to wait for the entire conquest of any city or country before proceeding further, but to train in each city or country men who should develop the work begun, and then to cover fresh ground. We have further seen that the normal growth of a Church leads to zeal for foreign missions by a natural stage when faith is deep, and the corporate life realized, so that it becomes a natural test of the spiritual growth of any community. Personal faith by itself, if unbalanced, might grow into spiritual selfishness. Corporate life unbalanced might grow into ecclesiasticism, and be crystallized into a spiritual domination. Missionary zeal is the natural outcome from the two, and is precisely what both need to give the rightful balance, to keep both healthy, and to enable the whole society to advance as a true spiritual body.

(3) How do the clergy and laity of the Church of England interpret our Lord's commission now? The gross income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1895 was £118,258; of the Church Missionary Society, £268,526; of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, £24,621; of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, £32,105; of the Women's Mission Association in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, £6,430; total, a trifle under £450,000. I am not able to ascertain the total sums given to various special missions, and I omit the incomes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the British and Foreign Bible Society, most valuable adjuncts to missionary work. But the total sum given in the year 1894 through Church missionary channels of every kind for foreign missions by members of the Church of England was, according to Canon Scott Robertson, £572,712. If the country wants an additional large ironclad it thinks nothing of spending a far larger sum.

But how far does this sum represent a general earnestness throughout the country? We are told that out of 9,227 contributing parishes 2,060 contributed less than £2 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the year 1895, and 2,224 above £2 and less than £5. The editorial secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who is to follow me to-day, wrote in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for November and December, 1894, that while the Society's general income had increased by about £40,000 in the previous ten or twelve years, the increase in the associations, which is the most important matter of all as showing

general interest, was responsible for only about £17,000 of this sum, and that an analysis of the contribution list showed a falling off in the northern and north-midland counties, the nett advance being just equal to the advance made by seventeen towns almost wholly in the south, and about a score of London parishes.

From the remarkable appeal issued by the Board of Missions of the Province of Canterbury on April 23rd, 1888, and written by the present Bishop of Durham, I quote these words :—

“ Nearly a third of the parishes in the whole Province of Canterbury, and more than a fourth of the parishes in London, contribute nothing to the two great missionary societies of the Church. The contributions of the upper and wealthier classes to missionary objects are wholly out of proportion to the funds which they provide for other religious and charitable objects. The total annual amount given by titled subscribers to the Church Missionary Society is little more than £1,000, one two-hundredth part of its whole income.”

This appeal was largely circulated in 1888. I have made inquiries, but I cannot find that any society is conscious of any improvement in the contributions of the upper and wealthier classes since 1888. The Secretary of the Universities' Mission, which has made remarkable sacrifices of men and women in the cause of evangelizing Africa, writes :—

“ The number of the upper classes who contribute can be counted on one's fingers. Poor parishes, poor clergy, and poor ladies are our chief supporters.”

So far as finance is any evidence, I ask, Does not the conscience of the Church need to be stirred ?

But money is but the least part of missionary effort. Does the Church realize her responsibility for sending out fit men and women for the work ? Is the calling of the missionary systematically placed before congregations as one to which their sons and daughters may aspire if duly called, and as the most honourable, with all its difficulties and dangers, that a man or woman could take up ? Does any English town or district or diocese feel it to be any disgrace not to send its due proportion to the mission-field ? We sometimes think that we have done well, and we contrast the present century with the last, when, until the very end, not a single English missionary could be induced to go to India. Have we noticed what others outside our own Church are doing ? I quote from the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Boards of Missions for India and Ceylon, issued two years ago, words for which I accept responsibility myself :—

“ Omitting Burniah and Ceylon, the twelve American (non-Episcopalian) societies and Church of England missions have grown from 1881 to 1891 in the following way :—

		Foreign Missionaries.		Native Pastors, etc.	
		1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Twelve American Societies	..	119	186	128	217
Church of England	..	144	203	170	249
		Christians.		Communicants.	
		1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Twelve American Societies	..	86,145	151,430	32,797	61,544
Church of England	..	180,681	193,603	40,990	52,377

If the rate of progress during the next century in India is what it has been during the past twenty years, India will mainly owe its Christianity, not to the Church of England, whose responsibility is paramount, but to American Christians who do not worship with us, but who are realizing more than we Churchmen realize what responsibility for evangelizing a great country means. I have uttered this warning again and again, but it is only the few who heed it.

But let alone finance and the sending of missionaries, do our parishes systematically pray for foreign missions, and interest themselves in their progress? The Antioch Church commended Barnabas and Paul to the grace of God for the work which they fulfilled, and took the liveliest interest in the progress of that work. After their first journey the Apostles called the Church together and told them what God had done, and made Antioch their starting point for a further journey. The Macedonian Churches when founded sent their money to help S. Paul found others without the need of plying his trade, and won the Apostle's love and gratitude by their tender concern and prayers for his welfare. Is this reproduced in the life of every parish among us? Is there any sense of responsibility whatever felt by nine laymen out of ten, and I fear I must say by a very large number of the clergy? Will you pardon me if I quote here words for which I am myself largely responsible in an *ad interim* report on the supply and training of missionaries lately put out by the Boards of Missions.

"The missionary atmosphere in a parish will very largely depend upon the clergy. If the incumbent regard foreign missions as optional, and no necessary part of his parochial work; if he make it plain that he takes no special interest in them, and has no special knowledge of them; if he do not systematically pray himself for God's blessing on the work, if he do not scruple to take advantage of the presence of a society's deputation to run away for a holiday, and if he be comparatively indifferent what agency is supported so long as his duty is taken, it is scarcely conceivable that there can be an atmosphere in such a parish which will conduce to the realization of a call to mission work. On the other hand, if the incumbent realize the true place of foreign missions in the Church's work, if in due proportion he shepherd the young and the old, and with all other agencies, and on the same footing with the chiefest of them, he strive to aid in the extension of the Master's Kingdom in the Colonies and among the heathen, then it is certain that such a man will be found leading his people in intercession and thanksgiving, informing first himself and then his people in the progress—however chequered it may be—of the work abroad, interesting the children, forming associations and guilds, holding regular meetings, kindling enthusiasm, emphasizing the missionary vocation as one, not for ordained clergy only, but—due precaution being taken to test the vocation—for teachers, doctors, nurses, artisans, and all who are able to take part in the building up of the Church of Christ; looking out for promising material, guiding, suggesting, sometimes checking, if zeal be not according to knowledge, but in his entire conduct making it plain that foreign missions are not a device for raising funds, but an essential part of the Church's work, calling out prayer and thanksgiving, the surrender of lives, and the offering of means, and repaying with an

abundant blessing the men and women who, whether for foreign missions or for home co-operation, give themselves to the work."

Let us be honest and acknowledge that it is quite the minority amongst us who are really earnest and keen in promoting foreign missions, and, alas! quite the minority of clergy who look upon this as an integral part of their parochial work, on the same level with the teaching of the young and the care of the sick. I know that these words may be twisted by an enemy into an indictment against the Church, and I know well the keen spiritual earnestness of many; but our object to-day is to show the necessity (mark the word) of stirring the heart and conscience of the Church, and if necessity has to be proved, then let us bravely and with all humility acknowledge shortcomings, not of other Christian bodies, but of ourselves as Churchmen. If these facts, taken in the light of the Lord's commission and the fervour of Apostolic times, do not stir the Church's conscience, I am powerless to suggest others; but the heart of the Church can only be moved by perpetually reverting to the great command and the great motive, and gratefully commemorating the deeds of heroism which, inspired by the greatest of all examples, have illumined the history of the Church. This generation of ours has given, and is giving, its heroes, even though the heart of the Church at large has still to be moved, and we must consider it still the day of small things. Names familiar to us all fill us with gratitude to God for grace illustrated in the devotion of lives. They have added to the chain of Christian evidences. They have given us by their labours fresh aspects of Divine truth. They have kindled afresh in us the Divine fire. It only needs that we rise as a Church and a nation to the true measure of our responsibility, and the whole Church—not the mission-field alone—will realize the blessing of a quickened life.

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WE stand to-day between two great epochs, which we are accustomed to refer to in very familiar words. "He ascended into heaven"—that is the past tense. "From thence He shall come"—that is the future tense. Between the past and the future there is the present, in which we are to-day. How do we describe that? "He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty." When will He rise up and come again? When His Church has finished the work He gave it to do. What is that work? It is the evangelization of the world.

The evangelization, I say; not the conversion. Evangelization—whatever it may include: I do not discuss that to-day—is man's part; conversion is God's part. In the true sense of the word, neither this Congress, nor the whole Church, has the power to convert a single soul, at home or abroad. That is the function of the Holy Ghost. But evangelization—the proclamation of the great and tremendous fact that God loves the world and gave His Son for it—this we can do, and are bound to do.

But are we? Is every member of this Congress sure about it? I suspect that even here there are some who would agree with a gentleman

who said to me one day that he didn't believe in missions, because he had lived in many parts of the world and had found that after all it didn't make very much difference what religion a man professed. "Of course," said he, "men must be good, good husbands and fathers, honest men of business, and so forth"; but he assured me that he had seen good Buddhists, and good Mohammedans, and even good devil-worshippers, and also good Christians. "Yes," I said, "so have I. But," I added, "you forget one thing." "What's that?" said he. "Well," I said, "here are two alternatives. Either the Son of God came down to the earth to save men from sin, or He didn't. There's no third alternative. Either He did or He didn't. It's a question of fact. Now if He didn't, then one of the religions you mentioned is a delusion and a fraud, and that's Christianity. But if He did; if, after all, what some of us believe to have taken place did actually take place, ought not men to know it? and ought not those who know it to tell those who don't? That's missions." "Well," said my friend, "I never looked at it in that light before." "No," said I, "of course not; you fellows never do. You think that missions mean getting men to exchange one doxy for another doxy. Nothing of the sort. They mean informing men of a tremendous fact which closely concerns them, and which they have a right to know."

So I say, first, that common sense tells us that we ought to evangelize the world. And, I say, secondly, that Christ told us to do it. What was His last command? Sometimes the answer is given, and rightly given, "Christ's last command was, Do this in remembrance of Me." Yes, most true; but observe, Christ went away twice. He went away to die; but He rose again, and then went away to the right hand of the Father—so that He could, if He pleased, give two commands, each of which might rightly be called the last. Now before His death, He did say, "Do this in remembrance of Me"; but besides that, before His ascension He said, "Go ye and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And this command stands alone. There is no other commission recorded as given to the Church, as a Church, during those solemn farewell forty days. It is recorded in varied forms, in all the four Gospels, and in the first chapter of the Acts. It has therefore a five-fold record. Is there any other thing that has a five-fold record? How could the inspiring Spirit emphasise this great commission more impressively than He has done?

Now what right have we to say that one of these two last commands is greater than the other? And yet, what is the Church doing? Thank God, it has obeyed the one. I suppose that since the Lord instituted His Holy Supper, not one week, all down the centuries, has elapsed without its being celebrated. But the other command? Many great and wonderful things has the Church done. It has covered Christendom with splendid buildings for divine worship; it has cared for the young, the aged, the sick, the poor; it has taught the world to build schools and hospitals. But the one great commission its Lord gave it to fulfil is the very thing it is neglecting. I put it to the consciences of nine-tenths of the clergy present at this Congress: in your own parishes, though some of them perhaps do very well (as the phrase is) for missions—that is, there is an annual offertory, and there are some guinea subscribers,

and possibly a few missionary boxes out, and half-a-dozen missionary papers taken in—yet, is it not the case that the evangelization of the world is really the last thing thought of? And do not both common sense and Christ tell us it should be first, not second, in the sympathies, the interest, the labours, the prayers of all members of the Church?

Look out over the world! I do not wish to pile up sensational figures, but after all it is a fact that, after nearly nineteen centuries of the Christian era, one half the present population of the globe has never heard of Christ at all. And it is a fact also that at least 30,000 human beings in China, 30,000 in India, and probably 15,000 in Africa, die every day; and that the great majority of these die without ever hearing what the Son of God did for them. Of the invisible world into which they go I say nothing. They are in God's hands, not in ours. But the fact remains that we might have told them certain good news, and did not. What does our neglect of them deserve? And can any sacrifice be too great for us to make in order to take or send the same good news to the millions still living?

You will observe that the fundamental duty of the Church upon which I am insisting is entirely independent of, and untouched by, the usual objections trotted out in newspaper articles, and at dinner-tables, and on the decks of Peninsular and Oriental Steamers. Yet just look at two or three of them in passing.

(1) "Missionaries are a poor lot," says one. Very well; then send abler ones; or, better still, O upright judge, go out yourself.

(2) "But," says another, "they have such big salaries, and live in such luxury." Do they? Then I suppose you are pressing your own sons and daughters into so lucrative a service!

(3) "But there's so much to be done at home." Ah, there I agree with you. There is; and I hope you are helping to do it! Only don't quote to me, for the thousandth time, the words "Beginning at Jerusalem"—for that we have been doing for nearly nineteen centuries, and I think it's time we got a bit further. Seriously, however, here are two men, A. and B. A. has heard God's messages a hundred times; B. has not yet heard them once. Which has the more urgent claim upon us?

Let us for a moment imagine what would have happened on the Galilean hillside when our Lord fed the five thousand if the Apostles had acted as some act now. The twelve would be going backwards and forwards helping the first rank over and over again, and leaving the back rows unsupplied. Let us suppose one of them, say Andrew, venturing to say to his brother, Simon Peter, "Ought we all to be feeding the front row? Ought we not to divide, and some of us go to the back rows?" Then suppose Peter replying, "Oh, no, don't you see these front people are so hungry? They have not had half enough yet—besides, they are nearest to us, so we are more responsible for them." Then, if Andrew resumes his appeal, suppose Peter going on to say, "Very well, you are quite right; you go and feed all those back rows, but I can't spare anyone else. I and the other ten of us have more than we can do here." Once more, suppose Andrew persuades Philip to go with him; then perhaps Matthew will cry out and say, "Why, they're all going to those further rows; is no one to be left for these

needy people in front?" Let me ask the members of Congress, Do you recognize these sentences at all?

(4) "Well, but what's the good of missions after all? There are no converts, except a few rascals." But who says so? Really it is a curious thing how little men care to get trustworthy evidence. The newspapers, for instance, have of late been fairly friendly to missions; but as for their information regarding missions, what shall I say? Where should we be if they treated other subjects in the same way? Suppose the cricket correspondent of the *Standard* did not know Mr. Grace from Mr. Trott, or even the difference between a ball and a bail! In the case of missions, it seems a necessary rule, with a view to impartiality, that the reporter or writer should not be an expert, but that the less he knows for himself of the subject the better. I do not for one moment complain of opinions opposed to my own. Let every man think what he likes. But I ask for careful accuracy in the reporting of facts; and this it is literally true that we do not get.

We want the evidence of men who understand the nature of missionary operations, and the different circumstances of different missions, and who know better, for instance, than to weigh the results of the work by the arithmetical process of counting heads. Let me illustrate what I mean, not from the Church Missionary Society Missions, though of course I could do so, but from those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Go to North India. You will find at Chota Nagpore our Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission with thousands of native Christians, with a bishop all to themselves, and many clergymen of their own race. Go on to Cawnpore and Delhi. You will find nothing of the kind; you will find numerous agencies, and a handful of converts. But who will dare to disparage the work of such men as Lefroy at Delhi, or the brothers Westcott at Cawnpore? To my sorrow I missed seeing the latter when I was in India; but never can I forget seeing Mr. Lefroy boldly witnessing for his Lord, almost alone, for hours, among a crowd of yelling Mohammedans, and at last going to his modest bungalow, long past the hour of the evening meal, too exhausted to eat, not merely from bodily fatigue, but from the spiritual strain of his yearning over the souls of those bitter antagonists. Men and brethren, what are you doing in prayer and sympathy for a man like that, one of your own representatives in the front of the battle? Results! Can we not trust the Lord to show us in eternity the results His own mighty power can and will achieve?

Yet all this is really irrelevant. Suppose there were no results at all. How could that affect our plain duty? And that plain duty is equally unaffected by differences of opinion regarding questions of missionary policy. The subjects of discussion at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894 were most important, but they were questions for experts. How to deal with this or that non-Christian system, polygamy and other marriage problems, caste, educational and industrial and medical missions, celibacy and family life, native Church organization, societies and boards of missions—all are interesting; but do not presume to discuss them at all until you have first proved your right to do so by your energy in fulfilling your elementary duty somehow. But you say, "I don't approve of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," or "I don't approve of the Church Missionary Society," or, "I approve of

neither one nor the other." Very well ; I dare say they will manage to get along without you. But if you be a Christian at all, do *something*.

If you want information, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel can supply you with any quantity of it, which will have at least this one merit, that it can be relied upon. And omitting all reference to the Church Missionary Society's publications, let me especially commend to you a masterly paper by Mr. Stephenson, the present vicar of Boston, on "The Duty of the Church with respect to Missions to the Heathen," published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; also the reports of the Boards of Missions, especially the splendid one on India by the present Bishop of Newcastle ; also Bishop Barry's Hulsean Lectures on the Ecclesiastical Expansion of England.

We are approaching a very solemn epoch in the history of Christendom. Not only is the nineteenth century fast running its course, but our great missionary organizations are nearing the completion of their first or second centuries. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Bible Society, will all be celebrating their centenaries or bicentenaries in the next half dozen years. Let it be a time, not of jubilation, still less of rivalry, least of all of mere criticism. Let it be a period of redoubled effort, and real, definite, fervent prayer. I rejoice to see the missionary enterprise prominent, at last, in the programme of the Lambeth Conference, and I trust that the assembled bishops will not be content with giving cautious counsels on difficult problems, but will sound forth such a trumpet blast of appeal in the name of the Lord for the world. He came to redeem, as shall rouse the Anglican Communion, in all its world-wide branches, to win for itself the honour of the foremost place in the work of the evangelization of mankind.

(b) FOREIGN ORDER SERVICE.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

IT is with great regret that I have to inform the meeting that Bishop Selwyn is unable to be present this morning in consequence of a return of the painful malady that prevented him from continuing the noble work in the Melanesian mission field, which he carried on with such success for many years. Bishop Selwyn would be welcome anywhere and at any meeting, and above all would he be welcome at any meeting in the diocese of Lichfield. The Bishop of Shrewsbury has kindly undertaken to read the Paper, and I trust that it will not suffer by the change.

The Right Rev. SIR LOVELACE T. STAMER, Bart., D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Shrewsbury.

WITH characteristic energy and disregard of self, Bishop Selwyn has written this Paper on his sick-bed, where, as the President has said, he is suffering from the malady which prevented the continuance of his work in Melanesia. He writes to me: "By the skin of my teeth I have got my Paper written and printed twenty minutes before the post."

The Right Rev. J. R. SELWYN, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, late Bishop of Melanesia.

[*Read by the Bishop of Shrewsbury.*]

“Forasmuch as it is better not to begin a good work, than to think of desisting from that which has been begun, it behoves you, my beloved sons, to accomplish the good work which by the help of the Lord you have undertaken.” *

Such were the well-known words with which Gregory the Great on the 23rd July, 596, finally sent forth the hesitating Augustine on his Mission to the Angles.

One thousand three hundred years afterwards, almost to a day, the successor of Gregory tells us, the children of Augustine, and of that other line which through Columba and Aidan derives its origin perhaps from Ephesus and S. John, that we are no Church at all, that we hold no Divine Commission, possess no orders, enjoy no Sacraments. The Apostolical care of the English nation belongs to him and not to us, since we have no share in the Apostolical Commission.

Brethren, what is our answer, and how is it to be expressed? Not in word, but in deed. Not in futile argument, but in the power of the Spirit and in the love of our Lord must we show that we are conscious of a Divine Commission, and are working with a Divine Strength. The words of the ancient Pope must be the watchword wherewith we answer the haughty encyclical of the new.

We have “begun a good work.” Where is it to be accomplished?

The England of Augustine lay on the confines of the then known world. A few petty kings, a county or two acknowledged the sway of the Bretwalda, Ethelbert.

The Britain, the Greater Britain of to-day, lies not merely in these sea-girt Isles, teeming though they be with dense population—but it lies on the confines of all the earth, and is great with a potentiality, of which no human foresight can foresee the bounds.

This year we celebrate the longest and the most beloved reign in all our history, and as we turn from the petty kingdom of Ethelbert to the vast empire of Victoria, so shall we understand the work which the Church of England has to do.

For mark—we assume the responsibility. When we broke with the arrogance and the novelties of Rome, when we emancipated ourselves from her control—when we proclaimed that we had gone back to the older and more primitive truths of the Catholic Church, then it became our duty to see to it that none of our children, wherever they might go, should be unable to obtain that teaching which we proclaimed to be so precious. This heritage of ours is no mere benefit to be enjoyed in insulated ease by ourselves, but it is a Divine trust to be handed on, extended, by the most intense self-sacrifice and devotion by all who claim its privileges.

And yet how slow the Church of England has been to recognize this. Look at the Church in America, and see how almost fatal was the apathy with which its early years were nurtured. Look at the tardy growth of the Colonial Episcopate, which only within the last sixty

* Hook, *Abp. of Cant.*, p. 51. Ed. 1860.

years has really received the fostering care of the Church. And even at the present day, look at the hesitating, fluctuating, stunted income of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to which every colonial bishop turns in time of need. Or go, as I have gone, into the towns and cities of this land, and find how hard it is to raise the faintest interest in that great tide of our English speaking race which is sweeping over so many quarters of the globe. And yet this, as all men tell you, is to be, must be, the dominant race of the world. On it now can be stamped deep the truths of that pure and reformed, yet Catholic faith which we prize so dearly. Neglected, it may sink into utter godlessness, save in the environs of the great cities, or be won by men of other communions who are truer to our Lord than we are. It were better not to begin than not to finish, and our goal is nothing less than the keeping of the Anglo-Saxon race true to the Catholic faith of Christ.

In the short space of fifteen minutes I can say but little of purely missionary work, yet would I urge this. There can be no greater missionary work than this. Our sound is gone out into all the land, and our words unto the ends of the world. Our race touches every nation under heaven: it dominates more than a quarter of the population of the world; and no greater aid can be given to the Missionary cause than that which turns the dominant race into a people which manifests God by its life.

Now what is *the* demand which is made on us to-day by the Colonial Church, by those bishops, that is, on whom is laid the tremendous care of all these scattered flocks? It is not so much money—though many a man is sent to take charge of a diocese as large as France with an income for himself and his clergy which would be rejected with scorn by a second rate jockey—but what they ask is men—men—with the love of God and of men in their souls—men trained to do the work which lies before them. It is this want which lies graven on their hearts. As Nelson in the stress of that tremendous watch which he kept over the French fleets wrote to the Admiralty that if he died the word frigates would be found graven on his heart, so the bishops amid the sheep runs of Australia, on the Veldt in South Africa, in the corn lands of North America, in the gold mines of Coolgardie, unite in one bitter cry: Give us men—give us men that we may reach these scattered sheep, that we may feed the lambs of Christ, that they may grow up in the knowledge of their Lord.

And they want real men—not wastrels—men who know what to do, and are prompt to do it. Men who will make Church privileges, not cry out because they do not find them ready made. Men who can put themselves alongside the miner and the sheep shearer, the backwoodsman and the rancher, and show them that they do as much for God and for His people as these men do in their daily lives for the great world spirit which urges them on.

Yes, say some, that is true—but why does not the Colonial Church supply these men herself?

The Colonial Churches will, and to a certain extent, do. Every bishop strives to make some provision for training the men who offer themselves. But in the nature of things is it likely, or indeed possible, that Colonies can afford an adequate supply?

A colony from its very circumstances has to be progressive. It has

to subdue the waste around it, it has to build itself up. And therefore the whole force of circumstances presses men at a very early age into the service of this all prevailing spirit. At an age when our boys are hardly leaving school, and a large proportion of them are looking forward to further education, the youth of a colony are whirled into the vortex of the life which rushes round them.

And even if men are obtained, the means of training them are very scanty. The Theological Colleges with which each bishop strives painfully to supply his needs can afford but a very insufficient training; and the energies of the men who work them are too often exhausted in supplying a rudimentary education, instead of putting the finishing touches to an education already gained.

And further, when men are ordained, and come to the practical training of work as distinguished from theoretical training, the opportunities which a colony has to offer are few and far between. Some of the large town parishes may be able to afford the luxury of assistant clergy, but they are rare; and too often the young clergyman has to learn his profession as best he may, under circumstances which would daunt a well-trained priest.

No greater boon can therefore be given by the Church at home to the struggling Church abroad than a supply of well-trained clergy, full of youth and zeal, lent to them for a time to meet their urgent needs.

The Navy and the Army of England cannot exist without a reserve—neither can the Church of Christ.

If the work is to be really done, we must abandon the old haphazard way in which the Colonial Church has been manned, and put it on a more defined and assured basis. The spectacle of Colonial bishops wasting months in beating England up and down for recruits must be abandoned, and things put in a more definite and rational order.

And thank God, the spirit to do this is in the air. The movement has sprung, as so many great movements have sprung, not so much from command, as from the spontaneous enthusiasm of the men whose services are needed. The offer of the thirty men in the diocese of Durham to go where they are sent, without choice and without reserve, is one of those inspirations which assures us, as I humbly trust, that Christ is working in His Church. And the response of the venerable bishop (whose sons, scattered through the world, show how he has recognized the Church's mission), and not his answer alone, but that I believe of every bishop on the bench, gives every reason to hope that this scheme may be brought into full working order. At the ensuing Lambeth Conference bishops from every part of the world will be gathered together, each knowing his own wants, and the difficulties of his own diocese, and in consultation they will be able to formulate some plan which may commend itself to the Church at large. I do not think that anything final can be done till they have met and discussed it. All I can throw out now as a practical suggestion is that the Board of Missions of the Church would seem to supply the agency through which this great movement could be most readily worked. To it as representing the Church the home bishops could supply in confidence the names of those who volunteer; and to it bishops would apply for men, and would be put in touch with them. As one of the secretaries, I can only say

that nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to try to make such an arrangement work.

I can but apologize to the Congress for a very inadequate paper on so great a subject. My only excuse is that illness came on just as I was setting to work to put my thoughts on paper—and I have only been able to write it hastily at the beginning of my convalescence. I can only hope that inadequate as it is it may lead others to recognize the greatness of the responsibility which lies on our Church to-day—and then to grasp the opportunity which is now offered to it. For of all the hopes that men can entertain, none can be greater than that which looks forward to making the English race throughout the earth a potent instrument for the spread of the faith of Christ.

The gift that the home Church can give towards this work is a supply of men trained in the methods of their work as men are now trained in so many parishes in England. In the towns their work will be almost identical with that they have learnt in England. In the country it will be different. For acres you can often read miles when you compare a country parish in England with a large bush parish in Australia and Canada. But men of the right stamp, trained in right methods, will not be daunted by difficulties. They will make their opportunity. They will create that which they find lacking, and they will show to the men in the wilds that the Church sends of her best to care for its scattered flock.

Nor will the Church at home only give. It will receive. Those men will have breathed a wider and a freer atmosphere than perhaps they could have obtained at home. As they brought with them to the Colonial Church the order and method of the training of the Church at home, so will they bring back a wider insight into men of all classes; they will have learnt in the atmosphere of a voluntary Church to work with the laity, not over them, and above all they will come back to inspire others with a spirit like their own. Scattered through this realm of England will be men who can tell, not from hearsay, but by practical experience, what are the needs of, and what the opportunity of our sister Churches beyond the seas. They will be a link of living union between the scattered branches of our Church. And each link will bind us all more together into that which may now seem a dream, but which we ought to strive to make ever a more living unity—the English speaking branch of the Catholic Church of Christ.

The Rev. BERNARD R. WILSON, Rector of Kettering,
Northants.

NOTHING but a strong conviction of the supreme importance of bringing to some practical issue the question now proposed to the consideration of this Congress could have made me venture to accept the great responsibility of speaking here to-day. I must endeavour in the time allotted to me to put simply and briefly before you the meaning and the progress of the movement, and the aim and objects which it has in view.

I.—And first, what is meant by the title, a Foreign Service Order? The title is intended to express the idea that has taken definite shape in many minds, that the pressing and urgent needs of the Church in

foreign lands, and especially in our British colonies, might best be met by a Voluntary Association of Junior Clergy, to be formed under the sanction of the bishops of the Church, composed of men who feel inwardly moved and enabled by external circumstances to hold themselves in readiness to devote at least a part of their ministerial life to service in the colonies, or in the foreign mission field, if called to such a work by some competent authority.

II.—Nor are the causes far to seek which have suggested the idea of such a scheme. They may be said to be threefold.

(1) There is the greatness of the need. With the marvellous expansion of our colonial empire and of British spheres of influence, a task of appalling magnitude, an opportunity of unique extent, has been opened out before our Church. It is our bounden duty to evangelize our own people in distant lands, and those great native races which God has for the time, and for a distinct purpose, committed to our charge. But with this rapid expansion of empire there is no correspondingly rapid development of educational and spiritual facilities for the speedy production of a native ministry. Take the case of our great colonies. People thoughtlessly ask: Why do not the colonies supply their own clergy? But the colonies are in every conceivable stage of development. What is becoming possible, or even an actual fact, in the older colonies, is still in the far future in all the more recent settlements. Roughly speaking, it may be said that three whole generations of colonial life must pass before we can begin to look for the upgrowth of a native ministry. First come the old pioneers, most of whom never regard the new country as their home, and who return to England after their work is done. The children of those who remain are all required for the professions which are immediately productive—supplying the daily needs, and requiring no advanced educational facilities. We have to wait for the third generation for the native doctors, and lawyers, and clergymen, when schools and colleges have grown up, and educational progress has developed.

And meanwhile the ceaseless flow of emigrants goes on from English shores. If the spiritual work is to be done for them it must be done from home.

(2) There is the urgency of the call which our colonial and missionary bishops bring home to us with ever-growing force. They indicate with singular unanimity that the only possible way in which their needs can be supplied is by the provision of a steady stream of volunteers from home, willing to devote a portion of their lives to foreign service. From Australia and South Africa—from Newfoundland to New Westminster—from our great Indian Missions—the same cry comes home, "Send us more men, if only for temporary service."

(3) The clergy of England are being increasingly moved by these appeals. There is a wonderfully growing desire to supply the needs, a readiness to go if they are sent. All they ask for is definite guidance and direction. And it is to the growing desire of the clergy to answer to the call and to seek the guidance and sanction of the Church that the origin of the present movement must be traced.

III.—And next, we may ask: What measure of progress has hitherto been made? And here it must be noted that there is nothing new in the idea of temporary foreign service. It has been a growing practice

ever since the great revival which led to the re-awakening of missionary enthusiasm in the Church at home, and has been encouraged by the great pioneer bishops of our Colonial Churches. What is distinctly new is the present attempt to stimulate and regulate the supply of volunteers by the formation of an authorised association, under the sanction and direction of the Church. And the rapid progress of events which have led up to the present movement is indeed noteworthy. Its beginning may perhaps be dated from the last Pan Anglican Conference, eight years ago, when a committee of bishops, appointed to consider the subject of "Mutual Relations of branches of the Anglican Communion," included in their report a paragraph deprecating any unfavourable view of temporary foreign service, and urging the principle as one of special value to the Church. The assembled bishops, in receiving and endorsing the report of this committee, used words in the encyclical letter which on the one hand gave definite sanction and approval to what has been aptly called the "to and fro movement," and on the other indicated the obvious difficulty of regulating by any rule that which must remain spontaneous in its character.

Then came the rapid upgrowth of the Associations of Junior Clergy in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, beginning in London in 1890, spreading from town to town, and from centre to centre, with marvellous rapidity, numbering already forty branches, with a membership of two thousand—each branch formed with the definite purpose of stimulating the junior clergy to greater interest in missionary work, and of reminding all the members that "from their ranks missionaries must as a rule be drawn."

Next came the federation of these several branches for common counsel, and the formation in 1895 of the Conference of Delegates of such federated associations, meeting twice a year to direct and further develop the movement, and to secure unity of aim, and unity of method.

And now a further step is in the air. With singular force, at the very same moment, from different quarters, there comes the call for the initiation of some more definite and organized system of volunteering for foreign service. Manchester gives the signal, the Durham men approach their own bishop in a letter which receives a memorable reply. The London branch suggests the discussion of a tentative scheme. The same idea takes shape in many minds, and most of us know how unflinching has been the encouragement of the bishops, their approval of the principle, their willingness to advise, direct, and encourage their own men. Only within the last few months the standing officers of the federated conference, representing junior clergy from all parts of England, and from Ireland, too, formally approached the bishops to seek their lordships' guidance and direction in the matter, and have received the greatest sympathy and the promise of more definite counsel as to the future development of the movement.

Now, if at this moment any simple scheme can win its way, and receive the formal sanction of the Upper Houses of the Convocations, then when the bishops assemble next year for the approaching Pan Anglican Conference, they will be met with the welcome news that the first serious effort has been made by the home Church to supply their need, and to regulate the supply of men for foreign service.

IV.—But next it may be asked, How is it suggested that the proposed order shall work? In brief outline the method proposed would be somewhat as follows: Supposing the sanction of the bishops to be given to the formation of such an order, the claims of foreign service would be brought home with increased force and authority to young clergy at the time of, or after, their Ordination. Those who felt able to answer to the call would be encouraged to join the order, and thereby to hold themselves in readiness to undertake some foreign work. The centre would naturally be at the Church House. The management of the order would be under the control of one or more bishops appointed by the archbishops to direct the movement. The roll of volunteers would be in their hands. The several needs of distant lands would be made known to them, and through them to those most likely to supply the needs. Demand and supply would be brought together. Calls would be made particular instead of general. Information and advice as to the conditions of work in different lands would be made more easily available. Each member before accepting a definite call to foreign work would receive the sanction of his bishop. Nor would the acceptance of a call to work abroad be held to necessitate a severance of all connection with the home diocese. The names of members abroad would remain in the diocesan calendar as “absent on foreign service.” Many of the best men would thus no doubt be led to give their lives to work in the new land. But in more cases many causes might arise which would make a subsequent return a clear and obvious duty. Such men would be spared an aimless search for work on their return. Furnished with letters from their foreign bishop, they would go, as of course, to the diocese to which they still belonged. And so long as the demand for curates at home bears the present ratio to the supply, it can hardly be doubted that the bishop of the home diocese would have no great difficulty in providing work for every honest worker. Only those who have tried to act as recruiting sergeants for the Colonial Church will fully realize how many difficulties might be removed by such a method.

V.—But it is important further to define the necessary limitations to the usefulness of such an agency, and to state how much it might confidently aim at and accomplish.

The missionary responsibilities of our Church are two-fold: in the first place to our English colonies, and next to the heathen races of the world, and of these the former must take the first place. If we neglect to minister to our own brethren in distant lands, and by our neglect allow communities of English-speaking heathen to occupy the world, then woe betide our Church at home, and woe betide the future of the British Empire; while if we give ourselves whole-hearted to the fulfilment of this plain duty, the missionary work will not go neglected, for we shall be building up a number of missionary churches beyond the seas, whose sons and daughters will join hands with us in carrying out the larger work. The Foreign Service Order aims first at giving adequate support to the Colonial Churches, because in them short temporary service is especially needed, and becomes of more immediate value in that those who go out for a few years are not hampered at the outset by difficulties of language. But while the colonies stand first, there will certainly result great benefits in the foreign mission field, where languages are

easy to acquire, or where special work, educational or other, renders the linguistic difficulty one of secondary importance.

But a further limitation must be made. "Our Colonies" is a term of vast extent, and covers lands in every stage of development, from the splendid colonial capitals with their settled life, to the last new settlements dotted with tents and bark humpies, and occupied by those who are but the pioneers of civilization. And the Colonial Churches comprise dioceses with fully organized parishes, completed churches, and fixed stipends for parochial clergy, and others which, though colonial, are purely missionary jurisdictions, calling for the arduous work of spiritual pioneers. Perhaps no colonial diocese is without work of this kind in newly settled districts. But some are exclusively missionary in character, and first and foremost it would be the aim of the Foreign Service Order to grapple with the missionary side of colonial work, and to provide our colonial bishops with a staff of mission chaplains, to be at their disposal for organizing pioneer work in new lands. Other work would follow without doubt, but this would be the special aim. A very limited scope, it may be said; that may be so, but it is the key to the colonial problem, the only way in which the Church can occupy her rightful place, and find herself first in the field; the only way in which to consolidate the Church life of the younger colonial settlements and to hasten the time when they may become native Churches staffed by an efficient native ministry.

VI.—But objection has been taken to the movement on different grounds, and from opposite quarters. Three principal objections have been raised.

(1) It is said that to encourage temporary foreign service will tend to lower our ideal of the missionary vocation. On the contrary, surely it may be said that it will rather test vocation. Vocations are gradual. "Thrust out a little from the shore" comes before "launch out into the deep." And vocations need the test of experience. Many men who go out for a time will be led to remain for life. Some will be called to more real ventures of faith in missionary work among the heathen. For colonial life brings the heathen near to us. Each great group of colonies has its own peculiar missionary responsibilities. And other men with no special call to lifelong service abroad will be able to do good work and return the stronger to grapple with the problems of English life. And it seems unreasonable to surround colonial work with a fictitious glamour of heroic enterprise. It is missionary work, but no more so than that of many an English parish.

(2) It is urged that self-seekers might be led to offer themselves for foreign service, as a stepping stone to home preferment. But all that is asked for those who go out is, that home preferment shall be neither more nor less certain than for those who stay at home. And surely self-seekers (let us hope they may be few) could find some shorter cut to satisfy their ambition than five years at the Antipodes with the assurance of an English curacy to follow.

(3) More seriously discouraging, perhaps, are the occasional letters from disappointed men, who would have us believe that the older colonial clergy resent the intrusion of English volunteers. Perhaps those who take this attitude have gone out with an exaggerated idea of

their own importance, to set the colonial clergy straight. Perhaps they have learnt a needed lesson in humility. Personally I have too much cause to respect the older clergy of the colonies to believe that they would ever resent the support to Church extension of such a supplementary agency.

VII.—Finally, I cannot conclude without expressing the deep conviction which I feel, that no development will so tend to deepen and strengthen the work of the clergy at home and to stimulate in our parishes a growing zeal for foreign missions.

Whatever form this movement may ultimately take—and I firmly believe that it will result in some practical issue—I trust that the inclusion of the subject in the programme of this Congress will result in commending it to the interest and prayers of Churchmen. Now, if ever, we can lift up our eyes and look on the fields white already to harvest: it is ours to “pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send forth labourers into His harvest.”

D. M. THORNTON, Esq., Educational Secretary of the
Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

THE Church of England asks to know the story of the Student Volunteer Movement. If we would seek its deepest source, we are led back in time to the hill of Calvary, and in eternity to the purposes of God.

One human source has been traced to the outburst of missionary enthusiasm consequent upon the visits of Messrs. Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd to some of the British universities. This and the going forth of “the Cambridge Seven” to China, in 1885, stirred the hearts of many British students.

Another source may be found in the prayers of an American student and his sister, which were abundantly answered in the summer of 1886. For at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, Mr. Moody called a conference of two hundred and fifty students for a month’s prayer and Bible study, and a wonderful missionary revival took place, during which one hundred students signed the declaration—“I am willing and desirous, God permitting, to become a foreign missionary.”

This stream flowed through the American colleges under the name of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, and after ten years’ course has touched upwards of five hundred colleges, in which four thousand volunteers have been enrolled, of whom nearly one thousand have already reached their fields.

And then the river flowed into British channels, gathering many tributaries in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, which early in 1892 joined into one, called the Student Volunteer Missionary Union.

Ever since British and American volunteers have been united in the solemn declaration before God—“It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary.”

The work of this remarkable union in the British Isles needs further consideration:—

(1) Its purpose is limited. It confines its attention to bringing before students, of all denominations and faculties, the claims of foreign missions as their life-work. It does not send out missionaries, but aims at

influencing students to be absolutely loyal to Jesus Christ, and obedient to His commands.

(2) Its organization is simple. Affairs are managed by an executive of students, together with an advisory council of four leaders of missionary societies.

(3) Its numbers are rapidly increasing. In Great Britain and Ireland, during the present year, they have been added to at the rate of almost one a day during college term. By the end of the academic year one thousand one hundred and sixty-eight volunteers were registered from ninety-three different colleges, of whom two hundred and twenty-eight had sailed during the past four years. In Ireland alone, during the same period, the number of volunteers has increased from seven to one hundred and forty.

(4) Its methods are as follows: Travelling secretaries are employed for both men and women students. Of these there are two in number, to visit arts, medical, theological, normal, and technical colleges. They seek everywhere to lay before students, during their college course, the claims of Christ upon them for life-work in "the greater parish of the unevangelized world." A general secretary transacts the business, and maintains correspondence with college secretaries, from an office in London. There is a publication department, which has issued a series of missionary pamphlets, diagrams, conference reports, etc.—and not least *The Student Volunteer*, the organ of the union.

In addition to these, an educational secretary has lately been appointed for the express purpose of following up the visits of the travelling secretary, advising and developing missionary effort in colleges, and furthering the increase of college missionary libraries, securing, when possible, text books on different mission fields for the use of students. In this way a systematic study of missions will soon be taken up in every college. But the most influential of all the methods in use are student conferences. The British College Christian Union reserves a place on the programme of its annual summer conference for missionary topics, and these are presented by the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. Occasional missionary conferences are also held, such as the first Students' Conference at Keswick in 1893, and the more recent Students' International Missionary Conference at Liverpool at the beginning of this year.

(5) Its membership is strictly confined to students, but not only to those resident in college. All who have realized God's call since they left college, and are preparing to be foreign missionaries, are entitled to join the Union before they sail. Thus the Student Volunteer Missionary Union is the Lord's standing order for foreign service in the British Isles. And the band of three hundred commissioned or "on service" are, we trust, the vanguard of thousands more.

At this point it is necessary to describe the nature of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Probably no castle in Europe has served a better purpose, since Wartburg sheltered the translator of the German Bible, than that to which Wadstena Castle, Sweden, was devoted in August, 1895, when the representatives of student Christian movements of five continents met, and united them in a World's Student Christian Federation. This movement aims at the evangelization of the whole college world

and its enlistment in the thorough and speedy evangelization of all mankind.

It was no accident that, closely following this event, the first European International Students' Missionary Conference was held at Liverpool. This memorable year opened to witness a sight unique in Christian history, for seven hundred and fifty students had assembled from twenty-three nationalities, solemnly to consider the claims of Christ—on the 1,500,000,000 of the dying world. It was here that over fifty continental brothers prayerfully joined hands with us to "make Jesus King," and here we heard the call from Australasia and South Africa, "Come over and help us." Here, too, after three years' prayerful deliberation and a careful explanation it was decided to adopt, what had long been the inspiration of the American movement, as the watchword of the Union—"The evangelization of the world in this generation." This we have done because we believe that He who said: "Preach the Gospel to every creature," meant His followers in every age to do it.

When all dispersed, among them eleven disciples of Jesus Christ went back to Holland. These men enlisted other fifty to join them in their seven student centres, and their daily prayers are now ascending unto God for Dutch-speaking countries. Twenty German students returned to the Fatherland, and now Germany has thirty student volunteers, two of whom are sailing this autumn. Not two months after, French and Swiss students met at Geneva, and placed a travelling secretary on the field, and more recently they have decided that France, Switzerland, and Italy shall each have their Student Volunteer Union. Scandinavia, too, is moving, for several students in Copenhagen learnt English, and came over to receive blessing at our Keswick Conference in the summer. Helsingfors in Finland has just appealed for our lady travelling secretary next spring to visit their lady students. May not this be the north road into Russia? Much more might be added to show how the sons of Europe are falling into line.

But the sons of Asia are rallying round their Lord. The Saviour's home of Nazareth has formed a Young Men's Christian Association, and Protestants, Greek Catholics, and Mohammedans, would see Jesus as the Greeks of old. Young men in Jerusalem are enquiring in numbers, as earnest seekers after Christ. Egyptian Christian schoolmasters can be reckoned by the hundred, undermining Mohammedanism in the villages. Hear one of them say: "I intend to train the boys in Christianity, so that later they will work for their fellow men."

"The land whose Universities gave the world Moses and Apollos and Athanasius will yet furnish the world with other men, whose consecrated learning will make them pillars in the universal Church of Christ."

In India and Ceylon during January and February of the present year, the General Secretary of the Federation met one thousand students from one hundred and twenty schools and colleges in six conferences. Over three hundred missionaries were present, representing more than fifty missionary societies, one hundred of these being British and American volunteers. As some indication of the influence of these gatherings, seventy-six students professed conversion for the first time, one hundred and twenty-seven gave their lives "to direct work for

Christ," while five hundred and seventy-seven covenanted to keep—what is widely known as—the morning watch, *i.e.*, not less than half an hour at the beginning of each day in communion with God. Thus a Student Volunteer Movement is established for India and Ceylon. Time fails to tell of the work in China and Japan, but we turn to work in our Colonies.

Early in June, two hundred and fifty-eight delegates from Sydney, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand, met at Melbourne University and formed the Australasian Student Christian Union. The Primate of Australia, Bishop Jackson, Professor Harper, and others, form its advisory council. The movement contains twenty-five college branches, where only five existed before the year opened, and they tell of at least fifty volunteers, amid much opposition, preparing for foreign service.

At the end of July five hundred Africanders met at Stellenbosch, from thirty schools and colleges, and such a widespread revival is now going on in the colleges as South Africa has never seen.

Outlook.—With unfeignedly thankful hearts we look back over the wonderful way in which God has led us during these past few years. He has brought hundreds of men and women to a new obedience to His royal commission; a higher tide of love has flooded their hearts, a deeper friendship has revealed the living Christ, clearer visions have passed before them, and they have entered into more abundant life. The triumphs of the past have cleared our sight for brighter glories; already we almost see the rosy hues of the morning, and waiting, seem to catch the footfall of our coming Lord. We rejoice to see our colonial and continental brothers clasp hands with us, and form one strong union to "make Jesus King." We wait to see the students of the East bow down before Christ Jesus, and become with us the messengers to their nations. As those that look for His appearance, we would press forward with a deeper fervency of prayer and effort, that before another generation shall have passed away the Gospel may be preached for a witness unto all nations.

Appeal.—The Student Volunteer Movement lives and moves in prayer. We can trace no step taken without the assurance of the unseen Spirit's guidance. The stamp of God's approval manifestly rests on this His workmanship, and young men of to-day are called to voice their watch-cry unto Christendom.

What saith the Spirit to the Anglican Communion? Doth He not lead her to take up the watch-word of her students "from the centres of sound learning and instruction"? Can she not, at no distant date, ring out the call to Anglo-Saxon nations and to Christendom:—"Evangelize the world in this generation?"

Call to prayer.—One of America's holiest men has said: "The evangelization of the world in this generation depends first of all upon a revival of prayer. Deeper than the need for men, deeper far than the need for money, aye, deep down in the bottom of our spiritless lives lies the need for *the forgotten secret* of prevailing world-wide prayer." And again: "If fifty men of our generation will enter the holy place of prayer and become henceforth men whose hearts God hath touched with the prayer passion, the history of His Church will be changed."

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. GEORGE ALBERT ORMSBY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Honduras.

I FEEL that the first word I should say this afternoon is one expressing the feeling of all our hearts of gratitude to Almighty God that Bishop Selwyn is now so far convalescent that he has been able to compose upon his bed of sickness the paper you have heard so well read to-day. My only apology for being here at all, if any apology is needful, is that I acceded to a request received a few days ago from the Bishop of Shrewsbury to step into the gap should Bishop Selwyn be unable to be present. I rejoice, however, that it has not fallen to my lot to offer any feeble words of mine in substitution for the paper from Bishop Selwyn, that good man whom we all revere and love, as you have heard it from his own pen, but in the echo of another's voice. I count it a great privilege to have heard to-day the magnificent address with which the Bishop of Newcastle opened this discussion, and further to have heard the thrilling, the magnificent and the striking words which my young brother of the laity (Mr. D. M. Thornton) has just uttered. To some in this hall to-day there may be a necessity to explain exactly what we mean when we urge "that there is a need for a foreign order service in the Church for insuring an adequate supply of men in the Colonies and the mission field." Is there not, they well may ask, such an order in the Church already? and is not that magnificent army of missionaries who have devoted their lives and their all to the service of Christ in far distant lands a very real foreign service order in our Church? We desire to show as strongly as we can that in addition to this distinctly missionary avocation, there is a very real and a very pressing need for a foreign service order in the Church. And to make our thoughts clear and definite I would try: (1) to define what the foreign service order means; (2) to indicate the lines on which such order may be established; (3) to point out the needs for the establishment of this order; (4) and to show the inestimable advantages the experience gained by the members of this order would confer on the members of the order, the spheres in which they would labour, and on the whole Church of Christ at home and abroad. (1) First, in defining this foreign order and service we must show the distinction between it and the missionary calling that is of such world-wide service to-day. The distinctly missionary calling, from the very nature of the work and its sphere, requires very special training, and is a life-long service. The missionary going to such countries as Central Africa, India, Persia, or Japan, etc., and bringing the everlasting Gospel to Buddhists, Hindoos, Mohammedans, and to tribes of Africa and China, must acquire a new language, learn new modes of thought, study deeply the comparisons of the many religions in the world. And so, much special preparation is required, and to have health and power to devote a whole life to this service is the earnest prayer of the devoted missionary of God. But there are other spheres of work where this special training is not necessary, where a new and difficult language need not be mastered, and where a service of five or ten years is all that is required. May I point you to the ever increasing Colonies of Greater Britain, and to the missionary work that in many cases clusters round the Colonies. Look at Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and last, but to me not least, the Colony of British Honduras, and the five great Republics of Central America, now under the jurisdiction of that See. In these great countries English or a kindred European language are the tongues spoken, and here we have fellow countrymen and fellow subjects, "black, but comely," for whose benefit we wish to institute this foreign order service in our Church. The missionary vocation is a life-long service, requiring most special training. The foreign order only asks for a service of five or ten years, and the training required is that which any young clergyman receives in a well-ordered parish at home. (2) I will now venture to suggest the lines on which such an order may be established. (a) The approval and co-operation of the bishops at home and abroad must be secured. For the clergy who would become members of this order make it perfectly clearly understood that, having worked faithfully at home for a certain period, they are willing and ready to give some years of their life to this branch of missionary work, and then to return to their work at home strengthened for their work by their happy experience abroad. (b) That a register should be opened in every diocese, in which should be entered the names of the clergy who are in priests' orders and have at least three years' experience of Church work at home, and who wish

to be enrolled as members of this order. (c) That time spent in service abroad shall reckon as if it had been spent at home. (d) And that it should be understood that although this foreign service will not constitute a claim for promotion at home, it shall, if other things be equal, be favourably considered. (3) It is hardly necessary to show the urgent need there is for the help of such an order in our enormous English-speaking colonial dioceses. (a) We want men. Our supply is wholly inadequate. Western Australia, Central America, Barrios, Rama, Santa Cruz Indians. (b) We want the best men. Our parishes are so large, and our clergy must live so much apart, that it is a great risk to plant a young deacon who has no experience alone in a crowd of strangers. In my diocese eleven clergymen have been added to the staff in nearly three years, and two more will be shortly added. It is of the utmost importance that the men who take charge of our new parishes should bring with them the experience of parochial work at home. (c) And we want the best men to come to our aid as a recognized order. (4) I wish to point out in conclusion the inestimable advantages the establishment of this order would confer on the Church as a whole: (a) on the men; (b) on the mission; (c) and on the Church at home. Filled with missionary experience, and fired with missionary zeal, I can well imagine that the young clergyman on his return from his missionary work abroad would be a great power for good in his home, his parish, and his diocese. This new missionary order founded in prayer, and supported only by the Spirit of God, will tend to draw into a closer union the Church at home and the Church beyond the seas. In missionary work we are ever brought nearer and nearer to Christ. Matters in dispute at home are forgotten. The soldiers in the front do not disturb their minds concerning the cut of their uniform or the nature of their endowments. They are facing an enemy, not more really, but more vividly than we are at home. We recognize to the very full that nothing but Christ and Him crucified can win and satisfy the people. We return to first principles, we kindle anew our fire. This new missionary impulse will draw the whole Church together with one prayer, one object, one resolve. It is said that on the walls of the great banqueting hall in the Castle of Chillon there hangs a crusader's shield. On the shield there is a simple device, and on it a stirring motto. The device is this—A snow-white mantle and a blood-red cross. The motto is this—

“The red cross cries from sire to son,
If one's for all, then all for one.”

The crusader's shield and motto might well be our shield and motto. Might they not be adopted as the badge of this order, reminding us of the oneness of our Church under the one Great Master Christ, and giving us words in which to express our firm resolve that come what will Christ shall be our only Master, and the one desire of all our lives shall be to win souls for Him?

The Right Rev. FREDERICK TEMPLE, D.D., Lord Bishop
of London.

I AM very glad to have the opportunity of saying something, not to those who feel that they have a vocation, or anything like a vocation, to enter upon the missionary field, but to the laity and clergy of the Church generally, and particularly to the clergy upon whom the duty rests of inducing the Church to rise to her duty, of which, I am afraid, if we look closely into the matter, it cannot be said that, as yet, we really feel it as we should, or that we take the pains to understand it. It is an excellent thing, and it is a thing indispensable to the work that we should endeavour to get together those who are willing, and who feel that they have a call from God to go forth into foreign lands, and there to preach the Gospel of Christ, and, more particularly, to preach it in the colonies and dependencies of the Queen. I wish, however, not to speak to them, because I think that it is necessary to speak to the whole body of the Church, for it cannot be said that this subject of missionary enterprise has really entered into the conception of Churchmen generally as a part of ordinary Christian life. I do not think that we shall do our duty as a Church in this matter until there is created, from one end of the Church to another, among the laity quite as much as among the clergy, the sense that this is not an optional duty, which a Christian may disregard, and still be in every sense a perfect Christian, nevertheless. I do not think that until then we shall have accomplished what our Heavenly Father is calling upon us to do; for if there be not the vocation upon every man to go

forth to this work, nothing can be plainer than that there is a vocation for the Church of England, as a body, to take it up and to press it forward by all means in her power. And, as things now are, if you ask what is the general feeling about the matter in all the various parishes of this country, is it not the case that the great majority of our people know very little about it, and, knowing very little about it, do not at all realize what is their share in it? It is looked upon as something outside the ordinary Christian life, as something that one man may take an interest in and another man may not; and it is thought that it makes no difference to the Christian life whether we are caring about it or are totally indifferent. A clergyman may, perhaps, take so much interest in it as to have a meeting and a collection once a year, and, perhaps, a sermon or two sermons are preached, and the clergyman has, very likely, a parochial meeting, where something more is said than is said in church; and, having done this, the clergyman feels that he has done his duty to the cause, and that nothing more is wanted of him. I want to press upon the clergy that it should be made a part of the ordinary teaching of their people, and that they should lead their people, by all means in their power, really to feel for mission work and to care for it as part of the work which the Lord Jesus Christ has called upon every one of us to take his share in. I want the clergy to be aroused to their duty in this matter. Considering the work itself, considering the position of this Church and country, and considering the character of the command that the Lord gave us before He went back to His Heavenly Father, I want the clergy to interest themselves in this matter, and to be constantly bringing it before their people, not merely on the occasion of a deputation coming down, not merely on the occasion when they have a meeting for the purpose, but time after time, in the course of the year, as a matter of Christian instruction, and not as a matter of collecting funds for the purpose of the work. The people should be instructed that this is a part of the work which is essential for their own Christian life. It is not merely a duty which they owe to the perishing heathen, or to those of their own countrymen who in the colonies are running a risk of forgetting all that they learned at home; but it is a duty which they owe to their Lord, and which affects their own life at home, and which they cannot disregard without very certainly falling short of the standard of true Christian life. I want the clergy, in the first place, to study the subject, for a great many of them do not study it enough. I want them to study all that they can learn in the New Testament of the working of missionary effort. Then I want them to study such subjects as the great conversion of Europe at the time when the barbarian nations, our own forefathers, invaded Europe and established themselves here in this country. I want them to study the full reports that are now in our hands of all that has been and is being done. I want them to take opportunities then of preaching to their people and setting before them what ought to interest them, and what can be made to interest them, if the clergy will only realize their duty. And let me say that, as far as I have observed, of all the articles in the Apostles' Creed, there is one that it seems to me the clergy handle less often and less efficiently than any other article there, and that is the great doctrine of the Communion of Saints. That great doctrine of the Communion of Saints covers this missionary work; and one of the most important parts of it is this work for our Lord which is to bring together into one great body, the Church, all those whose hearts God shall touch, after the Gospel has been made known to them. Is it impossible to convince the people of this country of the enormous spiritual gain of evangelizing the world? Is it impossible to make them understand that it would be like life from the dead if we could make the great body of the human race understand and accept the message of the Gospel? The reflex action from such work is, you may be certain, greater in its benefits than almost any other work that can be done. The reaction upon Christians at home, of pressing upon the whole community what we owe to one another, in this matter of the setting forth of the Gospel, would kindle within them a deeper sense of their duties to one another as they live together. It would kindle within them a deeper sense of the sacrifices which they ought to make for the work of the Church to which they belong, and in which they still are living. It would kindle within them a greater readiness to join in all spiritual work of whatever kind, because there can be nothing that so lifts the soul up towards the very heaven itself as the great idea of the Catholic body, of which the Lord is the Head, and of which we are the members; and, in proportion as we understand and feel our membership, in that proportion are we living members of the body. I implore the clergy to think about this matter, not as if they were asked to do something for other people only; not as if they were asked to preach the Gospel to the heathen, and so to diminish some of

the work which has to be done in their own parishes among their own flocks; but as if, in doing this, and by impressing on their flocks the duty which the Lord has imposed on us all, they were serving their own people more effectually than by much else that can be done. And, for certain, they will find that so far from the one duty interfering with the other, the whole work of the Church of Christ will make an enormous advance, if this missionary work is done as the common work of all Christian souls, which no Christian can rightfully neglect.

The Rev. G. A. LEFROY, Cambridge Mission, Delhi.

I WANT to speak of a few of those difficulties and objections which I know are urged against missionary work by many men in India, especially by military men, and which are probably reproduced in not a few quarters here at home. One of these difficulties is the supposed practical impossibility of converting, at any rate in large numbers, and to any practical purpose, such races as the Mohammedans. I suppose that my brethren of the clergy would probably not admit that they felt this as a difficulty, though perhaps it unconsciously operates upon their minds also; but of this I am sure, that in the minds of many of those who constitute the very back-bone of the English Church, and whose hearty support is essential to the success of any great movement such as this—I mean the God-fearing laity—this difficulty bulks very largely. But I think that when we consider the difficulty of converting men of any particular faith—such as Mohammedanism—to the Gospel, we are resting the issue upon an entirely false basis. The real question is this: do we believe devoutly and in our hearts that Christ is to-day the living, ascended, and reigning King over all the earth; do we believe that He meant it when He said, “I have overcome the world”? do we believe that He was stating a simple fact, or, if I may be pardoned the expression, was He indulging in the language of exaggeration, when He said, “All power is given unto Me in heaven and earth”? If that is a simple fact, then the deduction He Himself makes from it necessarily follows: “Go ye *therefore* into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature.” The possibility of effective missionary work rests on the reality and the universality of Christ’s kingdom, and follows *universally* from it. There cannot be a Christ who is true for England and not for India; it cannot be that Christianity is for the Anglo-Saxon and not for the Indian. Again, a person says, “I cannot support foreign missions because my friend, so-and-so, who was in India, says that the missionaries are doing nothing, and that the money is wasted.” I suggest at present only one reply. “So-and-so,” who, while he was in India was probably moved every two years from one station to another, and who lived always in cantonments, never in the native quarter of the city where missionary work goes on, is now in an English parish. Before you accept him as a final authority on missionary work, I would suggest that you should cross-question him, with the utmost delicacy, as to what is going on in the parish in which he resides—not as to whether the mid-day service is at 11 or 11.30, but on the quieter, less noticeable side of the work—such things as the kind of education given in the Sunday school, the ministrations to the sick and dying, and even as to the mothers’ meetings. If he is one who can stand your examination on these subjects and who shows that he takes a hearty and intelligent interest in the work of the Church at home, I venture to say that he will not be amongst those who pronounce the work in the missionary field a failure and a fraud. If he cannot stand that examination, I venture to think that clergymen at home would decline to accept the report of such a man as likely to give an accurate impression of the efficiency of their ministrations in their parishes, and with the utmost respect for him in his military capacity, but with an equally clear view of his qualifications in certain other respects, I decline no less emphatically to accept his judgment respecting missionary work. There is moreover one reason why these arguments, borrowed from the experience of military men, seem to me to be very hard to bear. I want to speak of it with all possible reserve. The army in India, thank God, contains in all ranks many whole-hearted, true Christian men, whom it is a privilege and a pleasure to meet, and whenever they are in Delhi they extend to us a most brotherly hand of sympathy and help; but all are not such. And there is a black side to things which it will perhaps be well to realize more clearly than you usually do. On Thursdays, in Delhi, I preach chiefly to Mohammedans at the back of the world-famous mosque. On my way home I have to pass through a row of bad houses—houses which are given up, not by official arrangement, but in practice almost exclusively to the use of men in British regiments.

Walking away from the preaching, talking to Mohammedans who accompany me, I have met British soldiers under the influence of that drink which a Mohammedan despises as much as he hates, making their way into these houses, and my Mohammedan companions have turned to me saying: "What you say is all very nice; it sounds well in theory, but here is the practical outcome of your faith, and we decline to recognize its superiority to our own," and with these words have turned and left me. After having had such experiences, I think it is a little hard when we come home to have objections brought against our work from that particular quarter. Then people say that the native converts are of such an unsatisfactory type, and that there is so little of the true Christian growth amongst them, and they ask why the converts do not assimilate more closely to the disciples of the early Christian ages. But water cannot rise above its source. The exponent of Christianity in the first century to, let us say, the people of Ephesus, was S. Paul, and the exponent of Christianity in India now, in the proportion of eight to one, is Tommy Atkins. Every white man, I need scarcely tell you, is in India regarded as a Christian, and out of the four hundred and fifty which approximately compose the population in Delhi, four hundred are men of the British regiment. Under these circumstances I think the intellect even of dwellers at home is capable of perceiving one considerable reason for the unsatisfactory character of native Christians, without having recourse for an explanation to the missionary.

The Right Rev. SAMUEL THORNTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ballarat.

I BEGGED leave to withdraw my card, and so leave more room at this late hour for other speakers; but I am refused it. Dreading that bell, I must melt down my links of argument into bullets, and fire them off as fast as I can. I incline to agree with a previous speaker that, of our duties to our Colonies and the heathen, the former stands first; but first, I think, not in importance so much as in order. Question might arise as to what Christian nation was specially responsible for evangelizing some perfectly heathen country; none, as to what nation was responsible for religion in the British Empire. And missionary work among heathen in, or adjoining, British Colonies is paralyzed by neglected religious life in the colonial community itself; the base of operations is undermined, and the missionary fights from a quagmire. The part of our colonial empire I know best is Australia, where I have lived over twenty years, and I can assert with confidence that the prime question in regard to Church maintenance and extension there is, the manning of the Church. Her prestige of itself goes for little; there is no grand historic "plant"—no old institutions and traditions; and the clergyman is the *persona ecclesie*, emphatically, for the flock. And there is no escape from him, if unsatisfactory; for whereas at home his unfed sheep can frequent neighbouring pastures, and (there being no eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt not attend any except thy own parish church") constitute "missing links" in the parochial system, this is impossible in a parish of, say, twelve hundred square miles. Now, the adequate provision of clergy is not possible locally in many colonial dioceses. More are needed in proportion to population than at home (for while in England there are two hundred and seventy-five to the square mile, in all Australia there are but three-fourths of a man to that area)—and a clergyman to every thirteen hundred Churchfolk is totally inadequate, owing to distances. Yet the field of supply of candidates for Orders is less; the love of this world largely absorbing the mind of Colonists—attracted to gold-fields, in particular, by the hope of swift gain, and presumably living in colonies just to make money; while the deplorable secularization of public education tells most unfavourably on the spiritual level of the young. Men from England are likely to import with them the inspirations of the intense religious life of this country, where it is a thing to be expected, and to thank God for, that the Church's fires glow ever more brightly and the fountains well up ever more fresh and full. Doubtless a Colonial native, as such, is a desirable candidate for Colonial work; but I prefer to send even these to England to begin their ministry, partly that they may come under the spell of the historic monuments and memories at the *foci* of British Christianity, and become acquainted with the latest Church methods, partly that they may escape the disabilities created by the Colonial Clergy Act of 1874. It will be seen that I strongly approve the proposal to organize a supply of men from home for the Colonies, and on a time service system. Twenty years ago I wrote in the magazines recommending this; and the organization of a system of this kind by the

Church herself will give an impulse to volunteering for such service, and prevent the supply being capricious and spasmodic, as at present. Whether in offers for foreign mission work temporary engagements should be stipulated for, I rather doubt; but for our work it would be wise. At present, men who go to colonial dioceses and return lie under a kind of stigma as "returned empties"; but there really is no more reason why a man should only go permanently to a colonial diocese, than to a particular English diocese; and the former, while offering him excellent opportunities for a free, athletic, out-of-door service—not without a flavour of hardship and danger, most fitting for one's earlier ministry—may not be able to provide the more settled, compact sphere which maturer years and household needs render desirable. But it is essential that the temporary character of the colonial engagement should be recognized from the first, and connection with the Church at home not regarded as severed in any way. Had I worded the description of the proposal before us, I should myself have inserted "suitable" before "men." I hope no rush of commonplace young parsons will take place to our dioceses. We can raise commonplace material locally, and for export if required; we want imported only choice men. Such men coming to us for a few years will get and do much good by the arrangement. They will get good, for they will shed a certain shell of traditionalism that cleaves to the Church at home, and learn how vigorously she can reform and govern herself by means of truly representative Synods—no useless lore, perhaps, should disestablishment come, and indeed for those who would avert it. They will get their energies freely developed in an ample field of urgently important and deeply interesting labour, in a most salubrious clime, and they will contribute no unimportant links of mutual acquaintance and sympathy between the motherland and her democratic dependencies. I disrelish a little the name "foreign" service in the title of the proposed Order. We in the Colonies are no *foreigners*! We want to have the bands strengthened between Churchmen at home and abroad, so that interchange of men between (e.g.) Sydney or Melbourne diocese and an English one may be no stranger than between Lichfield and Hereford; and this word "foreign" looks the other way. Would not "colonial and missionary" do instead—Colonial and Missionary Service Order instead of Foreign Service Order? I dread the bell, and will only add that anything that is done to draw Churchmen at home and in the colonies closer together, will tell powerfully on the massiveness and true well-being of the Church of England as a whole.

The Right Rev. NATHANIEL DAWES, M.A., Lord Bishop of Rockhampton.

I WISH I could compress into a speech of five minutes what is in my heart, and what I would like to say at a meeting of this kind. I do not know that I could compress it better than by quoting some words used by the Archbishop of York in his sermon on Tuesday last. He said, "The Church of England was never stronger than at the present day. She is stronger than she knows. What we need is courage—the courage of faith." I think there is great truth in those two statements. We who come back after, in my own case, ten years' absence, have some of that faculty to which the Bishop of Ballarat has alluded—we come back as "returned empties." I am rather fond of that phrase. If after ten years I came back with my pockets full of money and with brain and body showing no signs of wear and tear, I should be somewhat ashamed to meet you. As it is, I come back to the old country poorer than I left, and ask the old mother again to help us; from her splendid resources in, it may be, material wealth, but much more in spiritual wealth. I come back in order that I may fill my heart and mind with fresh energy. When I got to England one of the first things I read in a London paper was that "These Colonial clergy are always running across the world in order that they may be in London during the London season." I think that was a remarkable expression of opinion. No doubt you, in the same way, are here in Shrewsbury because on the first of October pheasant shooting begins, and there are some well-stocked preserves in the neighbourhood. I say we do feel that there are strong resources here, and what is needed is courage on the part of English Churchmen to look fairly in the face those big problems that meet us at the other end of the world. You have plenty of men, plenty of money, and plenty of devotion, and will you allow it to be said for a moment, that you have not sufficient courage? It is a courageous thing to bring a charge of want of courage against English people, but I do not allude to physical or intellectual courage. I refer to what I may call a

sort of spiritual courage—a courage born rather of humility than of self-confidence—a courage that is lacking because men of splendid powers, men who would be ready enough to devote themselves to the work, have not yet heard as they believe a distinct call from God to undertake the work. I believe that those thirty men in the diocese of Durham have shown us exactly the sort of work, the sort of call, and the sort of response necessary. We want to feel that men who are ordained to the Church of Christ are not ordained to this comparatively small country of England, but are commissioned to work in the whole of the vineyard that belongs to the Church of Christ, and that reaches to the very ends of the earth. Having the call, and having the guidance and the blessing of their own Bishop, and I trust the blessing of the whole English Episcopate, I hope that many men will go forth to labour in the wide lands where their own countrymen are living. The enormous necessity for help I have not time to speak of. Here people think they are starving if you do not give them three or four services every day. In one part of my diocese, which is itself as large as the German Empire, we three years ago lost one who is now doing good work at home, and he left behind him a district twice as large as England with not one single clergyman in it. That district contains nearly twelve thousand people, who have souls that ought to be cared for, and there was not for some few months one clergyman to look after them. The bell forbids me to proceed.

WORKING MEN'S HALL,

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE SUPPLY AND TRAINING OF MISSIONARIES CLERICAL AND LAY, MALE AND FEMALE, FOR VARIOUS FIELDS OF FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. NATHANIEL DAWES, M.A., Lord Bishop of Rockhampton.

THE importance of the subject upon which I have been asked to speak can hardly be overrated. It has been emphasized with considerable force and ability by those who took part in this morning's discussion. I propose to limit my remarks to such aspects of the question as have fallen within the range of my own experience, or have been suggested by the needs of my own diocese; for, as the subject proposed has to do with "various fields of missionary work," it may be assumed that it is meant to embrace missionary work among the white population of our Colonies as well as among the coloured races in heathen lands.

But first let me say that the demand which it is our aim to satisfy, by adequate and efficient supply, is a very large and clamorous one; it comes to us with all the force of a just and imperious claim upon the Church at home to furnish her foreign and colonial missions with some of her best and most capable workers.

It is hardly possible from this side of the world to form a true conception of the rapid growth of the English-speaking races, or of the enormous influence for weal or woe over the destinies of mankind, that

our country is likely to command in the near future. There are, thank God, indications that a clearer perception of facts is beginning to dawn upon us, and that, if I may employ a political phrase in a non-political sense—we are disposed to adopt a more “spirited foreign policy.” It is indeed time we did so, unless we are prepared to betray the sacred trust God has committed to us as a nation, and as a Church.

The late Bishop of Durham when preaching at a former Congress spoke of the “Catholicity of the English Church with all the responsibilities which it involves, the world-wide opportunities, the unique destiny which in God’s providence seems to be reserved for the Anglican community in shaping the future of Christendom”; and again: “Her Catholicity has been restored to the English Church in a surprising way. Catholic indeed she was potentially before in her doctrine and polity; but now she is Catholic in her interests and sympathies, Catholic in her responsibilities and duties. Yet these world-wide relations are almost wholly the growth of the present reign, —the growth of our own lifetime. What may we not hope in the future if we respond to God’s call?” And once more—“The Church of the nation impoverishes its inward resources and stunts its spiritual growth unless it interests itself in the struggles, the hopes and fears of the Churches without.”

“Sympathy, like mercy, bears a twofold blessing, and a larger share falls to the giver. Sympathy repays itself a thousand-fold to a Church and to an individual in the capacities enlarged, and the energies quickened, in the sense of a keener and fuller life.” We have heard a good deal of late about the silken cords of affectionate loyalty that bind the Colonies to the mother land, and which promise to weave around us a network of imperial federation more strong and more real than any Act of Parliament could either create or enforce. But let us bear in mind that loyalty must not be all on one side; there must be reciprocity. You in England must be considerate and generous and large-hearted in dealing with your children in other lands. “The loyal to their crown, are loyal to their own fair sons, who love our ocean empire, with her boundless homes in our vast orient.”

You must not grudge to us of your best; and as you send the very flower of English youth to military service abroad, and the best of English womanhood to nurse the wounded upon the battlefield and in the hospital, surely it is not unreasonable to look for not less sterling worth and not less ardour and devotion on the part of those who engage in Christian warfare.

With so much by way of preface, I go on to consider: (1) What sort of missionaries we want, and (2) how best they can be supplied and trained.

(1) It surely may go without saying, that men and women who volunteer for service in the Foreign and Colonial Mission Field must beyond all else have the holy fire from off God’s Altar kindled in their hearts; they must have heard the call and counted the cost, and go forth strong in the faith of resolute purpose to fight in the vanguard of the army of Christ. But given the whole-hearted reponse to a Divine call, there must also be careful equipment and training, intellectual and physical, moral and spiritual; every God-given talent must be developed and made ready for use—weapons that sufficed for any earlier age will

not do now, the good old Brown Bess must give way to arms of scientific precision—the old-world ethical systems must be studied and made to yield their witness and homage to Christianity; methods, however consecrated by use, must not be exalted into principles, nor common sense be regarded as incompatible with spiritual-mindedness. The lesson must be learnt, which only Christ can teach, that honour is due to all men because alike created in the image of God and redeemed by the blood of His dear Son, and that such honour is due, not merely to an aristocracy of choice natures, but to all of every clime and language and condition; and that in rendering courtesy to all is found the readiest way of winning for Christ the wills and hearts of mankind. And if it be thought that in presenting so high a standard of missionary qualification there is danger of damping enthusiasm and discouraging zeal on the part of those who, it may be with modest abilities, feel distinctly drawn to the work, I can only say that we are bidden “to covet earnestly the best gifts,” and that no standard of Christian character, quality, or work, should be less lofty than that which our Master has set before us: “Be ye perfect, as your Father in Heaven is perfect.” Let not the standard be lowered, but rather let prayer and effort be increased; so shall we reach that measure of perfection which is necessary for the task which God shall assign to us.

To guard myself against misconception, let me add that I am not so unreasonable as to mean that every missionary should possess the academical distinction of a Henry Martyn, or the scholarship of a Pusey or a Lightfoot. There are, as S. Paul tells us, “diversities of gifts, and diversities of ministrations;” to one is allotted the duty of “tarrying by the stuff,” to another, the “going down to the battle,” but the honour and the reward are shared alike. Those who go to the front are dependent upon those who remain behind for the sinews and resources and administration of war, without which no great victory can be won. What I wish to urge is that, as in the army men are specially selected as best qualified for difficult work abroad, so we need more and more to require not ordinary, but special qualification for such service; and I for one believe that in proportion as we are more exacting in our demands, will those demands be satisfied.

And this brings me to my second point, the supply and training of missionaries.

(2) The supply will depend upon the vitality of the Church at home. Where the spiritual life of the individual, the parish, or the diocese is torpid, we shall look in vain for missionary recruits. It is sometimes said that Church statistics do not represent spiritual results; that is true, and yet probably there is no surer test of the spiritual growth of any given parish than by noting the interest created, the alms given, and the volunteers forthcoming for foreign and colonial missions. Let there be one man thoroughly in earnest about missions in every parish, and that man the parson, and you have at once the simplest and best method of supply. You will not, in that case, depend upon a deputation to provoke enthusiasm or to collect subscriptions: foreign missions will be a recognized part of parish work, not as one among many competing claims, but having a prior claim and a first charge upon our resources in time, thought, money, and service. If, even apart from any appeal for funds, the obligation of supporting foreign missions

were set forth in our churches, in our school and college chapels, there would be a plentiful supply of workers, and we should not find so much of the fine manhood and womanhood of England devoted to war and commerce, to science and literature, and so little to the noblest calling upon earth. The Christian rule of proportionate almsgiving, both as regards personal and material devotion, would come to be recognized as not less applicable to the parish than to the individual.

I pass on to the training of missionaries, and will leave those who follow me to speak of lay-workers, male and female; for, although I am fully persuaded that they are necessary and invaluable, the time has not yet come when, in my infant diocese, we can afford to support them. For when I tell you that at present we have only twelve clergy to minister to a diocese as large as the German empire, you can understand that our first necessity is more men in Holy Orders. Lay help may well supplement, but it cannot do in place of the work of the priest, and the cost of maintenance is almost as great for the one as for the other. We largely avail ourselves of volunteer lay help, that is, of men in business who take services on Sundays in mission churches; but when I propose a stipendiary lay-reader for a mission district not yet able to support a clergyman, I am met with the remonstrance, "If we can support a lay-reader we can, with a little more effort, support a clergyman, and we prefer to have the real article."

With regard to the training of missionaries who have taken, or are about to take Holy Orders, as I suggested the parish as a source of supply, so I would also as a school of training. How very much of the best part of a missionary's training can be got in a well-worked parish, both before and after taking Holy Orders, especially in such a parish, for example, as that of my friend Mr. Bernard Wilson, of Kettering, with whom I was associated in his Queensland work. Unless I prove a bad prophet, from his parish will go forth to the wide mission field a goodly number of young men "whose hearts the Lord has touched," and who have received a good all round training in that "school of the prophets."

With regard to the training—especially the intellectual training of missionaries—there is much to be deeply thankful for. From S. Augustine's and other colleges has gone forth a large number of devoted and able men, who have given full proof of their vocation in many lands, and for whom God be praised! But I would venture to ask if the time has not come for the adoption of a bolder policy under the authority of the Board of Missions? Within the last thirty years Lambeth has added new significance and dignity to the primacy of England by providing an audience-chamber where the living voice of the whole Anglican Communion may find expression.

The decanal Lambeth Conference has become a recognized part of our Church organization, and promises to supply a spiritual *nexus* and centre of unity for the Churches of the Anglo-Saxon race which are gradually overspreading the world. In addition to the considerable benefits already derived from this great representative gathering, meeting at intervals, it is not improbable that we may ere long obtain a permanent consultative body, and a tribunal of reference acting under its authority. It is happily already supplied with an efficient business house in Dean's Yard.

Might we not go a step further and found a Lambeth school of divinity—or, call it what you will—which, while not interfering with the work of the various missionary colleges at home and abroad, might in time become the *antiqua domus*, if not the “Alma Mater,” of missionary learning, and by a system of affiliation furnish a central examining body, with power to confer degrees?—a power indeed already possessed by the Primate, who would *ex-officio* be president of such a college. Such an institution planted under the shadow and prestige of Lambeth would work under exceptionally favourable conditions, and be likely to stimulate study, awaken wholesome emulation, and raise the standard of theological and missionary training in every part of the wide mission field.

No doubt the “Preliminary examination for Holy Orders” has done most useful work, and has supplied a real want; but I venture to think that the system would be greatly improved, and yet more satisfactory results would be obtained, by incorporation under such central authority and direction as I have suggested. It must be borne in mind that the training of missionaries is not completed when they have been admitted to the priesthood, and it would be a valuable spur to diligent study if they could look forward to obtaining a Lambeth degree as a certificate of post-ordination reading.

This is not the place, even if time permitted, to elaborate any such proposal. I have only suggested it as one possible way of making our missionaries better qualified to deal with the problems, the difficulties, and the demands which they have to face, and which, in the near future, will become more and more exacting if their work is to be efficiently done, and if the cross of Christ is to be planted deeply in the hearts and convictions of mankind.

The Rev. H. E. FOX, Hon. Clerical Secretary of the Church
Missionary Society.

THE missionary, like the poet, is born, not made; but his birth is after the Spirit, not after the flesh. The instinct which impels men to go forth and seek the salvation of others is divine alike in origin and nature. It may be fostered, developed, directed, but no art or culture can ever create it. It is God-given because God-like. The supply of men endowed with such an instinct depends, it has been said, on “the missionary atmosphere of the Church.”* This is true if, at least, by the expression be understood not so much the environment as the spiritual vitality of the members who compose the Church. In the primitive Church such a question as that which we are now discussing could hardly have arisen. In an ideal Church it could have no place. For every unit of such a Church energized by the Holy Spirit would respond immediately to His impulses. The knowledge of the need would be the measure of the supply. The evangelization of the world would be the accepted corollary of the word redemption. Missionary appeals and arguments, missionary societies with all their machinery for exciting interest, finding men, and raising money are the necessities of

* *Ad interim* Report of the Committee of Board of Missions.

an abnormal, I would even say unhealthy, condition of the Church's life. They are the protest of vitality, struggling with selfishness and ignorance; for men and women wholly possessed by the Christ-life, and led by the Holy Spirit along the path of obedience, have no doubts about their duty, nor disinclination to do it. A world made by God must be won for God. If it be His will that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, then it must be the will of His true servant instantly and to the utmost to give effect to that will. The supply of workers is the spontaneous result. This lies at the root of the question. All attempts to create a supply by artificial stimulants or by lower motives are worse than useless. As the level of spiritual life in the Church rises, the supply of missionaries will automatically follow. It was the evangelical revival of the last century, spreading, thank God, far beyond the few with which it began, which has produced the evangelistic activity of the present century.

There is no fact in the Church of England to-day more hopeful than the increasing number of those who directly or indirectly are obeying the great command to preach the Gospel to every creature. But, even so, very few of us, I fear, realize how far short we still fall of the lowest standard of our Church's duty, and therefore of her possibility. If the incident recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts represents the mind of the Holy Spirit in regard to the relative proportions of foreign and home clergy, the contrast between that one-third and our four per cent. is terribly humiliating. We are told on good authority that the annual contributions of the Church of England for her own home work are just ten times the amount she gives for Christian work abroad, and that while we can supply one woman worker for each fifty English women and girls, we can only afford one for each hundred thousand in heathen and Mohammedan lands. In the youngest, perhaps the most Apostolic, of our missionary Churches the number of men who are being sent forth by the native Church reaches an average of twenty every month, and the proportion of such missionaries to the communicants is more than one to ten. Ours in the Church of England is only one in five thousand. After all these ages of abounding mercy to our Church, is this the best response which our gratitude can make? For nineteen centuries, as we were reminded by a speaker this morning, we have been "beginning at Jerusalem;" is it not time we went somewhat further in our witness to Christ?

To a large extent, under God, the remedy is in the hands of the clergy. May I presume to plead with my right reverend fathers and my reverend brethren that they will face the responsibility? Will they aim at the divine proportion between home and foreign claims? If they cannot reverse the order of the two, will they at least remember that to the eye of Christ there is no distinction or priority, and for him who sees through those eyes all souls are equally precious. Far too long our energies have been centripetal. Hence not a few of our discords and divisions; hence all the inevitable consequences of selfishness. The Church that gives is the Church that grows. Therefore do not grudge your best workers, even your Barnabas and your Saul, if you have them and God calls them. Do not tell them as a friend of mine, a divinity professor, I am sorry to say, sometimes tells his students, that

they will ruin their prospects by becoming missionaries. None can do more to help or hinder the supply of missionary candidates than the parochial clergy. Words spoken by them may kindle or quench the first desires of many a young heart; their coldness will check, and their sympathy will encourage those whom the sense of so great responsibility may be holding back; and their counsels will direct or divert the life course of many a missionary postulant. In the vestry of a church which I know well, there hangs a list, yearly lengthening, of the men and women (already twenty-three in number) who have gone forth from the parish into the mission field. Surely there could be no nobler proof of the spiritual power of any ministry than to have borne such fruit. There are also many other parishes, associations of various kinds, and even families who are beginning to undertake the maintenance of one or more missionaries by specially directed prayers and alms. The plan has only to be widely adopted, and the problem of supply will be solved. In one missionary society the entire body of recruits going out this autumn, seventy-eight in number, have already been so provided for. It includes men and women of all grades; clergy and doctors of medicine; men of university culture and men of business experience; scholars and artisans, teachers and nurses. Fifty years ago the missionary might have been, was often obliged to be, all these in turn. The developments of modern missions are tending to make him a specialist.

Of the missionary's training it is impossible to speak now, except in the most general terms. Between the narrow rigidity of the Roman seminary and the reckless negligence of some Protestant societies there is a wide field for Christian discretion. Only let it be always remembered that the training is for the man, and not the man for the training. The missionary is not to be the embodiment of an educational or ecclesiastical theory. He is neither a specimen, nor a case. He is a living soul endowed with sacred faculties to be developed and used along God-ordered lines. Therefore, his training should be adaptive. His past condition and education, his character physical, intellectual, and spiritual, as well as his destined work, should determine the course of his study. For example, those who will be called to grapple with the ancient religions and subtle philosophies of the East will need an education different in many respects from that of the lay-evangelist, who goes to uncultured tribes, or the doctor and nurse, who bring the gospel of healing to bodies as well as souls.

Some things of course all must have. Above all, that qualification, far too rare, an intimate and working knowledge of the Holy word, gained, not from lectures and handbooks, but from daily study and deep searching, and the direct teaching of the Holy Ghost. And not only the knowledge of the Book, but the power to use it, and that not by mere quotation, but by being imbued with its spirit, its principles and methods.

Nor less important are habits of devotion, nurtured by the closest personal intercourse with the Spirit Himself, the great Intercessor and Inspirer of prayer—a devotion which not only keeps its own sacred duties and hours, but also infuses its sanctity into every other duty and hour as well. These are not common graces; but no missionary can afford to neglect them.

Moral discipline is another purpose of training. Strong men (and we

want no weak missionaries) are apt to be angular. So are key-stones and corner-stones; but the angles should never become needles and knives. By mutual adaptation they should secure the cohesion and stability of the fabric. Collegiate or society life is the mason's yard for the missionary student. There he learns lessons which no books can teach him. Submission to authority and subordination to the common good are the lines which will shape his angles. It is the selfishness of individualism which perhaps more than anything else disintegrates Christian work.

Training, therefore, is essential for probation. The deeper flaws and faults of character are not often seen at once. It is too late to discover them in the mission field. No man who cannot control his temper or his tongue; no man who is self-indulgent, or conceited, or yields to an envious, worldly, or sensual spirit; no man who will not endure hardness, as a good soldier of Christ, is fit to be a missionary. But all this must be put to the proof before, not after, he has been sent to his work.

In short, whether in the supply or the training of missionaries the Apostolic model is the only true one. The missionary of the nineteenth century has the same work to do, and has to do it in the same spirit, with the same promises, and the same hopes as the men and women of the first days. "And they were," writes the Bishop of Durham, whose unique gift of four sons to the ranks of the missionary clergy is a noble challenge to Christian parents, "they were a living gospel, an image of God's goodwill to those with whom they toiled and suffered. Pure among the self-indulgent, loving among the factious, tender among the ruthless, meek among the vainglorious, firm in faith amongst the shaking of nations, joyous in hope amidst the sorrows of a corrupt society . . . they revealed to men their true destiny, and showed them that it could be obtained." Such are the missionaries we still want. With such may God still endow His Church.

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IN considering the question of the training of missionaries, it is important to keep before us the axiom that a missionary is primarily and essentially a spiritual agent; and though there may be branches of missionary work which deal with things mental or physical rather than spiritual, we need for all departments men and women filled with the Holy Ghost.

With this preface we may turn to the special subject entrusted to me, namely, the Training of Missionaries in Medicine. I have used this expression advisedly, as there are two entirely distinct departments of medical training for missionaries, which must not be confused.

(1) On the one hand we have the training of "medical missionaries," by which term I mean those men and women who go forth with a recognized medical degree or diploma to heal the sick and to preach the Gospel. These, whilst ever bearing in mind their high calling to preach Christ where He is not already named, will probably find their chief time occupied in medical and surgical work, whether in hospital

and dispensary, or on some journey of itineration ; and experience has proved that this is one of the most practical, and at the same time one of the most effective, methods of preaching the Gospel.

(2) On the other hand there are missionaries going forth to dangerous and isolated spheres of labour who must, perforce, minister to their own needs and those of their fellow-missionaries, and who are bound, on grounds of common humanity, to relieve as best they can the sufferings of the natives, who are often ignorant of the simplest rules of medical or surgical treatment.

I.—The training of “medical missionaries” is a subject which has been much neglected by our English missionary societies ; and with the single honourable exception of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I am not aware that any Church of England Society up to this year has taken any steps to train medical missionaries, though in the present year the Church Missionary Society has undertaken tentatively to be responsible for the training of specially suitable candidates.

I do not mean to say that the subject of medical missions has been neglected altogether by Churchmen. The Church Missionary Society leads the way with thirty-nine European medical missionaries, the largest number of any missionary society in the world, not excepting the Scotch societies, who have been the pioneers of medical missions. Not only so, the Church Missionary Society has a medical mission auxiliary, with a medical man as its secretary, and issues a paper devoted to the subject of medical missions, which will be issued monthly from the beginning of next year ; but with all this, up to the present time little attention has been devoted to the training of medical missionaries.

But it may be asked, “If the missionary bodies have not trained their own medical missionaries, from what sources have these missionaries been drawn, and what training have they received (*a*) in medical subjects, or (*b*) in theology ?”

To take the Church Missionary Society—an example with which I am most familiar, as I was for three years on their staff of medical missionaries, and was working on the Niger—ten of their present medical missionaries received help in their training from the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, whilst they passed through their course at Edinburgh University ; and to this society, as also to the London Medical Missionary Association, which is engaged in similar work, we owe a deep debt of gratitude. These students had also opportunities for Gospel work in connection with the Edinburgh Medical Mission ; besides a few general lectures in theology. The others obtained their medical education at various medical schools in the ordinary way, and offered for missionary work after obtaining their qualification. Few of these can have had much opportunity of getting any systematic theological study, or definite Church teaching, at the time when they were going through their medical curriculum ; and of recent years most of the medical men accepted for missionary work by the Church Missionary Society have been sent for periods varying from one to three terms to the society's college at Islington.

Reference has already been made to the assistance given by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the training of medical

missionaries. This help has been largely made use of in the case of women missionaries, but not to so great an extent by men. This is probably accounted for by the fact that Ordination seems to have been in the past almost a *sine qua non* in the case of male candidates assisted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, though we believe that this rule has lately been modified.

It will be found on looking through the list of Church Missionary Society medical missionaries, that only two out of the total number are in Holy Orders, and this fact represents the general feeling of the medical missionaries, that they can do better work as laymen than as clergymen. I should like to lay some stress upon this point. The day has surely gone by when the spiritual offices of laymen can be looked down upon by Churchmen, and whilst I hold most strongly that a medical missionary must be a spiritual agent, I consider it distinctly undesirable that he should be ordained, and for the following main reasons:—

(a) A man cannot well go through the double course of training required for a medical qualification and for Ordination without detriment to one or other course. He is likely to be either a good doctor and an inefficient clergyman, or an efficient clergyman and a second-rate doctor.

It is important that the medical course should be begun at an early age, and when this is finished the knowledge gained requires at once to be put into practice; therefore a lengthened theological course is likely to be most prejudicial to the practical skill and usefulness of the medical missionary.

(b) Again, when the medical missionary is at work in the mission field, he has quite enough to do with his medical and surgical work, and with the simple evangelistic work which should be combined with it, without attempting to discharge the regular duties of an ordained missionary. If he were in Orders, he might easily be taken from his medical work to take charge of congregations and other branches of work, which he could not be called upon to carry on as a layman. There may, of course be exceptions to this principle, as for instance in cases of pioneer work, where the medical missionary cannot always have a clerical colleague, but these should be regarded as exceptional cases.

Having said so much concerning what has been done in the past with reference to the training of medical missionaries, we may now consider what steps may be taken in the future to render their service more effective, both as regards their medical and their missionary work; but before venturing to make any suggestions of my own, I should like to quote the words of a great authority—Professor Alexander Macalister, of Cambridge—as to the requirements for medical mission work. Speaking of the training of medical missionaries, he once said:—

“A medical missionary must be trained in a medical school—in a good medical school—because a medical missionary should be a highly qualified and well-trained medical man. The mission field is the field for the best type of scientific knowledge. It is not the place to send our home failures to. The missionary society that contents itself with sending ill-qualified men into the mission field is doing as much perhaps

to hinder the progress of missionary work as the missionary society which sends well-qualified men into the field is doing to advance it."

When it is considered that the medical missionary has to be a specialist in every branch of medical science, and has rarely anyone to consult, that he has often to train all his assistants, as well as to undertake the training of students, it is evident that these words of Professor Macalister are not a whit too strong. This should be carefully considered by all thinking of medical missionary work, and by missionary authorities in selecting men for such work. It may be well here to deal with some objections which have been made to helping missionaries to get a medical education, which should be answered.

It is said: (1) That the five years' course requisite for a medical qualification is too long, and that missionary zeal may grow cold in that time. But if missionary zeal is so artificial a commodity that it will be toned down by a time of preparation under suitable conditions at home, it is better that we should know it before the missionary is exposed to the much more chilling influences of heathenism.

(2) Others say the course is too expensive. Certainly the expense of £600 or £700, which will be required at least for the medical course extending over the five years, must be faced: but considering what is spent over the training of ordinary candidates, it should not be considered extravagant to spend rather more money over a specially qualified candidate, when the work he will be called to do is of so great importance.

(3) Again, it has often been urged that to give to missionary candidates a free medical education will be a temptation to them to abandon their missionary calling for medical practice. This oft-quoted objection has very little foundation in fact. In the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, up to the year 1892, out of 112 students who had been trained by that society, only seven had failed to go abroad, and these have all either repaid the cost of their training or are doing so. In the London Medical Missionary Association, out of seven men fully trained by them, only one has failed to go out, and he is repaying his cost of training. The experience of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also corroborates that of the other societies. The same could, I believe, be said by those engaged in the training of women as medical missionaries; but I am unable in the time at my disposal to make any special reference to the training of women. In spite, therefore, of these difficulties, I am of opinion that steps should be taken by missionary bodies to give a full medical course to suitable candidates.

The following points should be carefully observed in undertaking such training:—

(i.) The spiritual qualifications of the candidate should be carefully tested.

(ii.) The candidate should be a man of distinct educational ability, and have passed such an examination as the London Matriculation, and should in other respects give evidence that he would be able to stand the severe strain of the medical course.

(iii.) The age at which the training should be begun should not, as a rule, be more than nineteen years.

(iv.) Arrangements should be made by which candidates might have opportunities for definite theological study and Church teaching, and

should have experience in practical evangelistic work; and I consider it to be a point of the greatest importance that these opportunities should be afforded during their time of medical study, rather than at its close.

(v.) Candidates should only be accepted on probation, and on the distinct understanding that the continuance of training will be dependent upon their giving satisfactory proof of their fitness in every way for the work of a medical missionary.

I would merely emphasize one of these points, namely, the importance of theological study during the time of the medical course. It is during this time that impressions and convictions are being formed which will have the greatest influence in after life, and a few months' theological training at the end of such a period is not likely to have the same effect. This is therefore one of the strongest arguments for seeking to commence early to get in touch with those who are hoping eventually to go forth as medical missionaries.

II.—I have only time to refer in the briefest way possible to the necessity of elementary medical and surgical training for missionaries going to dangerous and isolated spheres of labour. As one who has in the past suffered severely from the African climate, I know only too well the risks which our missionaries have to meet who seek to evangelize tropical Africa.

I have recently had the opportunity of studying some valuable statistics compiled by Dr. Guinness, which he was good enough to lend me. These show in a striking manner the risks which are met in an aggravated form on the Congo, and other parts of Central Africa; but at the same time the fact is elicited that on the West Coast of Africa, so well known to our forefathers as the "White Man's Grave," the mortality is not nearly so great. This agrees with my own experience, and I think that this remarkable change is due to the improved sanitary conditions, better house accommodation, better food supply, and particularly better water supply; besides that, the methods of treatment of African fevers are so much better understood than in former years.

We have been too ready to put down all ill-health in Africa to climatic influences, and have forgotten that insanitary conditions, and neglect of hygienic laws, are just as likely to cause disease in Africa as in England. It may be assumed, therefore, that a great part of the mortality which has taken place in Africa is due to preventable causes.

This lays a very serious responsibility upon those who are concerned in the sending forth of men and women to Africa. Our military authorities recognize this obligation, and expeditions to Africa, such as that recently to Ashantee, are planned with the greatest care, with respect to the men selected for service, in the adoption of sanitary precautions, and in the provision of suitable food supplies, and in the complete arrangements made for the care of the sick.

It is obviously impossible for our missionaries to be equipped in the same way as a military expedition, but the same and even a higher obligation is laid upon us, as the servants of Christ, to protect as far as in us lies those whom we send forth in His name.

It is no doubt true that we may ask for, and expect, Divine protection of the lives of our missionaries, but we have no warrant to suppose that this should exclude the use of proper precautions, and it is therefore

our bounden duty to see to it that those whom we send forth are forewarned of the dangers they will be obliged to face, and forearmed against them.

It was this conviction that induced me three years ago, after I had been finally invalided home from Africa, to found Livingstone College, for the purpose of giving nine months' training in elementary medicine and surgery to missionaries who are called to work in stations far from qualified medical aid.

The training given is thoroughly practical, combined with hospital and dispensary experience, and a special study is made of the diseases of warm climates. The necessity for such training is recognized by the greatest African travellers. Mr. H. M. Stanley, speaking at the recent Geographical Congress in London, said :—" At present we are sending young men from the college and from the university, fresh from their mothers' laps, into Africa, and they perish almost the first day they find a different atmosphere and a different sun. Before sending these young men into Africa they should go and study for two or three months the various arts of conquering these fevers, warding them off, and living wisely."

Sir John Kirk, who is himself a medical man, Captain Lugard, and the late Rev. Horace Waller, whose names all here will respect, have strongly supported the work of the college. It would be out of place for me to plead here for my own institution, but I do plead that in some way or other those whom we send to unhealthy climates should have the best equipment we can provide, and that in the matter of the care of the lives of our missionaries no reproach may rest upon the Church of Christ.

The Rev. Prebendary OLDFIELD, Principal of S. Paul's Missionary College, Burgh; and Prebendary of Lincoln.

THIS paper is confined to the subject of training men for lay and clerical work in the foreign mission field.

I.—The preparation of laymen.

Four years ago a circular letter of enquiry was sent from S. Paul's Missionary College to all the Colonial and missionary bishops of our Church, and to many others interested in foreign missions, with a view to ascertain what openings exist for laymen in the mission field. The considerations which suggested that circular were these :—

(1) On the one hand, men earnestly desiring to give themselves up to the work are sometimes found to have insufficient mental capacity to enable them to reach the standard of knowledge required for Holy Orders.

(a) If they are rejected, mental capacity is made the test of missionary vocation.

(b) If they are accepted and ordained, the standard is lowered.

(2) On the other hand, young men going straight from the completion of their course of training in England, immediately upon their Ordination are frequently sent to some distant mission station, where the only relief from the oppression of their utter loneliness seemed to be to get married as quickly as possible.

(3) Could these two classes be brought together, so that the candidate whose attainments are insufficient for Ordination may still have his desire fulfilled of devoting himself to missionary work, by going to live with a deacon or priest to relieve his loneliness, save him from an imprudently early marriage, and help him in his work?

The replies received may be briefly summarized thus:—

(1) The laymen most wanted in the mission field are teachers, and skilled mechanics who will act as industrial instructors.

(2) It is not loneliness that drives these men into early marriages so much as the traditions of the class from which they are drawn.

(3) Two men would find it difficult to live together without friction, unless they had been trained to it in some form of community life.

(4) They would not be content to remain laymen, but would seek Ordination at the first opportunity.

The authorities of S. Paul's College, with the approval of the Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor, taking these replies into consideration, and remembering that with the exception of that provided by the Church Missionary Society no opportunity is at present offered for training laymen in any of our missionary colleges, and thinking further that the quasi-family life at Burgh would be sufficient to train men to live together without friction, undertook to offer facilities for this branch of preparation for the work of the mission field. Now it must be clearly understood that it was never contemplated to teach men a trade any more than is taught at any other college; *i.e.*, the manual instruction at all the colleges is sufficient to enable men to make the best of difficulties in the ordinary course of their work abroad, but it is not sufficient to enable them to become competent industrial instructors. All that was attempted by way of a beginning in this new venture was to accept men, and give them the moral and spiritual training of a college life, and so much mental instruction as would be useful to them, including, of course, Biblical knowledge, and so much of the history and doctrine of their Church as every Churchman ought to know. If they knew a trade when they came, they were to be sent out as instructors in their trade; if they knew none, they were to go out as lay assistants to the priest-in-charge of the mission station to which they were sent.

Now what has been the practical result of this experiment?

(1) Of the skilled mechanics who have come to us, all, with one exception, having sufficient mental capacity to enable them to reach the required standard for Holy Orders, have been unwilling simply to devote their manual skill and technical knowledge to the cause they have at heart. In other words, they came with the intention of preparing for Holy Orders. The one exception had already been accepted as technical instructor for a mission station in the Diocese of S. John's, Kaffraria, at the time he applied for admission for a short course of training before going out. The reports of his work have been eminently satisfactory; and this suggests that the proper course would be for a skilled mechanic to be first definitely accepted and appointed as instructor to a mission, and then sent for a short course of training before he goes out. Applications for such instructors come to us from India and South Africa, but they cannot be supplied. Besides the Church Missionary Society, the only agency in England which seems regularly to appeal for this class of men is the Universities' Mission to

Central Africa, and they, so far as I am aware, send out the men they accept without any further preparation.

(2) With regard to the other class of men—those who know no trade, and cannot hope to be ordained, but are nevertheless earnest in their desire to dedicate themselves to the work—two examples will be sufficient for illustration. Both men went to Australia. One has worked happily from the beginning; the other had a little friction with the first priest under whom he was placed, but on being removed to another has gone on well ever since. Both have done good work, one even remarkable work, having won over the men to Church by his manliness, and built two Churches, one of stone almost entirely with his own hands, the other of wood, and a parsonage house. But both these men seek Ordination. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, perhaps it is not in ordinary human nature to do otherwise. Seeing that they do all the work that a deacon generally does, and that one of them has done far more than nine out of every ten deacons would ordinarily be able to do, it is not to be wondered at if they sometimes think they ought to be ordained deacons. Unfortunately, the habit of our mind is to regard the diaconate simply as a stepping-stone to the priesthood, and therefore, save in exceptional cases, it has to be withheld. The only remedy from our end of the question would seem to be that all such laymen should be trained in some such community as the Society of the Sacred Mission; but that again would raise another difficulty in that the number of dioceses which would consent to receive such lay-brothers, or to which the society would consent to send them, is necessarily limited.

It would appear, therefore, that, except so far as the problem has been solved by the Church Missionary Society on the one side, and the Cowley Mission on the other, and is being attempted by the Society of the Sacred Mission, the question of the preparation of laymen for the foreign mission field is one that awaits further consideration.

II.—To turn now to the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders.

It is important to emphasize the fact that our missionary colleges are required to perform a double function—they are theological colleges, as well as missionary colleges. As theological colleges, they must be judged by the same standard as other theological colleges receiving non-university men; for Churchmen have a right to require that the men who leave our shores for the foreign ministry shall be of equal attainments with those who remain behind for the home ministry. Now a standard of minimum attainments has been established and accepted by all the bishops both at home and abroad as a final test for non-university theological students, and is known briefly as the Preliminary Examination, *i.e.*, it is the preliminary test of a man's theological knowledge before he can be accepted by a bishop, and is followed by the bishop's own examination of his fitness for the office, and for the particular requirements of his diocese. But anyone who has had any experience of teaching knows that it is not a very difficult matter to take a man of average brain power, and prepare him for any particular examination; and if that examination be purely theological in character, and the knowledge acquired for it be built upon previous general ignorance, the result tends to produce an ecclesiastic, and nothing more; a genus of which English people have frequently expressed their

dislike. To remedy this tendency, the English bishops now require every theological student to pass an introductory examination in general knowledge before he enters upon his theological course. This examination, however, has not been made compulsory for missionary colleges, and has, as yet, only been adopted by that pioneer in all that is practical and useful in these matters, the Church Missionary College at Islington. This is a defect which we may expect to see remedied after the visit of the Colonial and missionary bishops to England for the Lambeth Conference next year.

Now these tests, necessary though they are as an external guarantee of efficiency, and to some men as an incentive to work, must not be taken to represent the whole work of a college. The amount of Greek and Latin required, for instance, is small : but it represents the minimum of sufficiency, and some men find it as much as they can read in the time, while others can, and do, read twice as much or more. The colleges decline to be merely cramming institutions for any particular examination ; they aim at training each individual mind, and so building up the character of each one of their students that he may be able to use all the powers which God has given him in the work to which he is to be called. Now it is this extra, unexamined, unadvertised work that differentiates one college from another ; and in deciding upon the lines to be followed therein the home theological colleges have an immense advantage over what we may for the moment call the foreign theological colleges, in that they are in close touch, through the diocese with which they are connected, with the requirements of the work for which their men are being prepared. Some years ago this was not considered a matter of much importance, because it was supposed that "What will not do for England will do for abroad." The bishops abroad changed that into, "What will not do for England will not do for abroad." Then they went a step further, and by requiring the missionary colleges to adopt the Preliminary Examination, and nothing more, they said, "What will do for England will do for abroad." Now, however, they are advancing another step, and saying, "What will do for England will not do for abroad." At the last Missionary Conference, the Primate of the West Indies said, "In the present state of the arrangements for training men in England, what I have to do now is to put every man into our own theological college when he comes out to Jamaica, to pick his education to pieces, to supply what is lacking, and to put the parts together again in a different fashion, so as to secure greater breadth and fulness and expansion of view, and at the same time that practical adaptation to our mental and social conditions, all of which are so necessary for effective work." In other words, a special article is now required, and that special article is just what the missionary colleges are not at present in a position to produce. With the exception of the Church Missionary College, they are not in sufficiently close touch with the mission field ; they frequently have no one on the staff possessed of either colonial or missionary experience ; they must needs form their opinions as to what is required by reading or conversing about missions ; and then they find such bewildering differences between what seems to be required for settled colonies, infant colonies, and native missions, which no one sitting quietly at home can harmonize more than theoretically ; so that the present work of special preparation may be

described as the "unsectarian residue," when all great differences in what is required have been omitted. In fact, we are pretty much in the same sort of position as the British manufacturers who have gone on for years sending out to the colonies the goods they considered suitable, without taking the trouble to find out if they actually were so; and we need to follow the example of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and ask the agents of the Church abroad, if not to send us specimens of the special article required, at least to describe to us the process by which we may produce him. To take a homely though very imperfect illustration—when a young clergyman in England first goes into a country parish, he is sometimes told that it will be a good thing for him to know something about turnips and babies, as that knowledge will enable him to interest the farmers, farm-labourers, and their wives. Now, we want the Colonial and missionary bishops to tell us what is the foreign equivalent for turnips and babies. The answer will perhaps be found somewhere within the limits of the history of the expansion of England, illustrated by the history of Christian missions, and supplemented by some one branch of natural science; but what exact lines should be followed can probably only be discovered by a conference of missionary bishops and Colonial bishops, sitting either separately or together. It may be that the two examinations which have been found best suited to home requirements will be found not to be the best possible tests of knowledge and guides to study for foreign requirements. If that be so, and the bishops abroad agree to appoint a Missionary Board of Examiners, with a special syllabus, I believe all the missionary colleges would willingly adopt such new examinations, provided they be such as the Archbishop of Canterbury can accept as of equal standard with those required at home.

England is making history fast in every quarter of the globe. It is the Church's duty to endeavour that that history shall be based on the religion of Jesus Christ. But if our students go out among history-making people, without knowing one word of the language of history, they will have little influence with the makers of it, and lose many opportunities for helping to guide England's destiny. They will preach the facts of Christianity, but the bearing of those facts upon the new world around them will be a sealed book, and the Church will remain too long exotic. Hence is explained the otherwise almost incredible fact, that a Christian South African colonist will refuse to receive the Communion with a Christian Kaffir.

That our missionary colleges are all doing faithful and good work along their present lines is proved by the reports of their students from all parts of the world; but they are capable of doing more, and only await the combined counsel of the bishops interested to bring them into closer harmony with the needs of the foreign mission field.

Meanwhile, it must not be forgotten that the supplies which have enabled them to do as much as they have in the past, and indeed have been necessary to maintain their very existence, have been due to the various Diocesan Missionary Studentship Associations, which only need to be better known to receive the more liberal support which they deserve.

The Rev. Sir JAMES ERASMUS PHILIPPS, Vicar of Warminster, and Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral.

HAVING read a paper at the Exeter Church Congress on the supply and training of men as missionaries, I beg to be allowed to devote the fifteen minutes allotted to me on this occasion exclusively to that of women. What I shall say will fall under four heads—(1) the need, (2) the supply, (3) the training, (4) if there should be any link uniting the workers when abroad, and if so, what ?

(1) The need. I think we may lay it down as a fact that wherever man has work there woman has work also—that man's work is incomplete without the work of woman—that in all fields of labour, and certainly in the foreign mission field, there is a portion of labour which man is incompetent to perform by himself—that women must needs go forth with men to evangelize the world. As a great novelist of the day writes, "Women are really the half of the world, in power, as much as in their number." The great Apostle of the Gentiles set great stress on woman's aid. No fewer than eight are mentioned by him by name in one of his Epistles. Women in the early annals of the Church stand forth pre-eminently ; so it has ever been. The apostle of Germany, S. Boniface, wrote home begging for women workers to come to his assistance. He appealed by letter to the Abbess of Wimborne in Dorsetshire to send him Walpurga, the sister of his friend and fellow-worker, Wunibald, and any other of his countrywomen who might be willing to share the work in Germany. Nor was his appeal in vain. Walpurga did not shrink from the perils of the journey ; with thirty companions she crossed the sea. We have letters of his addressed to some of these handmaidens of the Church. Our missionary societies are waking much more and more to the value of women's help. Last month twelve lady missionaries sailed together for China, sent out by the Chinese Inland Mission. And who that knows anything of India or of other Eastern lands, but must be aware how indispensable is woman's aid. You may spend some time in India and see no women save the Parsees and women of the lowest caste. Women in those lands can only be reached by women. To men missionaries the door is closed. Millions of women in the mission field call for woman's help. They can only be raised from their state of degradation and ignorance by those of their sisters who have been uplifted by that Gospel which declares that in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, and has placed a woman, through the Incarnation, above all other human creatures. Yes, the need of women in the mission field we may assume as an established truth.

(2) Let us pass on to the supply. It is no small source from which women missionaries may be drawn. There are hundreds of women longing for a career of usefulness who as yet have found none. Daughters, in large families of daughters, pining for work, feeling themselves capable of much, but having found no scope for their energies. There are others fully occupied and employed at present—accomplished, able women, who long for more entire dedication of themselves and their talents to the active service of Christ. They want to spend and to be spent for Him. All such as these say to us men, "Open the door, show us the way, and you will find that we are not slow to enter in." Recruits should be drawn from all classes of society. There are

positions both in civilized and in uncivilized countries fitted for women of all gifts, accomplishments, and occupations. Yes, there is no end of a supply. All that is wanted is to spread information and to invite the aid of God the Holy Ghost to make the call come home to them. "When the Lord gave the Word, great was the company of the preachers"—the word preacher is in the feminine gender. At the bidding of the Holy Ghost we shall have Miriams, Deborahs, and Huldass arising to take the lead in this great warfare, and inciting us men to greater zeal and enthusiasm in the grand cause. Yes, there are hundreds of our sisters who might go forth, and who, I am persuaded, will shortly volunteer for Christ's work abroad. Women have quite as much daring, energy, pluck, and self-sacrificing devotion as, if not more, than men.

(3) As to their training. That women require some training all will allow. The Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Society have admirable places of training. For those belonging to a different school in our Church little has as yet been done, small provision of any kind made. The need is felt, and attention is being given to this important subject. I am myself mixed up with one effort of this kind which looks very hopeful. It is felt that in most cases there should be two years' preparation. The training should include the teaching in day and Sunday schools, parish and orphanage work, district nursing under the direction of a certified nurse, hospital nursing, courses of study in theological and other subjects, sewing and Church needlework, cooking, laundry work and house-keeping, and the cultivation of any musical talent, instrumental or vocal, and, above all these, close attention to the formation of character and the growth of the spiritual life. For women, however well-educated, a time for quiet meditation and the calm contemplation of their future work and the facing its certain temptations and difficulties seems an absolute necessity. There must also be a sifting by those in authority of the probationers, and a rejection, however painful, of those who appear to have mistaken their call and seem ill-qualified to go forth to engage in this glorious but arduous crusade.

(4) And lastly comes the very interesting question, Should there be any lasting link or association between the women who, having been prepared for their work, perhaps in the same place or similar places, and having learnt the help and encouragement and blessing of community life, go forth to labour in the widely-spread mission field? Should they go out as isolated units, or be bound together by some bond? And, then, should their missionary work be undertaken for a limited period, or for life?

I find that the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Society do not call upon their workers for a life dedication of themselves, nor indeed for any fixed limited period. There is merely the condition of the re-funding of certain moneys if the worker either marries or for any other cause seeks to retire from her work. Now this may work, and doubtless does work, in some cases well, but I believe that there are those among our women whom this kind of service will not content. They desire a life dedication of themselves to missionary work. They want never to retire unless invalidated or incapacitated by age. They desire to live and die in Christ's foreign service, to come home from time to time merely on furlough, and then to go out again to

their work with renewed energy and ardour. That there are such, I myself know. Some will say, "Let such as those who desire a life-long dedication of themselves join the ranks of some sisterhood, as all, or nearly all, our English sisterhoods now engage more or less in missionary work, and are doing good missionary work. Let such join Clewer, Wantage, East Grinstead, or All Saints." The objection to this is that the sister's vocation and the missionary's vocation are not, I believe, one and the same. The sisterhood puts the life as the end, and the work as something secondary to it—the life is ever to come before the work; the work to give way to it. This may be right as regards the life of the sister—I do not say that it is not; but granting that it is, the vocation of a missionary is, to my mind, something higher. It is a dedication of herself to Christ for work; it is a call to live and to die for the spread of the Gospel; her end in view is not merely her own personal sanctification and salvation, but the salvation of others; her soul's desire is to follow (although at an infinite distance) in His steps Who came to seek and save that which was lost. I venture, then, to maintain that the vocation of the sister's life, as we at present understand it in England, and the vocation to the life of a missionary, are not identical. I doubt whether a community founded on exactly the same lines as our existing sisterhoods is the best adapted for foreign missionary work, and I know there are some in our Church whose opinion you would value who agree with me in this. May it not be because our sisterhoods have tried to embrace two distinct ideas—the life of the nun and that of the sister of charity.

It is thought by some that what would be better adapted for missionary work would be what is called in the Roman Church a "congregation." It is not bound by such fast, fixed, and rigid rules as a sisterhood; it has more elasticity; it is freer to work and to act and to adapt itself to circumstances, with, at the same time, a strong interior life.

A friend of mine recently stayed at an excellently-conducted hotel at Homburg managed by twelve women of a religious order in the Roman Church. On his enquiring of them to what sisterhood they belonged, They replied, "We belong to no sisterhood; we are a 'congregation.'" One practical difficulty as to any day-filled work by sisters is the indispensable rule of their saying the seven offices in chapel. These Homburg sisters said some of their offices, not in chapel, but at their work. On this point there may be, I know, a very decided difference of opinion. These sisters were interested and informed in what went on in the outside world. I should state there were three Masses daily in their chapel, one of which they attended. They have houses in all parts of Europe. Their work is chiefly educational.

If we could, then, form an association of women for foreign missionary work more on the lines of a "congregation" in the Roman Church than on those of a present English sisterhood, I think it might prove a great step forward in the promotion and extension of women's work abroad. The rule of such a "congregation" would be shaped with a view to the work, and would tend towards producing the best kind of worker, devotion to our Lord and holiness being the chiefest means. It does seem to me it should greatly encourage and strengthen our women-missionaries if they felt they were backed by, and had the support of,

a great Missionary Organization, of which they were themselves members, and which, working in concert with the bishops of each diocese, would point out to them, in the first instance, their field of labour, and transfer them, when expedient, from one place or country to another. The devotional life of such a body of women should centre round the daily Eucharist and daily Matins and Evensong, with a given time for meditation and private prayer, without which no spiritual life can be maintained, rather than the reciting of the seven offices. Of one thing I am convinced, that we need something more than the sending out of our sisters in Christ as isolated units.

On the subject of vows: what vow, if any, should be taken by the members of such a body, and for how long? my allotted time forbids my speaking, and perhaps it is quite as well, for this part of the subject requires much deep thought and most earnest consideration, lest we should deny to some a source of undoubted strength which they may rightly demand, or lay a burden on others ill able to bear it.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. ALFRED PENNY, Rector of Wolverhampton.

WE are invited to traverse various fields of missionary work, and I wish to take you in thought to one in which missionaries, both male and female, are being taught; because that is a kind of work in which I have had some experience myself. I refer to the Melanesian Mission in the islands of the South Western Pacific. When, some fifty years ago, George Augustus Selwyn was sent out from Eton to the Antipodes, he was told that he was not to limit his attention to New Zealand, but was to regard that land as a great source of spiritual life, to be diffused towards the islands lying to the North and North West of New Zealand. Soon after Bishop Selwyn had arrived in New Zealand, he made a voyage of inspection in his little ship to this vast supplementary mission field, and he soon found that the work was so great that it would be impossible for white men to undertake it, and also that the climate was such that only natives of the island would be able to live in it all the year round. He very soon came to the conclusion, therefore, that it would be necessary to have the work carried on by native missionaries, and the work is being pursued to-day on the lines laid down by George Augustus Selwyn nearly fifty years ago. The Melanesian missionaries go out and take home to the Central College, on Norfolk Island, boys and girls to be trained up as missionaries. In the truest sense of the word these young people are missionaries. Some may say that they only go back to their countrymen, and are not therefore, properly speaking, missionaries. But that is not so. These young men and women are trained at the Central College, and a very careful training they are put through. In the case of those boys brought from heathen islands there are, first of all, two years of probation. After two years' careful probation at Norfolk Island, the young men are sifted out, and if they are willing to come back for a second period of two years, the question of preparing for Holy Baptism is definitely brought before them, of course at their own spontaneous desire. After a very careful training, extending perhaps over eighteen months, they are admitted to Holy Baptism, and with the strength, we believe, of the Holy Spirit of God received in that Sacrament, they go away for their second holiday among their own people. Then we expect some elementary school work from them. They are at this time thirteen, sixteen, or eighteen years old. If their work in the schools is satisfactory, and they show that they are really in earnest, they go back again for a third term of residence at the Central College; and now the thought of their receiving the Holy Spirit of God in Confirmation comes before them, and as the months go by the thought grows up in them as to whether they shall become teachers in the schools, and perhaps it is very dimly impressed upon their minds that they may by and by look forward to receiving the grace of God in ordination. They afterwards come back, we will say, for the fourth period of training, and then arises the question of the final disposition of their

services. Now I reach the point up to which I have been leading—the training for missionary work. A large number of the young men trained in the Missionaries' College have been during the last ten years steadily volunteering for what is to them foreign work—that is to say, work in other islands. You cannot possibly realize how strange that work is to these young men; I will undertake to say that it is more strange than is missionary work to Englishmen. There is a new language to be learnt, because among these polyglot islanders you will have languages entirely different spoken by the inhabitants of islands which are in sight of each other. Now let me give you an example of the effect of the training given to these young men. The elder scholars in a school taught by one of these missionaries were asked to keep a feast at which native heathen customs which were absolutely bad and wrong would be indulged in. The native deacon in charge of the school said the scholars were not to attend the feast, and such was his influence over them that they were willing to obey him, and to disobey their parents and their chief. The chief went to the missionary and said, "If you do not allow them to attend, I will burn your house down, take your wife, and turn you adrift upon the shore." The missionary said: "Well, you must do it, but my word has gone forth, and I cannot alter it." The young men did not attend the feast, and the chief's threats were not carried out, although there was abundant power on the part of the chief to put them in force. Such an illustration as that shows that the work of training missionaries on Norfolk Island is an effectual work, and it may cause us to feel that it is the work of God the Holy Spirit.

The Very Rev. CHAS. L. DUNDAS, Vicar of Charminster; late Dean of Hobart.

How is it that the demand for missionaries has not hitherto created the supply? It seems to me that there are three reasons. Two of them are now, I am thankful to say, very largely reduced in effect and power, but the third still remains in all its force. The first reason is that the existence of the demand has not been sufficiently well known. Hitherto each individual bishop has had his own commissary, and anyone who has felt called to undertake work in the colonies, for instance, may have had to communicate with a score or more of different men before finding a vacancy for which he could feel he was sufficiently well adapted. Before that stage has been reached his ardour may have been damped, and he may have given up the idea of missionary work altogether. In order to deal with this matter, it seems to me that we want a sort of "Labour Bureau" at the Church House, which would act for all the different dioceses in the Colonial Church, and it is quite possible that one of the ex-colonial bishops might find very suitable work as organizing secretary of such a bureau. The second reason is, that there has not hitherto been sufficient encouragement to take up work in the Colonial Church given to men by the heads of the Church at home. We are glad to hear of the very splendid examples that are being given now by bishops at home, but I do not hesitate to say that even yet that encouragement is not sufficiently general, or in all cases sufficiently emphatic. Still we have every reason to thank God for the tremendous difference that has been perceptible in the last year or two. The third reason is the inferior status of those who are colonially ordained. I recognize from what I have seen myself, while acting as administrator of one of the colonial dioceses, that in many cases it is a tremendous temptation to the colonial bishops to ordain only half-qualified men, when they feel the terrible difficulty of leaving districts without an opportunity of receiving the Sacraments and the Gospel. Yet I believe most thoroughly that the Ordination of improperly qualified men has tended in the long run to restrict instead of to increase the supply. One of the results is that in the Colonial Church, as a rule, very few indeed of those who are possessed of anything like real culture and high education, if they be parents, are willing to encourage their sons to enter Holy Orders; or, if they be young men, feel drawn to enter a profession the status of which is very different from what it is at home. Another possible result, or possibly a cause—I know not which—is the Disabilities Act as regards the colonial clergy. In S. David's Cathedral at Hobart there were three of us working, all graduates, one of Oxford, the second of Cambridge, and the third of the University of Adelaide. Only one of those three is *entitled* to take work at home in England, and yet the other two were distinctly men of considerable ability, and of very great spirituality also, and men who would be a credit to any parish in England. I do feel that the stigma

which has been placed on colonial orders is the greatest of all the difficulties in the way of obtaining a supply of men in the colonies themselves. While I recognize that the proposed Foreign Service Order would be of inestimable benefit, yet I think we must keep steadily in view the desirability of gradually diminishing the number of those who are sent from England to the colonies, and gradually increasing the supply from the colonies themselves. As long as what has been termed the "to and fro" movement is entirely on one side, the best colonial youth will not, and I think ought not to be expected to, enter Holy Orders. Could not some definite standard of examination be required for those who are to be entitled to come and work in the Church at home? Under the present system of excluding men colonially ordained a slur is cast upon the English bishops, if they are not supposed to be capable of distinguishing whether a man is fit to work in their dioceses or not. I think that the system operates very prejudicially, and sometimes very unfairly indeed. It is not a matter that personally concerns me, but the strong interest I take in the Church in the colonies makes me think it is a thing that we ought to face boldly. Protection is usually considered to be only justifiable in a young and weak community. Is the Church of England so weak that it is necessary for her to protect herself? Is it necessary to have a kind of Colonial Marks Act, with the object of preventing those stamped "Made in the Colonies" from working at home? I think it is a sign of a want of complete sympathy, and of a recognition of that solidarity which surely ought to exist in all parts of the Church, that such a state of things should prevail. I beg to enter my protest against the Church at home thinking it necessary to exclude from her dioceses the clergy ordained in the colonies, *i.e.*, without the special license of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

EUGENE STOCK, Esq., Editorial Secretary of the Church
Missionary Society, and a Diocesan Reader in London.

WHEN this meeting had been going on for an hour and a quarter, and no reference whatever had been made to women, I ventured to send my card up to his lordship. Hardly had I done so, however, when Sir J. Philipps rose and delivered his admirable address on the supply and training of women. Under these circumstances there is not very much that I want to say. But I do not think the Congress realizes how large a share in missionary work women take at the present time. Americans are far more forward with statistics than we are, and their last statistics, which are confined to Protestant missionaries, show that if we take the total number of missionaries—clergymen, laymen, and women, including the wives of missionaries in the field—as being denoted by the number twenty, then, roughly, only five of the twenty would be married men, the next five would be their wives, four would be unmarried men, and six unmarried women. Therefore, taking the unmarried women and the wives together, they comprise eleven out of the twenty. Consequently the share that women have in missionary work is a very large share indeed. Of course this is very largely the work of the last few years; it is, comparatively speaking, a new thing, though not entirely so. We have ladies on the staff of the Church Missionary Society labouring to-day in India and Japan, and I think in China, too, who have been more than thirty years in the field, therefore it is not a short service to which ladies are called. And here let me observe that I do not understand why on the same day, and apparently with the approval of the Congress, women and men should be treated in entirely opposite ways. I cannot see why, if it is thought so desirable a thing that men should remain in the mission service for only a short time, women should be told that they must make a life work of it. I think it is desirable to make a life work of it for women in missions where languages have to be learnt, but I think the same thing applies to men. Of course I am not now referring to the colonies, where no difficulties in connection with language exist. I want to say as regards women missionaries that I myself saw them working in India in the very forefront of the battle, right away in the distant villages of Bengal and the Punjab, far beyond the places where there were men missionaries. The little bands of women missionaries who do this pioneer work are mostly ladies of education. There are a much larger number of women than of men missionaries who are paying their own way—that is to say that the average social status of the women is higher than that of the men. We do not believe, however, that God confines His work to one class either among men or women. Only four or five years ago a young woman who had been a

factory girl offered to go out as a missionary, and it was with very great shakings of head that she was received at all. Still the testimony about her high character and about the extraordinary influence she exercised in her Lancashire village was so remarkable, that after she had been put through a certain training she was sent to China. We have only recently heard of her death, and we have learnt that during her career of about five years she was practically the best missionary in the whole of the mission party to which she was attached. I do not think that there is much risk of the supply of women missionaries failing. It would surprise many here to know how many of those who offer to serve have to be refused, mostly on grounds of health. The number of women offering is considerably larger than the number of men, and a large proportion of them are ladies of education, of spiritual power, and of experience in Christian work. Experience in Christian work is of course a very important thing, and I am glad to say that many ladies who have been the cream of the Church workers in their own parishes are now going forth as missionaries, and we shall be blessed because we are sending them. There are various homes for the training of ladies. Here they are systematically taught Bible history and so on, are instructed in the Prayer-book, and in various branches of Christian work, learn dispensing, nursing, and so forth, and also technical elementary school teaching. They also take part in various forms of missionary enterprise at home, or in our London slums, and sometimes in populous parishes in provincial towns, where there is a large amount of vigorous parochial work going on; so I think we have every reason for encouragement in regard to this side of the question. I will not say one word about the men.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I WISH to correct what I am sure was an unintentional misrepresentation on the part of Mr. Dundas with reference to the relations of the colonial clergy to the bishops of England. It is not the case that they are excluded from officiating in this country. It is undoubtedly the case that those in colonial Orders may not officiate in this country without the license of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is quite right that they should have first to obtain his license. He sometimes, no doubt, declines to grant a license. The archbishop has means of knowing what reasons there may be why a particular individual should not officiate in this country, and sometimes the bishop himself knows reasons why a clergyman who comes from the colonies should not officiate in his diocese. But I, myself, when I was in a South London parish, presented a clergyman in colonial Orders to a benefice that was in my gift. If Mr. Dundas will inquire, he will find that there are several such cases in this country, and that there is no desire to separate ourselves from our brethren in other parts of the world, or to prevent them officiating in this country, as long as they go the right way to work to obtain permission.

The Right Rev. HERBERT TUGWELL, Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, and Archdeacon of Lagos.

A GOOD deal of what I had proposed to say has been taken out of my mouth by Mr. Stocks' utterances. I hope that no one will leave this hall under the impression that untrained missionaries are at present being sent out. Perhaps it is hardly possible for you to go away with such a false impression upon your minds, but I think it is important that you should realize that the greater missionary societies are only sending forth men and women who are duly equipped and qualified. Perhaps it would have been better if the subject of discussion had been, not "The supply and training," etc., but "The supply and higher training," etc. I think it is important to insist upon that for several reasons. There are many gross misconceptions existing on the subject. I remember that six years ago, when I had just offered myself to the society and been accepted, I was invited by a lady whom I met to go and lunch with her husband. I said I was going abroad as a missionary, and she asked, "Don't you know that all missionaries are rogues?" That was a lady of considerable experience, and one for whom I had great regard. If it was possible that she should have had such conceptions concerning missionaries, it is quite possible that others entertain similar ideas. I can only say that my experience of the work on the West Coast of Africa enables

me to declare that the men who are sent forth by the Church Missionary Society are men of God, men who are well equipped, and men of whom we may well be proud. Before I went to Africa I spent some six weeks at the Islington Training College. I only regret that I was not able to spend some six months there. The help received there was most valuable, and I greatly appreciated the society of the men with whom I was there thrown in contact. It has been asked whether we could give any information with regard to training which would correspond with what has to-day been called education in babies and turnips. I was forcibly reminded when I heard this question asked of a circumstance connected with myself. Referring again to the same period, I was travelling to Leamington, and at Willesden Junction I saw looking out of a railway-carriage window Archdeacon Phair, of North-West America, who invited me into his carriage. During the journey northwards sundry very searching questions were addressed to me by him, and on reaching Rugby he pronounced his verdict. He said, "I think I may say that you will find on reaching the mission field that you have everything to learn, and very much to unlearn." I must confess that I felt very much humiliated by the verdict he was pleased to give after his searching investigation; but at the same time I felt very grateful to the Archdeacon for his sound counsel and advice, for if there is a part of education which needs special attention, I think it is the training up in a spirit of humility of those who go out as missionaries. We must not go into the mission field thinking that we are immeasurably and in every way superior to the people amongst whom we are going to work; we must not go thinking that it is our duty to thrust the truth down the throats of the people. On the contrary, we must be prepared to sit at the feet of the people. No progress was made in scientific matters until men of science showed themselves ready to sit at the feet of nature and learn the lessons they found nature ready to teach. So in going into the mission field every man and woman must be prepared to sit at the feet of the people who can teach us, and from whom we can profitably learn. It is when we have thus learnt that we are able to command the affection of the people among whom we labour. It has been proposed that ladies should go out as missionaries under a pledge or bond for life service. Whether that is desirable or not I will not stop to say now, but I will say concerning those ladies who have gone out, that, although they may not be pledged to give themselves to the mission service for life, when once they have entered upon it it becomes a life service, and they have no desire to leave it. It is only under compulsion that they come home on furlough or on retirement. Whilst we in West Africa shall welcome any who come out on the short service system, let it be clearly understood that we shall not support that system in order that we ourselves may be allowed to work under it. We have no such desire. We have given ourselves to the work for life, and our highest honour and greatest hope is that where we labour God in His mercy will allow us to die.

The Right Rev. EDGAR JACOB, D.D., Lord Bishop of Newcastle.

I HAVE been watching very carefully, as the speeches have proceeded, to see if it were possible to gather up some thoughts which might find practical expression hereafter in the deliberations of a committee in which I am very much interested—the committee appointed by the two Boards of Missions to consider this very matter of the supply and training of missionaries. There are one or two things which I shall venture to say in gathering up, if I can, the general sense of this meeting. I shall say but little on the subject of the training of missionaries, because, it seems to me, that is largely a matter for experts; but shall refer chiefly to the supply of missionaries, because there is not a single person in this hall but may take his or her part in adding to and affecting the character of the supply. The speeches made this afternoon seem to show that there is one thing on which we are all agreed, whether we represent the colonies or the mission field abroad, and that is, that it is no use whatever sending out any agent, male or female, who is not a fit agent. By a fit agent, I mean primarily, a spiritual agent; and secondly, an agent who is in some measure prepared and equipped for that special work that has to be done. I want, if I can, to emphasize, first of all, the primary condition of the agent being a spiritual agent. I have seen enough of the mission field abroad to know that it is absolutely useless to send any agent abroad who is not a spiritual agent. It is impossible to exaggerate the evil that is done to the mission field by sending an unspiritual man to do spiritual work. How, then, are we to ensure an adequate supply of spiritual agents? There must have been in the

minds of all of us to-day the words of our Blessed Lord : " Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest "—that is to say, that the sending forth of spiritual agents abroad seems really an answer to the prayers of a praying Church. It is perfectly well known that ever since the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions has been observed in England there has been a very considerable increase in the offers of duly qualified men, and men to work in the mission field. It is also known that all special efforts that have been made to obtain prayers for missionary work have been followed by real results. If you ascertain what has been the moving cause that has led many a young man to offer himself for training in our missionary colleges, you find that it has been the spiritual work done by some spiritual man, and very often the prayers which have been offered—prayers which, first of all, seemed to be of no concern to himself, but which, coming back at last, have penetrated into his own soul and produced a conviction that he is called to the missionary work himself. I am certain, therefore, that the first thing to do in order to increase the supply of missionaries is by every means in our power to promote the spiritual work of praying, by keeping up the Days of Intercession, and by asking the congregations of the various churches to pray. The clergy should not simply ask for alms, or speak about missions, but should impress upon their people that the first thing wanted is for the Church at home to pray for God's blessing on the work. It was while the Church of Antioch was fasting and praying that the word went to the Church to send forth Barnabas and Paul to their work. The Bishop of Rockhampton said that the supply very largely depended upon the parson of the parish, as far as the parish was concerned. I well remember that when the late Bishop Sumner of Winchester was asked by a churchwarden what was the best place in which to put the stove in a church, he quietly replied : " Put the stove in the pulpit, Mr. Churchwarden." I have often thought of the wisdom of that remark. If I go into a parish where I find there is a good " stove " in the pulpit, I have no doubt about the result. If every church in the land becomes the centre of spiritual fire, the result will be that the people will take an intelligent interest in missionary work, and that missionary atmosphere will be created which produces the call. I daresay that most of us here heard the burning words of the Bishop of London this morning, about every clergyman realizing that the responsibility rests upon him, that he is himself to be the fire, that he must convince himself of the necessity of the Church taking her part in missionary work abroad and at home, that he must inform himself and then inform his people, and that he must lead his people in prayers and thanksgivings. I am sure that if this is done there will be an adequate supply of missionaries. Whilst the clergyman is seeking to create the missionary atmosphere, he must keep his eyes open for fitting young men and women, and will perhaps suggest to them now and then that they are fitted for missionary work. It is one of the blessings I thank God for, that while I was in the parish that was not long ago under my charge, I was able to help forward some young people who are now working in the mission field abroad. I am sure that if every clergyman would do the same he would be the means of seeing young men who were duly qualified offering themselves for missionary work. These, then, are some of the means of promoting the supply. We must realize first of all that everyone must pray, and then the clergyman of every parish and everyone in charge of schools must try and put before those under his charge the overwhelming importance of mission work. If this is done, I am sure that the need will very largely be met. It is not, however, only the clergy who are concerned in this matter. There is not a layman, not a man or woman in this hall to-day, but has it in his or her power to aid the supply. Can we not do something to encourage missionaries? Cannot we try and stop some of that wretched depreciatory talk that you sometimes hear about the missionary field. I have never heard a man talk about the objections to missionary work in India, but I have a strong desire to hold a public examination of that man lasting for five minutes ; and I have always said that I would undertake to bowl him over, and to give a good sum if I did not. I do not think it is possible to obtain a full realization of the importance of missionary work until clergy and laity alike recognize that it is a part of their own natural work. When they do that, the supply of missionaries will be very largely met ; and when the supply is obtained, the training will almost of necessity follow. When there is such an outpouring of the Spirit of God that young men and women come forward for missionary work, I am certain that the outpouring will lead to such a further development of the system of training as will enable us to supply what we desire to supply to the colonial field and the mission field alike, namely, duly qualified spiritual agents to extend the Kingdom of God.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

A VERY interesting subject, which has been made specially attractive by the issue of the Papal Bull a fortnight ago, or less, has drawn many of the members of the Congress to the Congress Hall this afternoon, but a remnant has been left here, and that remnant has been a very earnest remnant indeed. We may be quite sure that all present are most deeply interested in the mission work of our Church, and will not regret having listened to the addresses which have been delivered. Most of us were, I suppose, present also in the Congress Hall this morning. I may mention two thoughts which have specially impressed themselves upon my mind with regard to the subject of this morning's and this afternoon's discussion, and which, I think, we may very well carry away with us, in reference to the position of the missionary work of the Church of England at the present time. The first is that God is leading us by the operation of the law of the land, in its relation to the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to evangelize the world by means of independent local Churches, whose centre is Christ and not Rome; and the second is that the community we belong to covers with a network the whole world at the present time, and that it has but one life. We should all of us realize more fully than we have done hitherto the unity of the life of our Church in every part of the world, and should feel that we are under obligations one to another, that we have common interests, and that by realizing more and more that we are members of one body, working with one object, in whatever portion of the world we may be called upon to labour, we should strengthen that position, and should carry forward the missionary work of the Church. I earnestly trust and pray that the blessing of God may rest richly upon us, and that even we in our own lifetime may see still greater results than have followed the labours in the mission field during the past generation.

*MUSIC HALL.*THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH in
the Chair.

THE DISCIPLINARY POWERS OF THE ANGLICAN
CHURCH OVER CLERGY AND LAITY
RESPECTIVELY:

THEIR ORIGIN AND EXERCISE, AND THE NEED OF THEIR
ADAPTATION TO PRESENT REQUIREMENTS.

PAPERS.

The Rev. CHARLES GORE, Canon of Westminster.

FROM time to time a strong expression of opinion makes itself heard that a revival of discipline in our Church is a necessity, and there can be no doubt at all that the exercise of discipline by the Church over its members is an essential element in the Christianity of Christ. He gave to His Church the power to bind and to loose, that is, to declare what might be done or what might not be done by its members, if not with infallible authority, yet still with a divine sanction—"Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven;" and He gave a power

to apply these decisions in discipline upon individuals, when He said, "Whose sins ye remit they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain they are retained." To S. Paul such exercise of discipline is an axiom of Church life; "Do not ye judge them that are within?" he says. And it has characterized the life of the Church as a whole, so that perhaps, in no part of the Church, and at no period, has it been more in abeyance than it is amongst us. Not of course that it does not exist, especially in some of our Missionary Churches, in a vigorous and effective form; but it does not affect appreciably the life of the Church as established at home. I say from time to time strong convictions are expressed that this state of things must be remedied, but these expressions are apt to be met with a shrug of the shoulders indicative of despair, or with the pessimism which suggests that any practical attempt to revive discipline under present circumstances would do more harm than good. I do not believe this. I cannot doubt that an ideal of action reasonably formed and strongly held might gradually pass into practice. But the first thing is to have our ideal. In our revival of discipline, what is it we are aiming at?

At starting, then, I would lay down this position—the ideal of the Anglican Church is that of a moderate government. It would allow large differences both in teaching and practice, but the differences would exist upon a basis of agreement definite and deep enough to secure the real feeling of unity, fellowship, and co-operation. This ideal of moderate government we should not only hold, but hold unabashed. I say this, because to me it seems impossible to examine the ideals of Christ and His Apostles without seeing that there may very easily be too much government in the Church; that too much theological and moral direction may very easily be given; and too high a moral value be set on the virtue of mere obedience to external authority. But, granted that we are to aim at an ideal of government which leaves a great deal of room for minor differences in doctrine and practice, how are we to proceed to secure any reality of government or discipline at all?

To this I should answer that we must begin by doing our best to secure reality in our definition of Church membership. We hear very often that the clergy are not the Church. There is no truth which it is so important for us practically to learn. But the question then arises, Who are the Church? For if the clergy are not the Church, it is certainly no less true that the present inhabitants of the country are not the Church. What is a layman? We want to give him privileges and responsibilities, but it is quite impossible to allow rights in any society to a person who does not fulfil his duties. This is an absolutely necessary maxim of all government whatsoever. "Political rights," says Mazzini, "are only the correlative of political duties done." I do not believe that any society, from a debating society up to a State or a Church, can exist healthily for any period of time without the observance of this maxim. By a layman, then, I mean one who fulfils the duties of Church membership. I mean, therefore, first of all, one who is baptized into the Church; who has been confirmed if he has reached years of discretion, and is a communicant. The recognition of this requirement of membership is, I believe, the very first step necessary in the restoration of Church discipline, or, what is a part of Church discipline, the restoration to the laity of a due share in Church government. Of course

objections are at once raised against a "communion test." Such objections were absolutely valid when to be a communicant was made a requisite for the holding of civil offices. But the Parish Councils Bill has removed from ecclesiastical officers the last remnants of their civil function, and I cannot conceive how, for the privileges of Churchmanship pure and simple, any valid objection whatever can be raised to the requirement. No doubt it is undesirable that a man should be able to obtain the privileges of laymanship by a sudden act of Communion. But I would suggest some arrangement of this kind. A roll of Church members should exist in each parish, or recognized centre of worship, on which should be entered the name of each confirmed person, male or female. If they remain on the roll, on reaching a certain age, each man or woman should obtain the privileges of Churchmanship, including powers of voting and (if a man) of representation. They would be transferred to another roll in case of change of residence, and they would be struck off the roll if they had failed to present themselves at Communion, shall we say for two successive years ending with Easter, and could only be restored to it at the Easter following their return to Communion. This would prevent a person either lapsing over suddenly or restoring himself for a momentary emergency. Further, they would be removed from the register of communicants and from the rights of Communion, if publicly convicted of scandalous offences. The conviction might have taken place through the civil courts, or, if at any time it were restored, through the canonical process of presentment by the churchwardens. When thus excommunicated, no person ought to be restored to Communion except by the action or with the consent of the bishop. As regards orthodoxy, if a layman comes forward as a theological teacher, he may reasonably be required to come under the same requirements as the clergy. But otherwise no theological requirement in regard to Communion should be made of the layman. The matter should be left to his or her own conscience. And I should wish it to be remarked that no discipline for the laity which I have suggested gives any arbitrary power at all to the individual parish priest.

I have spoken thus far of the discipline of the layman, or the Churchman as such, because I believe that here is the fundamental question, and that without some definition of a Churchman, we can have no recognition of the rights of Churchmen, and therefore no correction of the evils which arise from the practical identification, in so many departments, of the clergy with the Church. But I proceed to the subject of the discipline of the clergy.

Here, first, I should like to see the establishment of better discipline in the method by which men become clergy. I am sure that at the very least every candidate for Orders ought to have been either at a theological college, or under some theological and spiritual instruction approved by one of the bishops, for a year before taking Holy Orders.

Once ordained, the discipline upon us is of three kinds, moral, theological, and ritual. With the moral discipline I do not in this paper propose to deal, simply because it is a subject to which a good deal of attention is being given, not because I do not think it is one of the most important subjects possible. With regard to the theological discipline, I would recognize in the laity no right except that of presentment to the bishop, and in the administration of this discipline it is absolutely

essential that no regard should be had to vague understandings. The test should be absolutely and solely the written standards of the Church. This will mean that no tampering whatever should be allowed with the unmistakable teachings of the Creeds. It is thoroughly demoralizing that men should be allowed to make public professions which do not correspond to their personal teaching. And on the fundamentals of Christianity it is essential that the laity should be able to depend upon hearing only one voice from the pulpits of the Church. It would mean also that no public teaching would be allowed which was not in harmony with the language of the Catechism, or (so long as the XXXIX. Articles are retained) with the *explicit* declarations of the Articles. I should myself feel that there is a good deal to be said for abolishing subscription to the Articles, but I believe that, owing to the vague language and temporary application of many of them, the specific requirements which they involve, over and above those involved in Creeds and Catechism, are as few as possible. I should also mention that in speaking above of the Creeds I was referring to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and would have it plainly enunciated that the *Quicumque vult* is, for all purposes, to be regarded as a canticle rather than as a creed. In a word, my idea of clerical discipline in the matter of doctrine would be to require thorough conformity as regards the fundamentals of Christian teaching, and the loyal use of the means of grace and of the formulas which the Church provides to accompany and interpret them; but, short of the fundamentals, to accept, whether as a necessity or as the best thing possible, wide limits of tolerated liberty of opinion. Only I would have it always impressed upon the clergy that whatever they teach, they must be able to teach as out of Scripture, and that the things which lie at the centre of Christianity should be always the main and paramount subjects of their attention.

We pass from doctrine to the question of ritual. Here, again, I would emphasize the principle that, because we desire or are compelled to allow large limits of liberty, it does not therefore follow that there is to be no government, no restriction on the freedom of the parson. The services of the Prayer-book may be rendered with a meagre bareness or with the richest accompaniment of music and ritual. In this respect I would advocate the fullest freedom—but in either case it should be the same services that are rendered, so that it should be manifest to anyone in the congregation that the services are the same, and that the differences have to do with the dressing and not with the substance of them. I would not myself allow any omission from the authorized services to be made without episcopal license, though in certain cases, as for the general omission of the long exhortation in the Communion Service, that permission would no doubt be freely or even universally given, and the bishops are already showing a willingness to license additional or substituted devotions in special cases. But I think the time has come to remove it altogether from the power of an individual presbyter to make changes at his will and pleasure in the authorized services. Also once granted a proper definition of a layman, and I would allow to the laity of each parish rights, within certain limits, to prevent changes in the mode of conducting the parochial services; that is to say, I would give to them in regard to ritual no rights of course as against the Prayer-book direction, no rights again as over any piece of ritual which has

definitely within recent years been declared to be legal, but considerable rights over that margin of things which are tolerated rather than legislated upon. And before leaving this matter of ritual and discipline, I would emphasize that the only prospect of its being submitted to respectfully lies in its being applied impartially. It is notorious that since the rise of the ritual movement the application of Church discipline which has been attempted has been often partial and apparently dictated by popular clamour. For this very reason on the whole it has failed, and we are now in a condition unwholesomely licentious. There is no chance, then, of a wholesome restoration of discipline unless it is administered on a basis of strict impartiality, and in view of tangible and written requirements. For example, I have more than once heard of bishops who were severe upon ritual exaggerations, real or supposed, but have tolerated or even enjoined a remarkable laxity about the requirement of Confirmation before Communion. That sort of administration of discipline I should call arbitrary or partial. And at least in our time one is thankful to recognize that such a discipline is sure to fail.

In the restoration of discipline what is essential is that we should proceed by stages. The first thing is to create an ideal in the minds of Church people generally. The ideal must, I repeat, be a practical one, or one which corresponds to the facts of our position. It is such an ideal that I have endeavoured to sketch. Granted that once such an ideal existed in the minds of a great body of Church people, the next thing would be to promote its adoption as a declared policy in all ways in our power. We should, of course, have in view the reorganization of Church Courts and Diocesan Synods, the reform of Convocation, and the restoration of its legislative powers. This is probably to look far ahead. But the great thing is to have an ideal and make a beginning.

I am, however, sure of this, that we cannot hope to make any way at all in the attempt to restore Church discipline unless we are prepared to define Church membership. Any attempt to distinguish between the Englishman and the Churchman will no doubt raise the cry of "the National Church," and the warning that we are hastening the day of Disestablishment. Now it is always possible, for Churches as for individuals, to sacrifice ends to means, *et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*; and I am sure that that is what we are now doing, so far as we are allowing fear of Disestablishment, or the desire of being a national body, to hinder us from consolidating the life of the Church by putting into practice principles which our Scriptural profession constantly presses upon our notice. We may or may not remain an established Church, but warnings are thickening around us that if we will not draw the distinction both as regards moral obligation and as regards membership between the Church and the nation, we are laying up in store for ourselves certain disaster.

The Worshipful P. V. SMITH, M.A., LL.D., Chancellor of
the Diocese of Manchester.

WHATEVER differences of opinion there may be on the subject of Church discipline, no one will dispute the fact that the disciplinary powers of our Church over her laity are at present in a state of almost complete

suspense. But the causes of this suspense are probably not so universally recognized. The average Churchman has derived his only ideas on the subject from the opening sentences of the Communion Service, which tell him that in the Primitive Church there was a godly discipline in the shape of a general public penance of notorious sinners at the beginning of Lent, and that the restoration of this discipline is much to be wished. If he thinks that ever since those sentences were inserted in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., not only the particular discipline referred to in them, but every other kind of lay discipline, has been in abeyance in our Church, and that this has been owing to the changes effected at the Reformation, and to the intimate connection between the Church and the State, he labours under a great delusion.

The reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. covered a busy period in the annals of Church discipline. Persons were brought up before the courts of the archdeacons and other ecclesiastical tribunals, not only for gross acts of immorality (using that word in its restricted and conventional sense), and for blasphemy and heresy, but also for slighter offences against religion or good order. Men were censured for such actions as fox-hunting on Sundays, tipping and card-playing instead of coming to church, sitting during the Creed or not kneeling during prayers, and leaving church during the middle of service. They were also proceeded against for brawling in church or churchyard, and for libel and slander, and for using abusive language. We find two women prosecuted in the Diocese of London for attempting to sew up a man in a sheet; another woman for wishing herself to be a witch for a time that she might be avenged of her adversary; and another for hanging linen in the church to dry. If the gravity of the offence appeared to require it, penance was prescribed. The offender stood bare-headed before the pulpit during divine service clad in a sheet (unless this stigma was dispensed with). After hearing an appropriate sermon, he professed hearty sorrow for his offence, asked forgiveness from God and the congregation, and faithfully promised never to commit the like sin again, but to live in future a godly and Christian life. Disobedience to the monitions of the ecclesiastical courts was punished by excommunication, which involved serious civil disabilities as well as loss of religious privileges.

What has brought about the completely opposite state of things which exists to-day? There have been, doubtless, a few changes in the law. The punishment of death for heresy and other similar ecclesiastical offences was abolished towards the end of Charles II.'s reign. Early in the present century, excommunication was abrogated as the consequence of disobedience to orders of the ecclesiastical courts. And some forty years ago Parliament took away from those courts all jurisdiction in matrimonial causes, and in cases of libel and slander, and also all jurisdiction over laymen for brawling in church or churchyard. A few years before, the Act 5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 1 (which authorized the infliction of the censures of the Church on all persons within the king's dominions who did not attend divine service on Sundays and holydays, having no reasonable ground for absence), was repealed as to Dissenters usually attending some other place of worship, and it was enacted that no pecuniary penalty was to be inflicted upon a delinquent. But with these modifications the Act still remains on our Statute Book; and it is

therefore public opinion, and not the law, which prevents members of the Church of England and chapel-neglecting Dissenters from being brought before the ecclesiastical courts for absence from church, without adequate excuse, on Sundays and saints' days, and being censured for their default and being mulcted in the costs of the proceedings. Similarly, there has never been any abrogation of the rubrics before the Communion Service or the Canons of 1603, which provide for the exclusion from Holy Communion of notorious offenders and schismatics. Nor have the Canons been ever repealed which require churchwardens and sidesmen to present to the ordinary all persons who neglect to attend Church, or offend their brethren by uncleanness or wickedness of life, that they may be punished according to their deserts. The ecclesiastical courts possess to this day the same power of enjoining penance as they had in the seventeenth century; and they have actually exercised it within the last seventy years. If, then, the present decay of discipline is not due to a deliberate alteration of the law, to what is it due?

To answer this question, we must remember what are the two distinct objects of discipline—(1) the spiritual benefit of the offenders themselves, and (2) the maintenance of the proper standard of doctrine and morals in the whole Church. We have come to recognize that, in the case of laymen not holding any Church office, or in receipt of any Church emolument, discipline cannot be compulsorily applied for the first of these objects. As between man and man, an individual has the right to escape from discipline by voluntarily seceding from the Church; and the ease and immunity from temporal disadvantage with which this can be done have largely contributed to the decay of Church discipline in our midst. But in order to secure the second object, it must always be the right and duty of the Church compulsorily to exercise disciplinary powers, and, in the last resort, to expel recalcitrant offenders from her communion. The fact that these powers are, in the present day, so little exercised for the general good of the Church, is due in part to the code of morals of the State having been practically identical with that of the Church, so that State discipline has to a large extent covered the field of Church discipline, and, in part, to the elevation of public opinion to a Christian standard, so that persons holding doctrines differing from those of the Church, or leading immoral lives, although not amenable to the law of the State, have for the most part voluntarily abstained from actively claiming Church privileges.

But there are not wanting signs that all this may be shortly changed, and that persons whom the Church must regard as living in open sin may endeavour to insist on their right to remain in her communion. I am not now referring to persons who have intermarried after one of them has been divorced, since, whatever may be the convictions of individual Churchmen as to what ought to be the law of our Church respecting such persons, that law, as it actually stands, does not warrant their exclusion from Church privileges. But a recent Act of the Jersey Legislature has conferred civil validity on marriage with a deceased wife's sister within a portion of the Diocese of Winchester, and the passage of a similar Bill through the House of Lords towards the end of last session shows that there is a grave danger of this legislation being soon extended to the whole of England. Under these circumstances the duty of

the Church is clear. She must at all costs maintain the integrity of her marriage law on the point in question. It was suggested in this hall last evening that a divergence between the State marriage law and the Church marriage law might involve disestablishment. This certainly need not necessarily be the case. The Church remains established in India, although the State law of that country permits, in the case of Mohammedans and Hindoos, polygamous and other unions utterly abhorrent to Church law. If an Act of Parliament is passed declaring the incestuous unions which we are considering to be civilly valid, we shall be bound to respect it as citizens. But we shall be equally bound, as Churchmen, to insist that it shall not be treated as altering the law of the Church. The Bill of last session, as originally drawn, contained a clause relieving clergymen from any liability for refusing the privileges of the Church to persons living together in such unions; but the clause was struck out on the ground that it authorized individual clergymen to set themselves above the law of the land. The criticism was just; for the clause was misconceived. It ought to have provided, not that a clergyman might refuse Church privileges to the persons in question, but that, when the Bill became law, such persons should not be thereby invested with any Church privileges which they would have forfeited by their conduct if the Bill had not been passed. An attempt on the part of Parliament, either directly or indirectly, to compel the Church to regard marriage with a deceased wife's sister as anything but incestuous concubinage, would be a gross violation of the first article of Magna Charta. It would be *in foro conscientie* void, and must be treated as such. For the revival of Church discipline which this will necessitate, the Church, as we have seen, already possesses ample legal powers, and only requires a general determination on the part of her members to preserve them unimpaired and to put them in force.

The Rev. J. H. OVERTON, D.D., Rector of Epworth, and
Prebendary of Lincoln.

THE branch of this important subject with which I have to deal is the historical one. What light does Church history throw upon Church discipline? The word "origin," which occurs in the title, carries us back to the very earliest ages of Christianity; for Church discipline traces its origin back to the Fountain-head, and claims no lower authority than the actual words of the Divine Master Himself and of His inspired Apostles. On these the primitive Church framed an elaborate system of discipline, and enforced it with more or less rigour and success for four centuries. All her censures concerned the souls, not the bodies, of men; they were partly punitive, partly medicinal, but always purely spiritual, and were always directed only against those who belonged to her own communion. There were three stages in the ancient discipline. First came the admonition of the offender, which was repeated twice before greater severities were resorted to. If this was of no avail, it was followed by the "Lesser Excommunication," which suspended the offender from the Holy Communion, and from the prayers of the faithful at the altar, but did not expel him from other parts of the Church

service. If he was still obdurate, then followed the "Greater Excommunication," which totally expelled him from the Church, and severed him from all communion in holy offices with her. To those who valued their Christian privileges—and in those days it was not likely that any would call himself a Christian who did not—this was a terrible sentence. Christians were not allowed to receive excommunicated persons into their houses, nor to eat at the same table with them, nor to give them Christian burial. The readmission of a penitent was a very long and elaborate process. He had to make a public confession of his sin in the face of the Church; the bishop laid his hands upon him, and publicly imposed his penance upon him, and he was required to make satisfaction, which generally consisted of three things, having reference respectively to God, his neighbour, and himself: prayers, in regard to God; alms, in regard to his neighbour; and fasting, in regard to himself. Then he was absolved, and again admitted into the congregation. But open penance was only allowed once. The severest Church censures did not affect either natural or civil rights; the parent had still authority over his children; the magistrate might still execute his office. The exercise of this discipline was originally in the hands of the bishop of each diocese; he was the censurer, he was the excommunicator, he was the absolver. But he had discretionary power, and could devolve it upon his presbyters. A little later he appointed a special officer, called a "penitentiary," who had to hear the confession of the penitent privately and to decide whether it was to be publicly made or not. The bishop did not act arbitrarily; he took counsel with his presbyters duly assembled in Diocesan Synod; and the offender had a right of appeal from the bishop in council to the archbishop in council; in other words, from the Diocesan to the Provincial Synod.

The discipline of the clergy was, from the nature of the case, somewhat different from that of the laity; for lay communion, which was a privilege to the layman, was a degradation to the clergyman, who, by being reduced to it, was *ipso facto* deprived of the power and authority of his clerical office. Therefore, very frequently what was punished by excommunication in a layman was punished by degradation to lay communion in a clergyman. Even permanent degradation was a very severe punishment for such a man; and, short of this, was the punishment of suspension. A clergyman might be suspended for negligence of duty, for engaging in secular business, which tended to divert him from his proper work, for absenting himself from his diocese, for not observing the Lenten Fast, and the fasts of the fourth and sixth days of each week.

In the exercise of discipline in the early Church there was no distinction between the rich and the poor; to both alike there was but one way back, the way of a "*justa et legitima pœnitentia*"; and so far from there being any such custom as that of commuting or redeeming penances, the Church would receive no gifts or offerings whatever from those who lay under her censures; no, not even if they came simply as pure gifts without any idea of being substitutes for penance.

Such was the ancient discipline of the Church, which has never been abrogated, but has simply fallen into disuse through very obvious causes. We lament its decay every Ash-Wednesday; but let us be fair to our own branch of the Church. The matter is sometimes stated as

if the Anglican Church had by her own fault let slip the reins of discipline which she had once held. This is historically incorrect. The decay of the ancient discipline began at least two hundred years before the English Church was founded. It is difficult to assign a definite date to so indefinite a thing as the gradual decay of anything; but we shall not be far wrong in assigning the year 440—the English Church was not really founded in 640—as marking a very definite step in the process of decay. In that year Leo the Great became pontiff, and he it was who did away with the necessity of public confession, which was of the very essence of the ancient discipline. How discipline decayed in the century which followed may be seen in the “*Pastorale*” of Gregory the Great. The tone in which he writes of this discipline, which he was most anxious to restore, shows that it was practically a lost thing in his time. Archbishop Theodore, the true founder of the English Church as a National Church, made a very definite attempt to revive the lost discipline. The “*Pœnitentiale*,” which bears his name, is the earliest and most celebrated of all works of the kind; it enters minutely into the various classes of sins, and assigns the proper degree of penance for each. It was followed by others framed on its model, notably by two, bearing the names of two great English Churchmen, the “*Pœnitentiale*” of Bede, and that of Egbert, Archbishop of York in the eighth century. Archbishop Theodore, however, has been held responsible for two innovations which were fatal to the primitive idea of discipline: the substitution of private for public penance, and the admission of commutations, especially of pecuniary commutations, for acts of penance. But it is not quite clear that he is responsible, at any rate for the latter; for though there is a “*capitula*” in his “*Penitential*” on “the Redemption of Penance,” its editor, Morinus, is of opinion that this is an interpolation by some later hand. Discipline, sometimes of a very elaborate kind, and much after the pattern of the primitive Church, was certainly exercised in the early English Church; but the fact that that Church was also enriched by vast sums left to it by penitents is an indication that the primitive purity of discipline was not maintained.

In the mediæval Church many circumstances contributed to the utter ruin of the ancient discipline. The practice of making pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and still more that of joining a crusade, in lieu of penance, the granting of indulgences, and, above all, the interference of the civil power, were fatal hindrances. Our early Norman kings were the last men to submit, or to allow their followers to submit, to Church discipline. William I. found it exceedingly useful to have the sanction of the Church in his enterprise for the subjugation of England. He was quite ready to pose as the leader of a holy war against the impious Harold; but when his purpose was accomplished he had no idea of subjecting himself and his conquering warriors to Church authority. Eadmer, the most trustworthy of mediæval chroniclers, tells us that William would “permit no bishop of his realm to excommunicate any of his barons or great ministers, or to lay them under any ecclesiastical censures, however enormous their crimes might be, without his leave and license first obtained for that purpose”—a thing utterly unknown in early Christian days—and his great-grandson, Henry II., confirmed this in the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164). Another circumstance

which rendered discipline practically impossible in the mediæval Church was the secularization of bishops. It has been seen that with the bishop in early times the whole exercise of discipline lay ; but when he was immersed, as he was in the Middle Ages, in all sorts of secular business, he had neither the time nor the capacity for conducting that which was once one of the most essential parts of his work ; hence arose the devolving of ecclesiastical discipline upon ecclesiastical courts held in his name.

When we pass from the mediæval Church to the Church of the Reformation period, we certainly find a revival of interest in the subject of the ancient discipline, though that interest cannot be said to have led to any widely-spread practical results. In our own formularies the subject is by no means ignored. It would be hard to find a better sketch of the ancient discipline than that with which our Communion Service commences ; our XXXIII. Article is very express, both upon the duty and upon the effects of excommunication ; the service for the Visitation of the Sick is quite in the spirit of the ancient order of clinical absolution. The Homily for Whitsunday makes "the right use of ecclesiastical discipline" one of "the three notes or marks whereby the true Church is known." The catechism of Edward VI., 1553, gives "four marks of the visible Church," one of them being what "the holy fathers termed discipline." In theory we have not much to complain of. How is it that theory is not reduced to practice ? One of the chief reasons was the growing practice of calling in the aid of the State. In fact, the alliance of the civil power was really more fatal to true discipline than its enmity. An element was introduced which tended to the utter confusion of things temporal and things spiritual ; discipline could not be enforced when it carried with it, as it was never intended to do, civil as well as spiritual disabilities. It is fair to add that our best post-reformation divines, such as Hooker,* Bingham,† Hickes,‡ Marshall,§ Kaye,¶ Short,|| who have written on the subject, emphatically protest against this confusion. But even strong Churchmen hardly seem to have realized it. For instance, it was a brave and honest attempt of Laud to enforce Church discipline by bringing offenders of rank and influence under Church censures in the High Commission Court for their offences against religion and morality ; but it was utterly against the spirit of the ancient discipline to mulct them in pecuniary fines, and to employ the civil arm against them.

Among the many subjects of dispute between Conformists and Non-conformists after the restoration of the monarchy, that of Church discipline occupied a prominent place ; the former contending that, according to ancient usage, the spiritual power should be lodged in the hands of the bishops ; the latter, that it should be lodged in each parish in the hands of its pastor. Isolated cases of the exercise of discipline according to the primitive pattern were not infrequent, but

* "Ecclesiastical Polity," Bk. VI., ch. III., sec. 1.

† "Origines Ecclesiasticæ ; or the Antiquities of the Christian Church," Bk. XVI., ch. II., sec. 3.

‡ "The Constitution of the Catholic Church," p. 93.

§ "The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church," Introd., p. 8.

¶ "Charge to the Diocese of Lincoln," 1846.

|| "History of the Church of England," sec. 426.

it can hardly be said to have formed an integral part of the restored Church's system. What is vaguely called the Revolution Settlement drove another nail into the coffin of discipline by still further confirming the connection of civil penalties with ecclesiastical censures ; but in the remarkable Church revival which took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century an attempt was on the eve of being made to place discipline upon a more proper footing. In 1713 Convocation received royal letters of business to consider, among other things, excommunications, penances, etc.* This led to the publication of a work, which is still a *locus classicus* on the subject of discipline, Dr. Nathaniel Marshall's "Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church for the first four hundred years after Christ, together with its declension from the fifth century downwards to its present state." It was published anonymously in 1714. The writer hopes that Convocation would prepare a penitentiary office. "The juncture," he says, "looks favourable, the eyes of the world are upon them, and somewhat is expected proportionable to their own great abilities, and to the encouragement they have from a gracious Queen to exert them." (Introd. p. 4.) It must be remembered that Queen Anne was still a comparatively young woman, and there seemed time enough for much work to be done, when Church principles were certainly reviving to a very great extent. But within a year she died, and a new order of things set in which was not conducive to the revival of discipline. The party of which Bishop Hoadly was the ablest representative became dominant ; and one of the complaints of Convocation in 1717 against Hoadly was that his writings tended "to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce His kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion."† The whole tone and spirit of the Georgian era were against discipline, though there are instances of its exercise throughout the eighteenth century. But there was one little spot where it flourished in its pristine vigour. "If," said Lord Chancellor King, "the ancient discipline of the Church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man." This was due to one single man, the saintly Bishop Wilson, who did his duty, undeterred by the fear of man, most nobly and successfully ; but the circumstances of the Isle of Man differed from those of the adjacent Isle of Great Britain ; and, moreover, there were not many like Bishop Wilson.

One most important word in conclusion. It must be clearly borne in mind that matters of discipline are not like matters of faith. The latter are unalterable ; the former may be altered to an indefinite degree to suit the varying exigencies of various times, so long as no Church principle is infringed. Our best authorities are quite clear on this point.‡ So, saving principles, we English Churchmen have a free hand in this matter. We are not on a bed of Procrustes ; we may cut and carve the bed to the shape of the man ; we need not cut and carve the man to the shape of the bed.

I have but touched the fringe of a great subject ; but if I have shown

* See Phillimore's "Ecclesiastical Law," new ed., 1896, II., 1540.

† "Sacra Privata," p. 188.

‡ See *inter alia*, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," Bk. III., ch. X., sec. 7, and Bk. VI., ch. II., sec. 2 ; and Palmer's "Treatise of the Church," II., 219.

from history these three points, (1) that Church discipline is a purely spiritual thing, (2) that it is to be exercised only on those who belong to our communion, (3) that it may be adapted to the changed circumstances of the age, it may perhaps a little clear the way for future speakers.

H. W. HILL, Esq., Churchwarden of S. John's, Horsley Down, Southwark.

I DESIRE to approach this subject from the strictly lay point of view of the working Churchman, the man of business, destitute of any professional interest in the questions involved, who believes thoroughly in the mission of the Church, and who regards her as the most potent force, under proper conditions, in the work of leading the nation into right paths.

Under proper conditions, and no condition is more necessary than the existence of a wise and healthy discipline. No society of men, however lofty its aims, however rich in the high character of its members, can permanently discharge its functions satisfactorily, or realize its own ideals, if it is bereft of disciplinary power. In this surely we are all agreed. Our work, it seems to me, is one of restoration and adaptation. Something in these directions has been accomplished, something more is needed, something more is promised.

First, then, as to the clergy. By clergy I mean every ordained and consecrated man, not merely the beneficed parochial clergyman; he, poor man, has been too much in mind lately, to the exclusion of other classes of clergymen, although I do not at present see how we can very well consider the unbeneficed, but licensed clergy, until their status is improved. At present there is quite enough disciplinary power of one sort or another for them. Nor can I consider that disgracefully large portion of the clergy, numbering in it some of the very flower of the English priesthood, those both unbeneficed and unlicensed. When of right, and not of charity, they have altars at which they may plead, it will be time enough to consider their case. Many of them have found the Church of England "a stony-hearted step-mother," and the existing disciplinary power, not always used with reason and justice, is quite sufficient. And so one is obliged to come back to the beneficed, but let the term include the dignified as well as the not dignified.

The fundamental condition to be insisted upon at all cost is, that no legislative changes are sought or accepted which would in any way contravene the rights of the Church as a living organic society, having within herself the divinely given power of making her own rules and giving her own judgments. This principle observed, one is in sympathy with any honest attempt to improve discipline for all, clergy and laity. It must, however, be remembered that, to the hurt of the Church, the doctrine of freeholds has been pushed to such an extremity in regard to ecclesiastical benefices, particularly in the case of the "superior" clergy, that the position of the present generation of men who have been, and are yet to be, legislated for, is not unlike that of the last holder of a lease with the terror of dilapidations staring at him. In times of activity, development, and change, when the necessity arises for a revision of conditions, in almost every department of our trying modern

life, "the last man in" runs a risk of suffering a good deal more than he really deserves. In worldly affairs men usually attempt, and as a rule succeed in, accommodating this difficulty in their practice. Can we say that this is so in Church affairs?

In dealing, then, with an incriminated clerk, the good of the Church is to be sought, but with justice and mercy to the individual. Our system has been bad; many things rightly reprobated now were winked at not so long ago, and we cannot tell how far the system has affected the unhappy man in view. He may be deprived, not degraded; he therefore remains a priest, joined to an everlasting society, and as such he remains a charge upon the Church. He must have hope in his heart, not despair; with hope he may get right, with despair never; with hope he may with God's grace live to wipe out the past and do good work; with despair his capacity for further mischief may be illimitable. The true theory of punishment is reformation and amendment, not destruction. Right principles observed, powers revived, fresh powers obtained; much will depend upon methods of administration—in the sight of all men. No hole and corner courts; evidence that shall satisfy not only those skilled in the practice of ascertaining truth and in the power of appraising facts, but all else. It is in the interest of the people that these things are done, and the people should see that they are well done.

Admitting the necessity for further legislation, I hold it to be a duty to closely examine every proposal by which fresh powers are sought by bishops. There was a clause in a recent Bill which one viewed with alarm. It was to the effect that a clergyman could be deprived if he gave occasion for scandal. If we could guarantee that narrow-minded and intolerant people with long tongues, and with what perhaps is worse, long purses, should cease out of the land, and that no priest with a crank should ever be consecrated a bishop, such a clause might become law without remark. But with narrow-minded people in plenty, and bishops imposed on dioceses without reference even to the wishes of the dioceses or their particular needs, and ruling as autocrats without their synods, it is perhaps well to call attention to the danger lurking in such a proposal.

There are plenty of harmless acts, nay, righteous ones, that might be worked into an occasion for scandal. Wearing grey trousers would upset some people. But playing a game of cards with the choirmen, going to the village inn as brave and noble Charles Kingsley did, encouraging Sunday cricket as holy John Keble did, taking a healthy line about amusements, or a bold position about some public wrong, to say nothing of being as our blessed Lord, a friend of publicans and sinners, all these could be twisted into occasions of scandal.

As to the laity. Discipline is needed, but at present no legislation is required. It can be administered effectively enough in most respects if the clergy will be true to their office, and the bishops will support their clergy, even at the risk of the defiance of the press, public opinion, and even Parliament. There may be matters of more importance to religion than the details and perfecting of diocesan organization, or the work of Church Defence.

Thus, this century has been marked by a tremendous increase of material wealth. According to Mr. Gladstone, the increase has been

greater than during all the centuries intervening since the Norman Conquest. The possession of wealth is attended by grave social and individual dangers. Much of it has been acquired by methods hard to justify by Christian ethics, and it has the power of acquiring more by possibly less justifiable means. The Communion Service is plain in denouncing what we now call social sins. We say we want the godly discipline of the Primitive Church restored. We must make that service more real, and arouse the consciences of men. The second rubric in the Communion Office also clearly expresses the mind of the Church, and commands what should be done under certain conditions, but I suppose in most cases it would be wise to seek the concurrence of the diocesan. In respect of social sins, we are all verily guilty to some extent; they abound everywhere, and in various ways whole classes of the community are helpless. The Church has to teach again what is rightfully a man's own, and to help in the slow work of bringing about a juster and happier social order.

There are some cases covered by this rubric in which a faithful priest would be bound to act whether his bishop approved or not, cases where the Church's law of marriage has been disobeyed. It is our duty to the State as well as to the Church to maintain the Christian law of marriage.

A notable result of the preaching of repentance is that numbers of lay people voluntarily submit themselves to discipline, by the practice of confession in the presence of a priest. I say voluntarily, because, in the main, people convinced of sin have sought this sacrament of their own free-will, although there is reason to believe that there have been instances of individual priests on their own authority venturing outside limits plainly indicated, by insisting on confession as a condition to presentation for Confirmation. The teaching of the necessity of true repentance, and the indication of the means supplied by the Church, should suffice, without the imposition of conditions hard to justify.

It would be foolish to blink at the fact that the practice of confession has dangers to both priest and penitent. What strikes one as being inconsistent is, while in theory and largely in practice no priest is allowed to preach unless he is instituted or licensed, and so is in that respect under authority, in the difficult work of hearing confessions and giving counsel and absolution, any priest, fit or unfit, is left free to do as he pleases. This should not be. Has not the time arrived to heed the prayer of the four hundred and eighty priests in their petition to the bishops in 1873? It was: "That in view of the widespread and increasing use of sacramental confession, your venerable house may consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors in accordance with the provisions of Canon Law." It is unfair to young or inexperienced priests, and to lay people, that this wholesome practice should remain unregulated by authority. It is a testimony to the high character and sound sense of the clergy that scandals have been rare, but even in the case of a priest unwittingly making a *faux pas*, it is difficult to condemn while the practice remains unregulated by lawful Episcopal authority. Our modern civilization is evolving new forms of spiritual disease, the need for men especially fitted for this work is becoming more apparent, cases of commercial and sexual morals present many difficulties, and if

penitents require advice and counsel besides absolution, the need should be supplied.

These, then, are the thoughts of a layman humbly and sincerely desiring only the Church's good in her work for the salvation of souls and the promotion of human happiness.

The REV. T. A. LACEY, Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge.

I TAKE it as clear and agreed that the discipline of the Church is essentially the same at all times and for all persons—for the clergy and the laity alike. It is the exercise of the power to bind and loose committed to the Church by her divine Master. It has for its one object the spiritual well-being of the individual and of the community—the perfecting of the saints and the edifying of the Body of Christ. It is a part of the work of the ministry. It is the exercise of a spiritual power, and it deals directly with spiritual things alone. True, we see it in practice entangled with temporal accidents. The question whether or no a priest shall be allowed to exercise the ministry of the Word and sacraments is complicated by the fact that he has acquired certain rights of property attaching to his ministry. At one time the question whether a layman should be suspended from his privileges in the Church was complicated by the fact that excommunication carried with it certain civil disabilities. These interlacing rights and privileges are not always easy to disentangle, and their existence has gravely affected the practice of ecclesiastical discipline, and still more gravely perhaps the popular conception of it. But in theory at least we are able to distinguish between the spiritual and the temporal.

To remove a priest from the exercise of his sacred ministry and the care of souls is one thing; it is another to expel him from his benefice, or even from the material buildings of the Church. To excommunicate a man is one thing; to invoke the secular arm for his punishment is another. The two things are not only distinguishable—they are separable. We can easily imagine a state of things in which the removal of a priest from the sacred ministry would not immediately deprive him of his rights over the property of the Church. Indeed we do not need imagination to call up such a picture; history presents it. The classic instance is that of Paul of Samosata, deposed by a council from the office of bishop, but retaining the buildings and property of the Church of Antioch, until he was deprived of them by the judgment of the Emperor Valerian. One such instance clears away all confusion. We see at once that the temporal consequences of spiritual discipline flow from the source of all temporal authority—the State. Where such temporal consequences are in any measure annexed to the exercise of discipline, the judgment of the Church in depriving a priest of his office has the effect of depriving him also of his rights over the property of the Church—he is removed *ab officio et beneficio*. But the latter result is due to a privilege granted to the Church, implicitly or expressly, by the law. Ecclesiastical discipline in itself is concerned only with the former.

It belongs to the Church apart from all legal recognition. It is a power essentially belonging to the Church and exercised by the Church

from its foundation. It is the power of deciding who shall enjoy the rights of membership in the Church, and of determining how they shall be exercised. This power is unalterable. It is not of men or by man. It is possessed only as transmitted from those on whom the Lord originally bestowed it, the stewards of His kingdom. This is the meaning of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is perhaps unfortunate that a word derived from civil functions, and so intimately associated with them, should be used in speaking of the spiritual powers of the Church. But it is useless to quarrel with the history of words. We must accept the phrase, bearing in mind the distinction between the true spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, and the jurisdiction in temporal matters which is granted to ecclesiastics by the State.

The principle of spiritual jurisdiction, then, is unalterable; but the modes of exercising it are many and variable. Our existing method comes to us from the middle ages. The constructive genius of the middle ages produced a vast system of judicature both in Church and State. It met the needs, and it suited the habits of the times. It was not concerned only with securing justice. The whole administration of the Commonwealth was cast in a judicial mould. The Church followed suit, and ecclesiastical discipline became a thing of courts and judicial process.

We have inherited little more than a fragment of the great mediæval system, but it dominates all our ideas of discipline. Is a tightening of the reins demanded, we devise a new court. Does the general system need overhauling, we cast about for a Supreme Court of Appeal, which is to bring order out of chaos. Intent on the machinery, we are in danger of forgetting the principle. We have wrapped up the whole matter in technicalities, until not a step can be safely taken without the attendance of an experienced lawyer. Nay, the lawyer is not only called in as adviser, he is supposed to be the proper person to act. A whisper is occasionally heard suggesting that a bishop might himself perhaps in person administer discipline. A shout is raised at once in reply that a bishop is the last person in the world who ought to exercise judicial functions. I have heard a clergyman exclaim that he would rather be tried by a chairman of Quarter Sessions than by a bishop. One is tempted to ask, if a bishop is not competent to administer spiritual discipline, What in the world is he good for? If any barrister of ten years' standing is better fitted for this than he who has received the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop—of an overseer—in the Church of Christ, what is the meaning of the sacred ministry?

The truth is we have let the judicial machinery of discipline obscure the essential idea of discipline. But the judicial machinery is not necessary. It was unknown to the first ages of the Church. Even now it is tending to disappear. The discipline of the Church is permanent, but its methods vary. In the Roman Church itself, the home of unbending conservatism, the old tribunals, the organs of the mediæval papacy, exist indeed, but they have little or nothing to do. The discipline of the Church is in the hands of the Congregations—administrative committees, that is to say, of the Sacred College. We may not admire their methods, but they show at least that other methods than the judicial are possible and effective.

I have used a word which is characteristic of modern methods. They

are administrative. In civil life we have inherited much from the judicial machinery of the Middle Ages, but we have confined it within a narrow range. It no longer dominates the whole field of government. The ordinary affairs of the commonwealth are managed by administrative methods far less cumbrous, far more effective. Might it not be well for us to follow the same bent in the conduct of ecclesiastical discipline? Indeed we are doing so almost unconsciously. We have a very effective discipline for the unbeneficed clergy—speedy, sharp, and decisive; and it is not judicial. It is an administrative discipline worked by the bishop in person. It seems to give satisfaction. The same clergyman who claimed to be tried himself by a chairman of Quarter Sessions would appeal to the bishop with perfect confidence for the correction of a recalcitrant curate. There are, no doubt, faults in this method as now worked. It is perhaps too uncertain and arbitrary. It is sometimes too secret to be able to defy suspicion. It seems to lack system and regularity. But these are characteristic faults of a procedure which is only in process of formation; they are perhaps necessary features of natural and healthy growth.

We have here a new method of discipline growing up and gradually taking shape. In the experimental stage it is used on the unhappy body of the unbeneficed, who not unnaturally chafe a little under the treatment. I venture to hope that it may be employed—perhaps when the virus is sufficiently attenuated—for the good health of the beneficed clergy as well. A system of discipline administrative rather than judicial, pastoral rather than curial, would perhaps be more acceptable, and, therefore, more effectual. A priest is, after all, a functionary, an officer of the Church. What should we think of a civil constitution in which the functionaries of State could be removed from their posts only by a criminal prosecution? If you object that the Church is not bound to follow the varying customs of civil society, I shall reply that certainly it is not necessary, but that the Church has constantly done so. The earliest ecclesiastical jurisprudence was largely indebted to Roman law. Our system of benefices, with its incidents of institution, of induction, of deprivation, was borrowed in the main from feudalism. It was well for the Church to borrow thus; she was brought into a reasonable harmony with the ideas of the time. But if it was right to borrow from feudalism, how can it be wrong to borrow from the civil constitution under which we now live? During the last three hundred years civil society has developed a new kind of organization. It suits us, or it would not have grown; it is efficient, or it would never stand. Civil servants are regulated, not by judicial process, but by administrative control; they are removed, if need be, not by criminal process, but by administrative order. Why may not the Church adopt so efficient a system for the discipline of her own officers?

But why stop there? Is it the clergy only who are to be disciplined? To judge by the ordinary language of to-day one might think so; ecclesiastical discipline would seem to mean the regulation of the clergy in their official acts. But why is this? May we not find the cause in that vision of courts and process, of witnesses and counsel, of argument and sentence, which rises before us when we speak of discipline? The idea of spiritual discipline is entangled with other ideas which are altogether inharmonious. This system of judicature may fitly deal with

endowments and dilapidations, with rites and vestments, with grave-stones, perhaps, and pews, but what has it to do with the spiritual life of the members of Christ? The whole conception of discipline has been lowered to an earthly level; it has no longer any obvious connection with the saving of souls and the edifying of the body of Christ. In the House of Lords during the debate on the last Clergy Discipline Act, there was a little merriment over the phrase by which a delinquent is cited into the spiritual court *pro salute animae*. Where will you find a remedy for this but in depressing the judicial conception of discipline and exalting the pastoral idea? That godly discipline, the loss of which we deplore, was an exercise of the pastoral office.

You may look at the question from another point of view. What likelihood is there of subjecting the English laity anew to the ecclesiastical courts? Even if it were desirable, is it possible? If it is not, then we must either abandon the idea of discipline altogether, we must go on as now with excommunication unavailable even in the worst cases of scandal; or else we must work on some new lines. However it may have been in the past, you certainly will not edify the body of Christ or save a sinner now by haling him before the judgment seat, flourishing writs and summonses at him, mulcting him in costs which you cannot make him pay, pronouncing a judicial sentence which will cause in him no feeling but anger. Does anyone wish to revive all this? It will be quite another thing if the chief pastor invite him privately to clear himself publicly of some grave scandal, admonish him as a brother if he will not, cut him off in the last resort from the communion of the faithful; promise him freely absolution on repentance. There is the fundamental idea of discipline, and if this be applied with dignity and gentleness, who shall say that it may not avail to break a stubborn heart.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. ARTHUR PHILLIMORE, Rector of Enville, Stourbridge.

No one can doubt the importance of this subject, and anyone who looks down the room from this platform must believe that a great interest is now being taken in it. But I feel that, as regards our knowledge of the subject, many of us are in a somewhat nebulous condition, and are very thankful to the previous speakers for helping to clear away some of the "nebulosity." I do not think it is going beyond the mark to say that at the present moment discipline is the *weakest link* in the Church's chain. We thank God that the Holy Spirit in His progressive work has been leading us back into the full doctrine of the Holy Church; and it seems now as if in this present age of the Church, so full of hope and vitality, the question of discipline is being brought before men's consciences and minds. Some of the causes of the neglect of discipline at the present time have already been mentioned, but I would touch on one or two more. First of all, it is not perhaps generally known by the laity how much the State has encroached during the last century upon the prerogatives and existing powers of the Church. Not only so, but her privileges have also been interfered with, and I really doubt whether many members of the House of Commons actually know to what an extent the Church has been deprived of her rightful powers by the State itself. This, however, is really one of the first causes of our present difficulty, namely, the encroachment by the State in the past on the powers and prerogatives of the Church. But we must not lay all the blame on the State. We must put some of it on the clergy, and even on the officers of the clergy. We cannot really look back with satisfaction on our history during the eighteenth century. Bishop Wilson, in his

diocese of Sodor and Man, was indeed able to thank God that he had not only the power, but the free exercise of the discipline of the Church of Christ in his diocese; but when we look at other dioceses at that period we are pained by the laxity of the lives of the clergy and of the officers set over them. Another cause that has conduced to the present difficulty has to do with the laity. I believe one great difficulty and hindrance, both to our getting new powers for discipline in our Church and for the exercise of the existing powers, is the non-belief in many of the laity of the powers conferred in Holy Orders. We were told yesterday that only about one layman in a thousand is really keen about his Church. I wonder if it is true to say that a larger proportion than that have a very weak belief in the powers of Holy Orders. The Britisher is fond of being a Britisher and of exercising the privilege of thinking for himself, and often he is a Britisher before he is a Churchman; and I am certain that the work which the officers and clergy of the Church have still to do is to teach, as clearly and convincingly as they can, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, what powers are conferred upon the recipients of Holy Orders. At his Ordination every priest commits himself not only to administer the doctrine and the sacraments of the Church, but also the discipline of Christ; and every bishop consecrated before God is also charged to do the same within his diocese. Yet we have objection taken, often in ignorance, by the laity to the exercise of those same spiritual powers, and this is a real hindrance. As to the remedies, I can only touch on one or two. In the first place, if we want new powers or freedom in their exercise, we must educate our people, because the public conscience is a very good instrument, and although the results may not immediately appear, yet such education must produce good results in the long run. We must ask for the restoration of true discipline in the Church of Christ. We must ask, whether it be Convocation or any other authority, for a short enabling Act giving the Church power of legislation in matters relating to her internal affairs. The bishops should be requested to look carefully into the powers they may already possess, and to see whether they are now in the full exercise of them; and I think we might ask them also to encourage the study of Canon law. I am sure that I was not asked a single question about it when I was presented for Ordination. Public lectures might also be given to the clergy and theological students. In any case, let us encourage in every way the study of the history of discipline in the past, and the needs of it in the present. Further, I would ask this: Is there not such a thing as the discipline of the godly? Is there not such a thing as voluntary discipline, and would it not be possible for every loyal Churchman to subject himself voluntarily to the Church as indicating for her children not only a rule of faith, but also a rule of discipline? So begun, the work would soon influence others. How is it that the Common Prayer-book is sometimes held up to us as an authority, because someone in his zeal has perhaps overstepped the limits therein prescribed, while those who so held it up do not accept it as a guide to themselves in the matter of its calendar of feasts and fasts, and of its directions as to the frequency of Holy Communion? These rules of life are often disregarded, and the voluntary submission to the Prayer-book's rules of godly discipline is not seen, as it should be, in the lives of all avowed Churchmen.

ROBERT BATEMAN, Esq.*

THIS Congress has been a Church Reform Congress. I hope the following meetings on this question will take a concrete form, and that it will be settled what Church reform shall be. I want the laity to remember that it is easy for the bishops to do their duty in the case of a clergyman who is guilty of any very flagrant offence, but the difficulty is to deal with a clergyman who is tired of his work, tired of seeing his congregation Sunday after Sunday before him, and who wishes to live a life of low ease, not doing anything particularly wrong or of such a nature that his superior can come down upon him. It must also be remembered that at Ordinations the bishops have no spiritual Röntgen's rays by which they can see what is in the hearts of the ordinands who present themselves for Ordination at their hands.

* The MS. of this speech was not returned; these few lines have therefore been adapted from the *Guardian*.

The Rev. WILLIAM CROUCH, Vicar of Gamlingay.

IN all the discussions that have taken place at the Congress on Church Reform, one aspect of the subject has not had sufficient consideration. I stand here as an extreme radical and Christian socialist, and I am utterly horrified at the revolutionary tone of this Church Congress. We have heard a great deal about new legislation and schemes. What we have to learn is this: that schemes and laws, however good, are of no value, unless they are put into operation, and before we put any new schemes forward, what we want is that the powers that the bishops already possess as supreme rulers of Christ's Church shall be fully exercised. As an instance, there is the question of the issue of licences to persons who have been divorced to go through a form of marriage in our churches. The bishops have this matter entirely in their own hands. I do not know whether such licences are issued in this diocese. ("No.") I am thankful for that, and breathe a freer air. These licences given elsewhere are not things that the people can demand as a matter of right, they are given as a matter of favour; the bishops not only have a perfect right, as a matter of prudence and expediency, to refuse to issue them, but it is their duty to do so. The *lex orandi* is the *lex credendi*, and in spite of what we heard last night, I maintain that the marriage service in the Prayer-book explicitly declares that nothing can dissolve the marriage bond but death. Therefore I ask your lordship and your right rev. brethren of the Episcopal bench to use in this and other matters the powers you have in this and other matters before you ask for any fresh ones.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE had no more cards handed to me, and as there are still remaining a few minutes, perhaps you will allow me to fill up the time by attempting to weave together the substance of the remarks of the previous speakers. You have listened, I venture to think you will all admit, to very admirable papers, and those papers have set before you with very great clearness the origin, the growth, and the development of the disciplinary system of the Church. Let me indicate how I think this disciplinary system failed in its object, and so fell into disuse among us. The disciplinary system of the Church took its first step in the wrong direction, as Canon Overton showed, when it began to be legal. By becoming legal it naturally adopted the form of an absolutely legal system in every part of its detail, and lost its purely spiritual meaning and sanction. Thus, one result was, that when the Church was equipped with a legal system, it began to do work for the State which was not properly its own business. The State was exceedingly glad to have this work done; and the Church, at the time, was very glad to do it. In the early days the Church possessed men of capacity to be trained into lawyers, and the State did not. The result was, that the Church was able both to direct and to serve the State to a very marked degree. We are proud of what the Church did for the State in England, but there was a danger to the Church in its so doing. The Church, after leading the State to a certain degree, became subsidiary to it. So long as Church and State were absolutely one, all went well; but, as the State developed, it wished to do its own business for itself, and began to take over from the Church functions which were previously discharged by it alone. This led to conflict and confusion. The discipline of the Church over its members was mixed up with claims of jurisdiction by the Church courts as against the courts of the State. It is from the inextricable confusion of things secular and things spiritual that all subsequent difficulties have arisen. When we speak now about the law of the Church, it is desirable to pause and see what we are talking about. Are we talking about those spiritual laws which the Church, as a Church, is bound to maintain because it finds them in Scripture; or are we talking about legal principles which in past times the Church put forth in the discharge of legal functions performed for the State? There is a great difference between the two, and we must determine whether we mean the law which the Church made as a Church, or the law which the Church made on behalf of the State within a certain sphere which the State remitted to it. The consequence of the Church doing the latter work was that the administration of discipline by the Church certainly became complicated and very unpopular. Even the earliest notes we hear in English literature take the form of complaint against the clerical courts and their doings. We find from Piers Plowman and from Chaucer in what evil repute the officers of the ecclesiastical courts were then held. These officers were the archdeacons; and it was discussed in mediæval times whether or no it was possible for an archdeacon

to be saved. That was entirely due to the fact that people were annoyed with the technical law administered in their courts, and were further aggrieved when they were informed that it was all for the salvation of the souls of the people. Canon Overton has informed you what it is important to remember—that the disciplinary system of the Church had fallen to pieces, and became unpopular in very early times. The great revolt of the sixteenth century was largely a revolt against a system of discipline which penetrated into the most intricate parts of human life, and which dealt with breaches of the moral law according to a mechanical system. This system, so complicated and elaborate, penetrating, as I said into the most minute details of human life, constituted a burden which men found it very hard to bear. The result was that in the Church of England, after the separation of England from the Roman jurisdiction, there was great difficulty in adapting the old system to any intelligible form. Chancellor Smith has told you how far this was done. One great reason of this difficulty was that in the Middle Ages, as soon as laws were made on paper, a number of ingenious contrivances were invented to get rid of them. These were called dispensations, and these dispensations were kept in the hands of the Pope. You had a system which made great claims on paper, but its claims were frequently got rid of if a sufficiently able lawyer was employed, and sufficiently heavy fees were paid. It is well to talk about Canon law and to respect it, but Canon law is an enormous mass of decisions about a vast number of things; and he would be a bold man who undertook to say that he could really evolve a consistent system out of the enormous mass of matter which is contained in the Canon law. That Canon law, after the Reformation, was only applied to the disciplinary system in a small way, and Chancellor Smith has told you how the State gradually took over all that was of general importance in that system. What the State had previously allowed the Church to do for it, the State now does on its own behalf. But the Church, which had been permitted and encouraged by the State previously, had really educated the State to a knowledge of its duties. We have now reached a period when the State has taken over entirely all the disciplinary functions, applicable to the entire community, which once belonged to the Church. But in this process the right of the Church to exercise discipline over its own members has been overlooked. The consequence is that we have reached a time when we have the field open before us, when we can consider the question of discipline in itself, when we can go back to primitive custom unimpeded by any incumbrance or by the *débris* of past systems. That is a very great point to have reached. I said that the system of the Church in the Middle Ages was unpopular; some of the unpopularity remains to this day. Some traces still linger as survivals in the popular mind. I would ask the clergy present whether these survivals are only survivals, or are justified by anything in their present attitude and temper. People speak still as if they did not like the ecclesiastical temper, the sacerdotal temper, the clerical temper. These all express something the Englishman does not like. Now I think it is in our power to change all that. Why should not the clerical temper, the sacerdotal temper, the ecclesiastical temper mean a temper and attitude of general sympathy and ardent desire for the good of all, so convincingly expressed that it shall carry conviction to the minds of all with whom we have to deal? If you will follow that suggestion you will see that the principle we ought to keep before us, when considering the possibility of a renewal of the system of discipline, is that we must make it perfectly clear that we do not want it, either in the case of the clergy or of the laity, for the purpose of forming a massive and powerful organization which will bind its members together by close bonds, so that they may form a political power or party having objects of its own to serve apart from the welfare of the community. We must make it perfectly clear that we do not want to work any such system as that, but that we do want to confer upon the community at large a boon which it always needs, and which it never has needed more than in the present day—a spirit of discipline for the formation of a strong national character. I have called attention to the way in which the early disciplinary system in the Middle Ages failed in its purpose. But there is one thing which it did, and that was that it formed a strong character when the circumstances of the world's history required it. The rude Teuton tribes were after all brought into something like decent living; their fire and their passion were trained into civilized life by the constant application of a system of discipline. Do we not need discipline at the present time—we English people? What is one of the greatest problems which the end of this century leaves us to face? It is the application of discipline to liberty. We have gained during this century an adequate conception of liberty, and we have tried to carry it through our own life. But do we not now need some check on the exercise of that liberty—

not an extravagant check, not a re-imposition of authority which will make liberty of no effect—that constant adjustment of individual rights and common duties which the free man, just because he is free, feels to be all the more necessary to the development of character? If we can slowly work on lines so moderate and temperate as were so admirably expressed by Canon Gore—if we can carry out that conception of a proper discipline for the members of the Church of England, I venture to think that we should be bestowing on the nation at large a great boon, and a boon which it needs above all others.

CONGRESS HALL.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of ROCHESTER in the Chair.

THE CONTINUITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

(1) A HISTORICAL FACT.

(2) NOT BROKEN BY :

(a) Any Political Action under Henry VIII., Edward VI. or Elizabeth.

(b) Any Doctrinal or Disciplinary Changes.

PAPERS.

(1) A HISTORICAL FACT.

The Rev. JOHN HENRY BERNARD, D.D., Archbishop King's Divinity Lecturer at Trinity College, Dublin.

THE terms of my instructions suggest that I am expected to speak of the continuity of the Church of England as a historical fact, entering as little as may be into the question as to whether that continuity has been broken by any corporate act on her part, either as regards her doctrine or her discipline. It would be impossible to present any adequate statement of so large a subject within the limits of a Congress Paper, and I fear that a brief sketch of the basis of the Church's claim to be in spiritual contact with the past is all that can be attempted. It will be for subsequent speakers to fill in the details, and to correct the outline where it is at fault. What, then, is the *prima facie* case? How is the Church of England, as she exists in the sixtieth year of Victoria, related to the Church in the days of Ethelbert, of William the Conqueror, of Henry VIII., of Elizabeth? Is she a modern novelty, the child of the Reformation? Or is it, rather, true that in her Reformation she renewed her youth, as she regained that purity of faith, that zeal for truth, which she had been letting slip? Let us see.

It is, to begin with, beyond controversy that the corporation which calls itself the Church of England now is the corporation to which that name is applied in the Great Charter of England's liberties, or, to go back six centuries further, that it is identical with the *Ecclesia Anglorum* of which Gregory wrote to Augustine. To the eye of the law, at least,

there has been no change. The Church of England is older than the State, older than the very language we speak; and the statute book records how her life has inspired the life of the nation ever since it was a nation. We try to look still further back, and we ask, How long have the Church's children worshipped at her altars? Who can tell? In some cases the date would be before the beginnings of English history. But there is legal continuity from first to last.

And again, there has never been a moment when the people of England have felt that they were cutting themselves adrift from the Church of their fathers. She has always had the professed allegiance of the nation at large. This again is a fact. Neither at the Norman Conquest, nor at any other crisis in the fortunes of the State, nor at the Reformation itself, has anything happened which has permanently diverted the affection of Englishmen from their National Church, the centre and the source of their national greatness. All that is true; but it does not go to the heart of the matter. For the continuity of a Church is something more than the continuity of a legal corporation, something that implies a closer bond between each successive period of her history than can be found in the affection which men feel for an honoured past. There is a continuity of legal recognition. There is a continuity of love and reverence and trust. But for the continuity of the Catholic Church there must be a continuity of life, and that life is something which can neither be given nor taken away by Acts of Parliament, or acts of kings, something which is independent of numbers, and not to be measured by the census returns.

The appeal to numbers. It can never be safely made, and an Irishman speaking on the subject of continuity in this place cannot but say so much. The Irish Church has, indeed, legal continuity. She is described as "The Church of Ireland" in the very Act which disestablished her and deprived her of her endowments. She has spiritual continuity with a remote and glorious past, to which she looks back with wistful eyes; she is the heir of the faith of S. Patrick; although she cannot claim as her own the continued loyalty and affection of the nation, as the Church of England can and does. But that the large majority of the Irish people are now Romanists is no sufficient proof that the modern Roman Church in Ireland is the true child of the ancient Celtic Church. It is a proof that there has been a terrible blunder, a grave fault, somewhere, somehow; that is all. It would not be right to depart from the subject on which you have bidden me speak, and we cannot enter now upon the causes, political, social, national, which have estranged so many Irishmen from their mother Church. If it be asked, Why is the Church of Rome so powerful in Ireland? it is also a serious question, Why has Dissent got so large a place in English Christianity?

But let that pass. Suffice it to say again that numbers alone never afford a safe test by which to measure spiritual facts. And so we are bound to take a further step in our investigation by the enquiry, Has the Church preserved a continuous life? That question affects you as it affects us—no more and no less. Our belief that it may be answered in the affirmative is no less strong than yours. That belief is attacked on the same grounds in England as in Ireland; but it is justified by the same great principles in both cases alike. Your appeal, like our appeal, is not to numbers but to history.

Now let us remind ourselves what were the sources from which Christianity came to this country. From Rome, it is said. Well, yes; in part it did, but only in part. The debt that the nation owes to the emissaries of Gregory the Great is hard to estimate. But Christianity was here before Augustine. The ancient British Church did not exhibit any special desire to acquiesce in the domination of the See of S. Peter. And again, the Church of Northumbria was in no sense Roman, but owed its knowledge of the Gospel to the Celtic missionaries from Iona, the foundation of our Irish S. Columba. In the Columban mission, indeed, the diocese of Lichfield is peculiarly interested, for S. Chad, your first bishop, was a disciple of S. Aidan. I have no desire to attempt a relative estimate of the influence of Augustine and of Aidan in the evangelization of England. It is enough to know that the work of each was a great and a real work. We may frankly admit that the spread of the Gospel, and the organization of the Church in England, were largely due to the labours of Augustine and of those who took up his work. But, then, we do not forget that in those days there was no question of papal claims in the modern sense. England accepted the Gospel from Rome as from Scotland, without any thought that she was sacrificing her liberty in the reception even of so great a gift. The See of Rome provided one of the channels through which the river of life came to these shores; it was not the only fountain of that river.

As years went on—you know the story—the popes began to claim greater and yet greater authority in this realm and Church, as they did in other countries too. At one time these claims would be rejected with decision, as when William the Conqueror refused to do homage to Hildebrand. At another time, as in the reign of King John, the influence of the papacy would be considerable. But all along, as has been amply shown by some of our best historians, and as no doubt other speakers will explain, the encroachments of the Bishop of Rome were only permitted, when they were permitted, under protest. At last they became intolerable for State and Church and individual conscience, and the nation declared that she would brook the interference of no foreign potentate with her domestic affairs, and the Church of England asserted for herself and for all Western Christendom the memorable principle that the Catholic faith was no monopoly of the Roman See.

That is one aspect, surely a principal aspect, of the Reformation movement in England. And yet we are told that there has been a breach of continuity. Let us consider.

Mathematicians tell us that upon a continuous curve there are often critical points, points at which the curvature changes in direction and apparently in character. When the unskilled observer comes upon these, he is inclined to say, Lo! here is a breach of continuity. But he who knows the inner law of the curve, the law which directs its course, knows that its progress has been unchanging. The curve is the same on this side of the critical point and on that. Now, in the course of the Church's life in this country there have been such critical points. One was when Augustine landed in Kent. And there was another critical period under the Tudors when, after a moment of hesitation, the current, which had been setting towards Rome, changed its direction and continued to flow, as of old, undisturbed by Roman influence.

A critical period truly. But was it the same stream that continued to flow? Was there a continuity of life? What constitutes this? Two things: a continuity of organization and a continuity of faith. Neither is sufficient by itself. A Church might preserve her episcopal succession intact and yet fall away from the faith; or, on the other hand, the faith might be preserved in its purity, while, owing to various mishaps, the continuity of Orders might be broken. It is quite conceivable that either of these things might have happened at the English Reformation. Suppose that in the reign of Elizabeth, when Pole died, all the English bishops had refused to have part or lot in the consecration of Parker, that they had been deposed from their Sees, and some of the leading Continental reformers put in their place, consecrated by complaisant bishops from another country. If that had happened, the faith might be never so pure and primitive, and yet the Elizabethan Church would not have been in spiritual contact with the Church of the Plantagenet period. Continuity would have been interrupted. Had the English succession been broken (as Roman Catholics must admit has been the case with them), and had the Episcopate been intruded from without, the Church thus reformed would have been a new Church in this realm. But, of course, nothing of the sort happened. In the majority of cases at least (and this includes the famous case of Archbishop Parker) there can be no question as to the regularity of the consecration of bishops under Elizabeth. I am not going to rehearse the history of Parker's consecration. It is not long indeed since attempts were made to throw doubt upon its regularity by appeals both to history and to fiction. But the appeal to fiction has been discredited, and the appeal to history has only succeeded in bringing out more clearly the care that was taken in the consecration of Pole's successor. The last papal utterance on Anglican Orders is careful to explain that no stress is laid on the alleged informalities on that memorable occasion, which means, I suppose, that no flaw can be found even by the Sacred Congregation in the process by which Parker was raised to the throne of Canterbury.

And so the stress of the controversy now rests on the alleged departure from the faith which accompanied the Reformation movement. Again we say, such a disaster is conceivable. There were those among the prominent men in Elizabeth's and Edward's time who would have acquiesced in the abandonment of a good deal that we hold to be most precious, even of some things that we count as vital. And if their counsels had prevailed, the gold might have been thrown away with the dross, and a rationalized religion left which would have been no true representative of the Apostolic Faith. But their counsels did not prevail, nor were those who drew up the new formularies conscious of any intention to create a new Church or to depart from the old faith. Take two simple illustrations. In the Preface to the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. (and the words were retained in all the subsequent editions) the compilers speak of "the service in this Church of England" which "these many years hath been read in Latin to the people." That does not look as if there were any consciousness of discontinuity between the past and the present; indeed it is a direct assertion of continuity. Or again, the Ordinal, according to its Preface,

is drawn up "to the intent that these Orders," *i.e.*, the orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, "may be continued and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England." Whatever these Orders signified before, that, according to the expressed intention of the new formularies, they were to signify afterwards. And so it was understood by impartial observers. A report which was drawn up on the subject in May, 1551, for the Venetian Government by one Barbaro, who was Venetian Ambassador in London at the time, puts the case thus in a passage which will bear quoting once again: "In 1549-50 . . . another book was published . . . containing the form of conferring Holy Orders, nor do they differ from those of the Roman Catholic religion save that in England they take an oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the Pope." * The oath, as a matter of fact, did not speak of doctrine, but of authority and jurisdiction; but, apart from that slip, the testimony is interesting as that of a responsible and impartial witness.

To sum up, spiritual continuity is a continuity of life, which implies continuity of organization and of faith. That double continuity has been preserved in England from the beginning, except on one hypothesis, the hypothesis which underlies all the reasoning of Romanists on the subject, *viz.*, that the Catholic faith cannot be preserved out of communion with the See of Rome. And that is an hypothesis which the history of Christendom will not allow us to accept. That the doctrines of the Reformation were not so utterly alien to the Catholic Faith as it pleases some to assert, is suggested to the most careless observer by one simple fact. They were promulgated without any violent break in the succession of clergy, any essential change in organization. We have good authority for believing that new wine will burst old bottles; and if the old bottles have proved equal to the strain to which they were subject, perhaps it is a fair inference that the wine was not so new after all.

(2) NOT BROKEN BY (a) ANY POLITICAL ACTION UNDER HENRY VIII.,
EDWARD VI., OR ELIZABETH.

The Rev. HERBERT HENSLEY HENSON, Chaplain of S. Mary's Hospital and S. Thomas's, Ilford.

I NEVER rose to make a speech with a greater sense of difficulty than that which now oppresses me. I have nothing new to say: indeed, what I have to say is so familiar and well-established that I almost blush to say it. When we are required to renew discussion on issues which have been long since finally closed, in the only sense in which discussion can finally close, namely, by the defeat of one of the combatants, assuredly it is only an inherent affection for controversy which could yield to the pressure. I protest that when I read the recent Papal pronouncements I felt disposed to break faith with the Congress, and refuse to inflict on a great assembly of reasonable and educated people a re-statement for the thousandth time of notorious facts. But, on reflection, I coerced myself into fulfilling the obligation into which

* Gasquet and Bishop, "Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer," p. 274. See Brightman on "Objections to English Orders."

I had entered. I remembered the sinister force of mere assertion ; how the silence of honest scorn is twisted into the homage of secret respect ; how short are men's memories, and how strong their emotions ; finally, how profound the public ignorance, and how unscrupulous the private zeal. So for a few moments I stand here to maintain the obvious proposition that the political events of the sixteenth century involved no breach of continuity in the life of the Church of England. Let us remind ourselves of the gravity of that proposition ; for, amid the courtesies now fashionable in controversy, the gravity of the issues at stake is apt to be forgotten.

On Catholic principles, "Breach of continuity" means ecclesiastical death. The question before us is nothing less than this : Did the political changes of the sixteenth century destroy the Church of England ? Is the Church to which we belong, in which we have been baptized, whose ministerial commission we clergy bear, at whose altars we minister, which covers the whole country with blessed ministries of mercy and holiness, which extends its evangelic labours into all lands, an elaborate imposture, the ghost of a perished past, an empty *simulacrum* deluding us to spiritual ruin by its cunning resemblance to the august realities which it at once mimics and blasphemes ? or is this Church of England that which for thirteen centuries she has claimed to be, the Spouse of Jesus Christ, our true and beautiful mother ?

The political action of the sixteenth century did unquestionably work changes of the most drastic and far-reaching character in the external relations, the constitutional position, the liturgical worship, the dogmatic system, the general aspect of the Church ; but, vast as were those changes, did they go to the length of destruction ? Was their final result to kill the Church, and replace it by a "Department of State?"

For the first time the Church of England became independent. This independence was obtained at a great price. English Christianity was henceforth doomed to isolation. Insularity infected even the religion of the nation. Independence involved the breach with the Roman Papacy, the deliberate and final repudiation of the mediæval theory of the Church. The legislation of Henry VIII.'s reign destroyed that relation of dependence which for nearly one thousand years had bound the daughter Church of England to the mother Church of Rome. I reject the theory of pre-Reformation protestantism as a fiction, generated in controversy. The breach with Rome bisects the Church history of this country : the centre of gravity is shifted in the sixteenth century, and nothing is gained by minimizing the fact. But how does this affect the question of continuity ? Is allegiance to Rome essential to the being of a Church ? All Christian antiquity rejects the notion, half Christendom at this moment agrees to reject it. It is, indeed, in the face of history an absurdity. The Roman mediæval theory of Church unity need not greatly concern us. We can surmise its origin, we can mark its growth we can register its success, we can record its failure. To repudiate that doctrine of the Church is not to break continuity in any essential particular. It is important to observe that in the judgment of the agents of the Reformation, the extinction of the Pope was the cardinal achievement. The hostility of the constituted authorities of the English State against

the Supreme Pontiff was really amazing. It was the one point on which Parliament and Convocation were agreed. It is a remarkable comment on a millennium of Papal supremacy that it left the Pope without advocate or apologist when the crisis came. The men of the old learning—Tunstall, Heath, Gardiner—were at one with the men of the new learning—Cranmer, Ridley, Shaxton—on this matter.

Away with the Pope was the practically unanimous sentiment of the nation. No doubt after the infamous violence of Edward VI.'s reign there was a general re-action in men's minds. The Papacy always stands to gain by revolutions: despotism is the relief and the nemesis of violence. But the five years of restored Papal authority more than sufficed to renew the normal sentiment of hostility, and for more than three centuries the tradition of abhorrence has reigned supreme in the general mind. In spite of the assiduous labours of our papalists—Roman and Anglican—I observe no signs of any real change in English opinion. But though the breach with Rome did not involve the destruction of the Church, was not it the case that that breach drew with it further and more fatal innovations? that the movement against the Papacy once started, got out of hand, and carried men to conclusions they had not originally contemplated? The intrinsic probability of this is increased by the actual course of the Reformation in other countries. In Germany, in Switzerland, in Scotland, it may not be questioned that change went to the length of abolishing the episcopal government, which, so far as Christian literature enables us to judge of earlier ages, has always been accounted of Apostolic institution and, therefore, essential to the being of the Church. Why should England be an exception to the general rule?

We must admit that England was within an ace of ecclesiastical suicide. The timely death of the English Josiah seems to have just saved the Church. The excesses of that astounding horde of foreigners, gossellers, originals of every description, "new monastics," and godly adventurers, which managed to get hold of the political machine under Edward VI., leave little reason for doubting that even a brief extension of their terrible government would have completed the ruin of the Church of England. But the reign of Mary super-vened; and, on the Roman theory, brought order out of chaos, and rectified the Church.

If I neglect to discuss in any detail the legislative acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., it is because the opponents whom I have in mind are committed to the position that the Church of England was restored to ecclesiastical health by the combined exertions of Queen and Pontiff in the five years which preceded the accession of Queen Elizabeth. If the continuity of the English Church has been broken at all, then it must (on Roman assumptions) have been broken in Elizabeth's reign.

The episode of Queen Mary's government certifies the continuity of the Church through the Parliamentary revolution of Henry VIII., and the anarchy of Edward VI. The Church had suffered much, and strayed far: but it only needed the word of the Pontiff to restore it to its former position. There was no question in Mary's reign of any breach of continuity: nothing, so far as I can appreciate the evidence, suggests anything worse than large irregularity, and not a little heresy. Return to the Papal fold was sufficient to put all things right.

The question before us, then, is brought within narrower limits. Did the political action of Elizabeth's reign destroy the Church of England? We must observe this character of the legislation in that reign, that it was never original. It always claimed to resuscitate older laws. Thus the great Act with which the reign opened simply cancelled the procedure of Mary's Parliament, and re-enacted the Acts of the previous reigns. Its title sufficiently indicates its character. It is "An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign powers repugnant to the same."

All the spiritual loss entailed by breach with Rome was thus again inflicted on the Church, but that assuredly was not mortal. For the rest it is for the adversary to make his attack. The protracted efforts to invalidate the consecration of Archbishop Parker seem to show that, even in the opinion of our opponents, the crux of the question is in the matter of the succession of the bishops. That matter has been so recently discussed that I need do no more than refer to it here. The facts appear no longer to be disputed. The discussion has shifted from the facts to the formulas used, and the intentions of the consecrators: and, with regard to both, the objections are (as far as I can understand them) entirely derived from the modern Roman doctrines on the subject, not based on any grounds which can stand an appeal to Catholic antiquity. It is the unvarnished truth that if Matthew Parker's consecration was invalid on the grounds alleged in the Pope's latest Bull, then the Orders of the whole Church are, and have been from the first, invalid. But this is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Papal case. On the modern Roman hypothesis, of course, the Church of England perished when the Papal authority was repudiated: but we do not accept—as reasonable men we never can accept—the modern Roman hypothesis, and therefore shall not pretend to discuss the question on that ground. The validity of English Ordinations is not a theory, but a fact: and the discussion on it has long been closed in our favour. We shall not now re-open it on a novel and irrelevant issue, to oblige the vanquished adversary. I observe that something is made out of the Act passed in the year 1566, entitled—"An act declaring the making and consecrating of the archbishops and bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect." See, exclaims the delighted papist, your Ordinations were so palpably worthless that a special Act of Parliament was needed in order to force them on a reluctant nation. An honest study of the Act itself, and of the circumstances which occasioned it, will disallow this delight. Bishop Bonner had defended himself for his refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy when tendered to him by Horne, Bishop of Winchester, by pleading that the said Horne was not legally bishop, because he had been consecrated by an illegal Ordinal, and in an illegal manner. It is well-known that the legal difficulties to which Bishop Bonner pointed were at first overcome by means of a Dispensing Clause inserted into the Letters Patent authorizing the Act of Consecration. The Act of 1566 was designed to substitute for this clause a more unexceptionable authority, viz.: that of an Act of Parliament. The question was one of legality, not of validity: and Bonner was apparently right in his law. The Act was passed as a "summary remedy" for these legal objections. This purpose is expressed very clearly in the

preamble. It states that questions have "lately grown" about the consecrations, "whether the same were, and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not;" in order to "avoid such slanderous speech," "it is thought convenient hereby partly to touch such authorities as allow and approve the making and consecrating of the same archbishops and bishops to be duly and orderly done, according to the laws of this realm." The Act proceeds to rehearse the previous legislation of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., restored by 1 Elizabeth, and to confirm that statute, enacting that for the future the Ordinal attached to Edward's second Prayer-book shall be used in the realm. The Act in no way suggests any doubt as to the validity of English Ordinations: it may perhaps be compared with the legislation against those who impugned the Queen's title to the throne: and as a matter of fact, both sets of laws were directed against the same persons. I apologise for speaking at such length on so simple a matter; my apology must be that our Roman antagonists are by no means averse to making this Act carry a truly formidable burden of hostile inferences.

Beyond the questions raised in connection with the breach with Rome, and with Archbishop Parker's consecration, I am not aware of any point in the history at which breach of continuity has been suggested. The royal supremacy, resuscitated without the title "Supreme Head" by Queen Elizabeth, was most carefully defined not to extend beyond the civil sphere. This supremacy, as applied by the "Court of High Commission," no doubt rapidly developed into formidable tyranny: but I have yet to learn that oppression alters the identity of the oppressed. Moreover, it is to be remembered that in Queen Elizabeth's reign the Statute of Queen Mary, which directed the omission of the words "*regiâ auctoritate fulcitus*" from ecclesiastical writs, was not abrogated, and therefore the inherent authority of the episcopal office was distinctly recognized.

The State never attempted to disturb the authority of the Catholic Creeds. The XXXIX. Articles were content to affirm the Creeds. The alterations in the Prayer-book have all been conservative in character. Apart from the new Vatican theory of the Papal power, and the newest Papal teaching as to the essentials of valid Ordination, there seems no room for reasonable doubt in the matter. The continuity of the Church of England was not broken by any action of the State in the sixteenth century.

The Rev. H. M. GWATKIN, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge.

THE continuity of the English Church is in reality a twofold question, for the political action of the Tudors may be supposed to affect it either as a legal association in things necessary to the same, or as a Church of Christ in things necessary to the same. They may have set English law at defiance, by doing things they had no legal right to do; or they may have set Christ at defiance, by abolishing things ordained of Christ as necessary to a Christian Church.

The legal question is fairly stated by the Act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 21) which completed the separation from Rome in 1534. It is there

declared that this realm is free from any laws of man but such as have been devised within it ; and that it lies with the King and the Parliament, representing all states of the realm, to abrogate or alter all such laws. If this declaration is true, and only if it is true, the legal continuity of the English Church was not broken at the Reformation.

In early English times there was no separation of Church and State. The king was the head of the whole body, and with the counsel of his Witan made laws for both, and appointed earls and bishops alike. The bishop and the earl sat together in the Witan, the Church Councils, and the Shire-moot ; and together they decided secular and spiritual matters in all three assemblies. The pope was no more than a respected foreign bishop, who was allowed his Peter pence, but no jurisdiction.

The Norman Conquest brought in the ideas of the Hildebrandine movement, which contrasted the Church as a holy society of clerics under the pope with the world as a profane society of laymen under the king. So William with the consent of his Witan (it was not an act of the secular power only) delegated spiritual matters to separate spiritual courts and councils, which went by Canon Law and had no laymen sitting in them. But the bishops were still his nominees, and still sat in the unaltered Witan, and with its counsel the king was still supreme in Church and State. No pope was recognized but by him, no papal letters were received without his consent, and nothing was enacted by his new Church Councils but what he had himself ordained beforehand.

William's successors did not fully maintain his position against the rising Hildebrandine ideas of their time. One way or another they allowed a great system of papal jurisdiction to grow up, and even left unused their controlling power over Convocation. But all this was the laxity of a lax time. All the items of the papal jurisdiction before the Reformation were introduced at definite dates, and regulated when they became too troublesome by laws which never ceased to claim for the king in Parliament a full control of them. Appeals, for example, are common enough ; but they were only appeals to the king which for whatever reasons he allowed to be decided at Rome ; and a whole series of Statutes maintained his right to prohibit them if he thought fit.

Then came the Reformation. The Tudors were strong kings in a strong position. The Church, too, was less respected than it had been, and the nation was always willing to back up its kings against foreigners. In the day of decision, history spoke of English kings who allowed no papal jurisdiction at all, of Norman kings who allowed no more of it than suited them, and of Plantagenet kings who admitted none but on sufferance. Then of late years the popes had sunk deep in the mire of Italian politics, while the Tudors were borne on the crest of the great European movement, which devolved on kings of nations the right divine of fallen emperors. Thus the old and the new converged on King Henry's policy. It was true conservatism as well as needful reformation. If Henry used his power tyrannically, the power itself was only what the old kings had used before him, and the later kings had never ceased to claim. There cannot well be any breach of legal continuity in the assertion of rights which were not even dormant.

It is said, however, that by allowing the pope jurisdiction, England

joined the confederation of Churches subject to him, so that its abolition is like the withdrawal of, say, South Carolina from the American Union. So it would be if the lawful authorities of South Carolina had constantly declared that federal officials have no right to exercise jurisdiction, or even to enter the State without their permission. Only in that case it could hardly be maintained that the withdrawal was a breach of legal continuity.

The question of spiritual continuity involves doctrine, which I am not at liberty to enter on. The argument, however, is exactly the same, so that the whole result can be summed up in a single statement. If, then, it can be proved necessary for the Church to be subject to the pope's or other laws devised outside the realm, as many do say, or if it can be proved necessary for it to be independent of the State, as many do say, then there will be a breach of continuity. If the necessity arise from English law, the breach will be legal; if from Christ's ordinance, it will be spiritual. For my own part, I cannot find that either of these things is proved; and, therefore, I conclude that the breach which the Reformation made was not with the ancient past of England, but only with unlawful jurisdiction and unchristian self-assertion.

(b) ANY DOCTRINAL OR DISCIPLINARY CHANGES.

The Rev. A. BRINCKMAN, Chaplain of S. Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, London.

So far as I know, the Church of England has never said or done anything to justify the idea that she ever lost her continuity, and therefore is not the true lawful lineal descendant of the Church in England before the Reformation. She takes her continuity as a matter of course for granted.

The rightful owner of a property, with his valid title deeds in his possession, does not keep on telling everyone that he is the rightful owner. The impostor, the false, covetous, jealous claimant, does that sort of thing. The Church of England, conscious of her right, is not troubled with doubts at all, and her incidental testimony is far more convincing than any oft-repeated controversial assertion; as, for instance, when in the Prayer-book preface she says, "The service in this Church of England hath these many years been read in Latin." That is the calm statement of a simple fact by one who has no shadow of a doubt about it. The denials come from her foes, who are eager to destroy her and step into her place. And so they say, "Your Church does not teach the same doctrines now as before the Reformation, therefore she is a new Church." The real question involved is: Did the Church of England deliberately deny and reject any true Scriptural Catholic doctrine? And the answer is simple—No. She claims to be a portion of the one Catholic Church, and, of course, to hold its doctrines. The statutes of Henry VIII., the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, prove this, and her own witness is clear enough in her Prayer-book, both in the creeds and in the prayers. Indeed, so completely does the Church of England realize her position as a

portion of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that she never once prays for herself by name throughout the Prayer-book.

Well, then, that is her Catholic position, and neither intentionally or unintentionally does she reject any Catholic doctrines involved in it. I need not remind such an audience as this that in speaking of Catholic doctrines I mean those that are truly Scriptural and Apostolic, and not mediæval, modern, or distinctively Roman.

But we are told : Suppose you Anglicans do hold all such doctrines, yet you reject the doctrine of the Papal claims, and, rejecting that, you are not Catholics. Whatever else you hold, your rejection of that unchurches you, cuts you off from communion with the Body of Christ, and proves you have no part, lot, or inheritance with the pre-Reformation Church which held it.

We do not dispute the fact that from William the Conqueror to Henry VIII. the Church of England was not only in communion with, but much in subjection to, the Church of Rome, but there was a continual current of protest and resistance to some of the Papal claims, and the Pope tried to enforce them better by constantly seeking to destroy the continuity of the English Church by putting foreigners into her sees and benefices.

The Papal claim is, to Rome, the most important vital doctrine of all in one sense, because you are declared to be no Churchman if you reject it, whatever else you believe. Well, the Church of England has not changed her doctrine about this. Passing by the appeal of Archbishop Cranmer and Henry VIII. to a General Council, and the opinion of Sir Thomas More, we have the declaration of Bishop Hallam of Salisbury, the appeal of Archbishop Chicheley, the appeal of the English bishops and clergy, 1246, all testifying that the pre-Reformation belief was that a General Council was above a Pope ; but now the reverse is an article of faith with our Roman friends. It is Rome who has turned a wonderful theological somersault, breaking her doctrinal continuity, beating any change, real or imaginary, that has ever occurred in the Church of England.

This charge of break of continuity is a strange one to make, for it is the very ground and strength of the Anglican position that she keeps to the old paths and rejects novelties. Her appeal is not only to Archbishops Arundel, Becket, or S. Anselm, to English bishops or Papal nominees, but under the grand old Vincentian Canon. She holds what was believed always, everywhere, by all, right up to the General Councils, agreed to by the fathers, handed down by the apostles, witnessed to by the Church, found in Holy Scripture, taught by our Lord. And whatever the imperfections she has from the shortcomings of her children, she can bear the test as well as any portion of the Church, showing she has preserved intact "*the faith once for all delivered to the saints.*"

We are told we have changed so many doctrines that it is impossible now to refute the charges one by one. It may be said at once that some doctrines had been so overlaid and abused that for the while the Church of England placed some of them in the background, knowing that, as water rises to its level, the truth will in time come out again in light and power in its original but chastened purity. Whatever she has rejected, it has not been some pure Catholic doctrine, not in its

Scriptural simplicity and truth, but as men have exaggerated, distorted, or marred it.

As regards any loss of continuity from any changes in discipline.—Speaking roughly, there are few changes in discipline that could, I should think, unchurch a Church. They might be of such a character as to turn an orderly communion into a condition of chaos, but neither strict, rigid discipline, or nominal or lax of itself, could make a community no longer a member of the Body of Christ. There must be some connection most intimate with some vital truth to do that.

No doubt discipline is much in abeyance. There is, however, the rule of patience, forbearance, and love, under the guidance and teaching of the Holy Spirit; and while we may lawfully desire also some improvement strengthening adjustment of Church discipline, yet, after all, the Church was not primarily intended to be a sort of spiritual revolver, firing off curses and excommunications. And while godly discipline is much needed, we need not be ashamed of any loss of continuity because we have not that spirit of discipline which in the days when Rome was in power here would probably have burned us all.

I began by saying the Church of England never had any idea she lost her continuity or became a new Church. She is, as she knows she is, the old Church *reformed*, not *re-made*.

But in a question involving both doctrine and discipline and continuity, let me tell you of an invaluable admission made by the Roman party. I need not quote the words of Cardinal Newman, Father Humphrey, Father Breen, but Cardinal Manning has said that from Michaelmas Day, 1850, dates the Roman Catholic Church in England: thus each and all acknowledge that the Roman Succession was lost and completely destroyed in Queen Mary's reign. I will now repeat the confession—a most damaging one—made by the united voice of the whole Roman communion in England. An address was drawn up by Cardinal Vaughan and his bishops to Leo XIII. on the occasion of his jubilee. It was ordered to be read out two Sundays running in every Roman chapel in the kingdom in January, 1893, and the address says that "Pius IX. restored in the nineteenth century the continuity of the Apostolical Succession which was broken in England in the sixteenth."

The Church of England has made no such disastrous confession. On the contrary, in the forefront of her ordinal she declares it "is with the intent these Orders may be *continued*." She knows no break, and she is conscious of no flaw; she recognizes the hand of God is with her. The death of Edward VI., the death of Mary and Pole at the same moment, the strong long reign of Elizabeth, the bold re-assertion of the necessity of Ordination in 1662, after the persecution of her foes, all should give us confidence in her that she who under God first bound the nation together is alive still, and shows no sign of decay; and if Churchmen would only pull together, we should soon know more of her strength, and if we are loyal and live up to her teaching, God will keep her in her place, and she will ever remain what she is, *the Church in England*, till the sun sets for ever, and the world has ceased to be.

The Rev. W. H. HUTTON, Birkbeck Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ely.

I AM asked to speak to the fact that the continuous life of the Church of Christ in our land was not broken at the Reformation, or at any other time, by any doctrinal or disciplinary changes. I will begin by saying that the more I study the history of England—and it is a great part of the work of my life to do so—the more clearly and certainly do I find this fact established. The more closely we investigate the original authorities for our national history, the more sure do we become that the idea of a severance of Church life, of a new Church, or anything, in fact, but a reformation or purging of the old Church (such as you may do and have done with the House of Lords, or the House of Commons, or the legal system of the country—only it is to nobody's interest to pretend that there is any breach there) was ever supposed till quite modern times to have taken place. Truth must win in the long run. Infallibility cannot conquer knowledge. We have nothing to lose, but everything to gain—and I hope and believe we are honest enough to speak the truth whether we gain or lose by it—everything to gain by the searching to the bottom and the publication in the fullest possible way of every fact which bears upon the changes of that troublous time—which some of us rejoice in, and some of us deplore, but all of us loyally accept—the Reformation.

Now I have to speak very briefly, and I must therefore treat the subject very imperfectly; but I will endeavour to take the chief points as clearly as I can.

I.—*Doctrine.* What doctrines have been changed? There are a number of minor doctrines, if I may call them so, in which changes undoubtedly occurred, such as the invocation of the saints, for instance. I do not think any reader of sixteenth and seventeenth century theology, or of the writings of prominent exponents of the doctrines of the English Reformed Church, would assert that these changes were such as to affect the continuity of the Church in the slightest degree. Three points, however, do seem to me to be of primary importance.

(1) The jurisdiction of the Pope, and the "royal supremacy." Undoubtedly the Church of England entirely repudiated the papal jurisdiction. The two Convocations in 1534 declared that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction given him in this land by God in the Holy Scriptures than any other foreign bishop. In doing this they expressly repudiated any intention of varying from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic Faith of Christendom. No formal declaration has been made at any time by the Church of England or the State of England which assumes greater powers in the National Church as against the Pope than were assumed in the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, more than a hundred and eighty years before even modern Roman controversialists assert that any breach of continuity occurred. That the vast majority of the English clergy of the sixteenth century saw no change of serious importance in this repudiation of the Pope's jurisdiction, and reassertion of the king's supremacy, is perfectly clear. Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, who in modern parlance could certainly be styled a "Roman Catholic," said that the meaning of the royal supremacy was "to reduce the Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers, heretofore usurped

therein, into the pristine estate that all Churches of all realms were in at the beginning, and to abolish and clearly put away such usurpation as theretofore the Bishops of Rome have, to their great advantage, and impoverishing of the realm and the king's subjects, of the same. . . . Would to God," he wrote to Cardinal Pole, "you had been exercised in reading the ancient councils, that you might have known from the beginning, from age to age, the continuance and progress of the Catholic Church, by which you should have perceived that the Church of Rome had never of old such a monarchy as of late it hath usurped." And this was the opinion of the vast majority of the English clergy. Bishops, abbots, priests, took the oath of supremacy and declared that they found nothing new in it. The exceptions were distinguished certainly, but they were very few. This was what happened at the first critical epoch. (I never quite understand when our Roman friends think the breach in our continuity did occur, by the way.) At the second, the accession of Elizabeth, and the second repudiation of papal jurisdiction, I believe that less than two hundred clergymen out of over nine thousand rejected the change and were turned out of their livings. Surely that is a good test of whether the change was a revolution which affected the essence of the Church. Over nine thousand clergy, brought up in the ancient Catholic Faith, had ministered during Mary's reign, under the Pope's jurisdiction. Not more than two hundred of them regarded the repudiation of that jurisdiction as a vital matter. I do not understand Roman controversialists to assert that the Eastern Church, which rejects papal rule, has destroyed its continuity. It seems to me impossible in the face of historical facts to assert that the repudiation of papal jurisdiction broke the continuity of the Church.

(2) Of all the doctrines which concern the practical Christian life, there can be no question that the one round which most fighting surged at this time was the doctrine of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. About this I will only say that the Church of England again and again in her reformed formularies declares her intention (and I understand that "intention" is a vital point) to follow in this matter the teaching of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers. She undoubtedly and most strongly repudiates the doctrine of transubstantiation; but this doctrine was not authoritatively defined for the Church of Rome till 1563. At what date, then, did the English breach of continuity occur?

(3) But it may fairly be said that, even admitting that no formal and demonstrable break has occurred on either of these two points, if the Church of England ceased to continue the Christian ministry, she must have broken with her past. We are aware that the present Pope has made a pronouncement on this point. That pronouncement I regard with the greatest sorrow and dismay, as most disastrous—for the Church of Rome. When men learn, as they certainly must learn, that it is directly contrary to historical fact, the consequences must be, I sadly fear, an even greater breach than already exists between the Roman Church and the intellectual world. It is perfectly certain: (1) on the express statement of the Prayer-book, That our "intention" was to "continue" the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, which "have been in Christ's Church from the Apostles' time"; (2) That if this

"intention" was not carried out, through the invalidity of our rite, then the Ordination of all priests, in the West up to the eleventh century, and in the East always, was also invalid, because it did not include the porrection of the instruments: and the form of conferring episcopal consecration up to 1662 being taken directly from the Latin rite, and its meaning explained by the express reference to the office held by S. Timothy, the English consecrations, in the disputed time, were just as valid, no more and no less, than the Roman. The Pope's decision goes very much further than appears to have been intended.

But what *is* continuity in the matter of doctrine? We repeat, as we have always repeated, and as the Eastern Churches repeat, through their centuries of noble steadfastness, in persecution and death, which may God speedily end: Continuity of doctrine consists in loyal adherence to the Creeds and the canons of the undivided Church. To these we have adhered since England, and since Britain, had a Christian Church; and to these we still adhere.

II.—I have given myself only a moment in which to speak of discipline. Here it seems to me that the case is even simpler than before.

Discipline is either public and corporate, or private and individual. The first consists practically in the exercise of the power of the law, the courts, and the bishops. The Church of England has never repudiated the canon law. The disciplinary powers of the bishops, and of the ecclesiastical courts, were not affected at the Reformation by new creations. I pass lightly over this, because I am not aware that any one has claimed that changes in this regard have affected the continuity of the English Church. The power of excommunication may be said to stand halfway between public and private discipline. There is of course no difficulty in proving the continuous exercise of this power. True, it has fallen into disuse, but that, as it seems to me, solely from a practical reason. The class of persons who are liable to excommunication is one which nowadays would either be wholly unaffected by its exercise, or would speedily and easily obtain such spiritual privileges as they might desire in the ministration of some dissenting body, Roman Catholic or Protestant.

Of private and individual discipline I presume we have two chief instances. The obligation of fasting was not abolished, as all our documents show, by the Reformation. Not only did Parliamentary Statutes recognize and enforce it, but the national records are full of reference to it. For instance, one of the first official acts of Archbishop Juxon after the Restoration was to issue a licence to Secretary Nicholas to eat meat in Lent, dispensing him from the legal obligation recognized by Church and State. And the ordinance of penance with its "fruits" is, as we all know, whatever meaning we may attach to the words, recognized by our Prayer-book in explicit terms. Not a single word was said by any public authority at the Reformation against voluntary confession or the power of absolution as conferred in Ordination. And it is well known that compulsory confession was of quite late growth in the Church. No continuity with apostolic or patristic precedent was broken by the English Church at the Reformation. A continuity of fact may be clearly traced. There was never a time when prominent lay folk, as well

as clergy, did not follow the practice, to their souls' health—Cranmer, Buckingham, Charles I., Jeremy Taylor, Queen Anne, down to those whose hearts have been so pathetically revealed to us within this last year; Dr. Pusey, and that distinguished lawyer who was one of the Church's most loyal sons, Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. T. A. LACEY, Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge.

WE have all heard of a society humorously, or perhaps blasphemously, called the "Catholic Truth Society," which takes a particular interest in the subject of our present discussion. Some of us are familiar with its methods in discussing the question of continuity. These consist, for the most part, of a combination of ingenious fictions about what took place after the Reformation, with highly imaginative pictures of what took place before the Reformation. A good example of the latter side of this method lately came to my notice. A writer in *The Tablet* asserted, categorically, that in pre-Reformation times no Catholic king would or could have commanded a primate to confirm or consecrate a bishop. That is the sort of plain, definite assertion that rejoices your heart when you want to get an opponent in a cleft stick. I had him. In the next number of *The Tablet* I had the pleasure of printing part of a writ addressed by Henry V. to Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, at a time when the English nation and the English Church were refusing to recognize any one of three separate claimants of the Papal throne. Henry V. was certainly a pre-Reformation king, and I think he was a Catholic king. He wrote to the Archbishop, "We command you" to confirm such and such bishop. You cannot always get such definite statements to nail to the counter. Controversialists of this school, when writing for the English public, exercise some caution—put some rein on their imagination. It is only when they are writing without fear of any intelligent criticism that all the beauty of their method is revealed. I hope the Congress will pardon a personal note in what I am now going to say. When Father Puller and I were living in temporary exile at Rome last summer, having been asked to go there for the purpose of giving information to those who required it, we were pressed to write an account of the present state of the English Church, and of the historical process by which that state was arrived at. We were most unwilling to do this, but the need of it was manifest. One very distinguished Cardinal told me himself that he was one of those to whom the question of English Ordinations was submitted, and he knew nothing whatever about the Church of England. It seemed a work of charity to enlighten him. In the end we consented, and a short pamphlet was the result. I will not say that it was an impartial account—you cannot write impartially about your mother—but I will claim for it that it was candid and truthful; and now that it has been challenged, I am not afraid of the public seeing it, and I have consented to its publication. Originally it was printed privately for the information of certain highly-placed dignitaries of the Roman Church. It was answered with equal privacy. The reply was written by Dom Gaspard and Canon Moyes for the benefit of the Congregation of the Inquisition, before whom the question of Anglican Orders was to go. And what was the character of his reply? Portions of it have been printed in our English newspapers. Here is one example. One of the most important points in the controversy turned upon the acceptance and use of the English Ordinal during the reign of Edward VI. by bishops who continued in their sees under Mary. Several such bishops accepted and used it, and Father Puller and I were able to say, "Here are bishops whom you accept as Catholic bishops putting the English Ordinal in force." How was that argument met? It was met by a bold falsification of history. I use strong words, but they are called for. I would, however, like to take this opportunity of saying that in spite of all that has happened, I remain absolutely convinced that the heads of the Roman Church—the Pope himself and Cardinals who represent the inner life of the Roman Church—were seeking nothing whatever but the truth, that they desired to find it, and that they would have found it, if only they had not been deliberately misled by those to whom they had a right to look for information. Here, then, is the reply which was made to our statements. I have it in *The*

Guardian. "In no way could those who retained their sees under Edward be called Catholic. . . . On the contrary, all the bishops who in some way retained a Catholic feeling, or a remnant of veneration for the Catholic dogmas, were driven from their sees under Edward. Thus Gardiner (of Winchester), Bonner (of London), Heath (of Worcester), Tunstall (of Durham), Voysey (of Exeter), Day (of Chichester), were all deprived; many were imprisoned, and in their places well-known heretics were substituted. In this way Cranmer and the *fauçors* of his heresy easily obtained the preponderance." Would anyone who was unacquainted with the facts, on reading that sentence, imagine that these six bishops, mentioned as specimens of Catholic-minded bishops removed under Edward, were actually the only bishops disturbed during his reign? Five were actually imprisoned, and these are called "many." What was the intention of the writers? Their only conceivable intention was to convey the impression at Rome that every one of the bishops who retained any sympathy with the pre-Reformation Church was turned out of his see, that a clean sweep was made under Edward, and that the English Ordinal was brought into use by men of the most advanced school among the reformers.

The Rev. HENRY ALCOCK, Vicar of Wellington, Salop.

I MUST ask for your kind indulgence, because this is the first Congress I have ever attended; and secondly, because I am afraid I am in a minority. I do not agree with a great deal said by the learned people who have gone before me, but if I am in error, I am in error in very good company. I am about to read to you the view of the Reformation held by Dr. Short, the late Bishop of S. Asaph. Now let me say the position of Dr. Short is briefly this, that before the Reformation in England, the National Church was a Romish Papal Church, and that after the Reformation it became a Protestant Episcopal Church. ("No.") The gentlemen who cried "No" appears to forget that the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing himself the bench of bishops and the entire English nation, asked the Queen at her coronation if she would uphold the Protestant reformed religion as established by law. When you cry "No," it appears to me you prove that the continuity of the Church of England has been broken since the accession of Queen Victoria. Now before I read this extract from Dr. Short, the Bishop of S. Asaph, I would remind gentlemen present of a statement made by a theologian whose name was always received with the greatest favour. I refer to Dr. Pusey. Dr. Pusey, in a remarkable letter, has stated that every deliberate assertion of an English bishop has great weight with Anglican Churchmen, and for that reason will you allow me to read, without interruption, the following paragraph from Dr. Short's "History of England." He says:—"The Church of England first ceased to be a member of the Church of Rome during the reign of Henry VIII., but it could hardly be called Protestant till that of Edward VI. During the short reign of Edward VI. it became entirely Protestant, and in point of doctrine assumed its present form. This step, however, was made rather by the decree of the Government than by the conviction of the nation. The people, indeed were generally too ignorant to form any opinions of their own, and the probability of opposition induced Cranmer to establish what has been called a Parliamentary religion." Now during the very few minutes which remain to me, I will try to bring forward briefly some of the grounds by which the Lord Bishop came to his opinion. And first of all I would say that the difference between the Church before the Reformation and after the Reformation was so patent, that that justified me in calling them different Churches. I think you will not dispute the point that I bring forward. I say that it is a matter of difference—call it a different Church or not. Now before the Reformation the Pope was the acknowledged head of the National Church. ("No.") Pardon me, he was the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England. He was the head in doctrine. There never was any fault found in all England with what the Pope did. I repeat that, before the Reformation, never was any fault found with anything the Pope did, except when he wanted to take away too much money by putting Italians into our sees in England. As regards doctrine, all the Pope said was implicitly accepted, and it was in this sense that he was the head of the Church before the Reformation. One thing is certain, that the Pope was the doctrinal head of the Church before the Reformation, and afterwards the Sovereign became the visible head of the Church in England, and her power is very great. For instance, the Queen has allowed clergymen within the last thirty years to become laymen if they liked, which was never known before. The Papacy says it has the

power to elect a Vicar of Christ. This we deny. Furthermore, I say it is different, because the priesthoods were altogether different. In the Church of Rome the duty of the priest is to celebrate the Mass, which Protestants declare to be a "blasphemous fable." (Interruption.) The Articles declare it. The ministers of the Church of England are sent to preach the Gospel; in the Church of Rome they are set apart to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. We have in England an Episcopal Church—acknowledged no higher than Episcopal—and the business of the clergy in the two Churches is altogether different. These facts cannot be denied; and in my opinion, and that of Dr. Short, the two Churches are altogether different.

The Rev. BOULBY HASLEWOOD, Vicar of Emmanuel,
Oswaldtwistle.

IN venturing to speak on the subject before the Congress, viz., the continuity of the Church of England from before and after the Reformation, I wish to impress upon all present that one of the results of what we have heard ought to be that we should never allow anyone to call the Roman Catholics "the Catholics," or to speak of bishops belonging to the Italian Mission in this country as bishops of certain localities, for instance, Cardinal Vaughan ought never to be designated Archbishop of Westminster. The Pope of Rome has power to make cardinals, but he has no power, according to ancient Catholic custom, to send bishops into the dioceses of this Catholic and Apostolic Church of England. It is simply a matter of history, as true as any other historical fact, that for ten years in Elizabeth's reign the Roman schism was not in existence; those who acknowledged the obedience of the Pope worshipped in the National Churches and received the Blessed Sacrament in both parts, according to ancient Catholic custom. Again, if we believe in the continuity of the good old Church of England, it is also of great importance that we never call ourselves simply Protestants. It is true that we are in a sense Protestants, because we protest against all error; but if a person, speaking of his religious belief, only calls himself a Protestant, we really know no more by such a statement what his faith is than we should know a man's nationality if he simply called himself a Gentile. All we should know in such a case would be that he was not a Jew, and all we should know in the other case would be that he was not a Roman Catholic. I feel sure that I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the Catholic Church of this country, if only her rules and regulations are faithfully carried out, is better adapted than any other, for that which has always been the will of God, viz., "To purify unto Himself a peculiar people zealous of good works," and that all may at last be found washed in the precious Blood of His dear Son, sanctified by His Holy Spirit, and made fit to be the companions of angels and archangels, and the spirits of just men made perfect in the Paradise of God.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE no further names put before me, and if you will allow me, I will just, before closing the proceedings, say a few words of my own. I hope that it will be felt that in the course of this meeting, as well as in other parts of this Congress which have been influenced to some extent by the recent utterance of the Pope, there has been a tone which will send us forth braced, encouraged, and united. There has been a tone of hearty confidence in that part of God's holy Church to which we have the inestimable happiness to belong, and there has been a sense that across the great difference of opinion and conviction—differences at times so great in places as to bring us into active, keen opposition—there is a great unity of feeling about that confidence. And if so, can we not feel that among the mixed and composite results which are sure to follow from that utterance, there will be at least a large leaven of good? I do not venture to cast the horoscope of the near future, and to say what influence upon religion, what influence upon the Church of England, these recent events may have. Those effects, I take it, must be far-reaching, delicate, and subtle; many of them interlacing with one another, full of profound interest, but not, I trust, charged with alarms or with fear of any kind. But if that be the result, if the result be to send us forth, as I trust, with greater confidence in the Church of England, and with greater confidence in our own trust in her, clearly it will not be to send us forth, in accordance

with the famous phrase of M. Ollivier, with a light heart. We ought to remember what great responsibilities are entailed upon us. If we hold this conviction in common, it will make demands on all of us; some among us it will call perhaps to take a fuller, deeper, richer, and larger view of what the Holy Catholic Church means than perhaps they have always hitherto done; from some others of us it will demand that they should not be so ready to think what we have amongst ourselves—in our own quiet, unostentatious, sometimes, if you will, not over-logical way—is always to be doctored and improved by importations from elsewhere. But what I would most of all hope is, that if the Church gains in self-confidence by what has happened, and by the reaction of loyalty, enthusiasm, and conviction within her, it will not make us boastful and blatant in tone. I think there are clear reasons why that ought not to be that we should do well to bear in mind. The first of these reasons, it seems to me, in listening to discourses such as we have had, is that whatever the course of things at those great times of change in the Tudor period, there was plenty there which we must regret with all our hearts. To take an uncontroversial matter, our æsthetic sense would bid us regret as we look at the destruction of Church decoration, art, and beauty. There was only one phrase in most of the Papers which I heard to-day which I should like to see amended. It was a phrase of my friend Mr. Hutton. He said, speaking of the Reformation, "Some of us rejoice in it; and some of us deplore it, but we all of us loyally accept it." With the tone of that sentiment nobody could do other than agree, but it must be—must it not?—increasingly our thought, as we look back at the Reformation period, that while we rejoice to have been brought forth into the possession of liberties which are invaluable, we must deplore, with a deep sense of pathos and regret, all the harm which must come from a dislocation of spiritual life and spiritual continuity. I do not know that the phrases I use are those which most commend themselves to the Congress, but I feel sure that I shall carry the bulk of those assembled here with me when I say that there is, looking back to the history of the Church of England—it is not the Church of England alone, of course—there is enough to keep us humble and chastened. And then again, if I am not keeping you too long, there is this that produces the same result. One of the speakers, using a paradox which amused the audience, thought that the attack made upon us would be disastrous for the Church of Rome. What we ought to feel is that all that has happened, whatever view we take of it, is harmful, not to the Church of Rome, nor to the Church of England, but to the Church of Christ. I cannot help thinking what a spectacle we present to the secular, the unbelieving, or the unconverted world. We cannot contemplate with anything but profound regret the fact that, so far as human foresight can see, the most eminent ecclesiastic in the Christian Church, and those who act with him, has stamped for ever a division between us and them. And then, I think, there is another reason of a sweeter and tenderer kind. Look back at the Reformation, watch the action of personalities. Some of them appear contemptible, some wicked, others what we might ourselves have been, vacillating and weak, and only some noble and courageous. But look back on all that, look at the action of parties and Churchmen, and then ask, if it be true, as has been said to-day, that the Church of England was brought all continuous and intact, to what is it that we owe that? There can be but one answer, and that is the answer that should keep us thankful and humble, namely, that we owe it to the over-ruling providence and grace of God.

CONGRESS HALL.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN REGARD TO THE
INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF THE DAY.

- (a) THE MORALITY OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS.
(b) BOARDS OF ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I REGRET to announce that the Dean of Ely, who was to have been our first speaker this evening, is unable to be present, but Mr. Geoffrey Drage, M.P., who has special knowledge of industrial problems of the day, has, at very short notice, kindly consented to take his place. This subject of "The Duty of the Church in Regard to the Industrial Problems of the Day: (a) The Morality of Strikes and Lock-outs; (b) Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation," is one that specially appeals to those employed in the various industries of the country; and I hope that those present who belong to the trades unions, and the representatives of the working-classes, will send in their names as desiring to address the meeting, because the members of the Congress are anxious to get their views upon this important matter.

PAPERS.

GEOFFREY DRAGE, Esq., M.P. for Derby.

It is much to be regretted that the Dean of Ely is not able to be present to open this debate. As it is, I think the interests of the discussion will be best served if I draw attention to certain facts, figures, and institutions which are not always remembered in this connection, leaving the higher questions of morality to those competent to deal with them. Everyone now condemns strikes and lock-outs; everyone desires their prevention on account of the strife that they breed amongst us, and the damage done to our trade; but it is not everyone who will take any particular pains to examine the facts connected with them, and consider the causes which have led to them. The immense majority of trade disputes are due to wages, and the strike question in England, as in foreign countries, is in reality a wage question. Further, as trade develops, as machinery is improved, and new inventions are forthcoming, as some trades fall while others rise, in each trade from time to time the point will be reached when the employer cannot employ except at a loss, and the workman cannot work because it is not worth his while. From this point of view there will always be from

time to time both strikes and lock-outs. When the fact is considered, and when we further ascertain that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the trade disputes in each year are settled by arbitration and conciliation, the duty of Churchmen seems to be to inquire what methods and institutions have succeeded in the past, what are the new circumstances of the present day, and what are the new institutions which have been devised to prevent or settle them.

Till within recent years public opinion was generally on the side of the masters; now it has a tendency to be always on the side of the men. With regard to the legislation of the present century dealing with the prevention and settlement of trade disputes, we must recollect the Act of 1825, with the amending Acts of 1837, 1845, and 1856, and also the provisions of Lord St. Leonard's Act of 1867, and Mr. Mundella's Act of 1872, and the Bills which were introduced into Parliament up to the present year. Every Act hitherto has been a failure, and the Act passed this year merely gives to the Board of Trade, by Statute, powers which the Board already possesses. On the other hand we have the voluntary institutions by which the employers and working-classes have attempted to meet the difficulty, and which have met with such signal success.

The history of those efforts in the direction of arbitration and conciliation may be divided into three periods—(1) that before 1860, (2) 1860-1889, (3) 1889-1896. In the first period the boards of conciliation were unsystematic, temporary, sporadic and experimental, but I must pay my warmest tribute to the working men who, in times of such great misery as those which preceded 1848, had yet had the patriotism and common sense to use every effort to come to terms with those who appeared to them to be their oppressors. In the second period we had the organization of the old trades unions and the permanent, systematic, complete form of conciliation which they introduced. This Congress will remember that these unions not only obtained higher wages for the working man, but also furnished a complete answer to almost every portion of the labour problem, in the insurance they provide against sickness, accident, old age and want of employment. The highest credit for the present condition of trade in the North of England, and the social peace which prevails, should be given to employers like Sir David Dale on the one hand, and working men like Mr. Thos. Burt on the other hand. Turning to the last period, attention should be drawn to the new problems which appeared in 1889. The depression in trade which always affects first and foremost the unskilled and fluctuating industries led to the great Dock strike and other such disturbances. We must not overlook the part played by public opinion in influencing the course of these disputes, and stress should be laid on the new element of danger to be found in the struggle arising between different employers from excessive competition, and the disputes between different trades unions as to which should do different pieces of work, which are called demarcation strikes.

Nor must we forget the South Metropolitan Dock Strike, which raised in a new form the problems both as to the lighting of great cities and as to the law in regard to intimidation. Next come the new unions, into which the unskilled labourers were organized during the third

period merely for fighting purposes, with no regard for thrift, and as a consequence they are of unstable character. Many trades are now combined into one union, as in that of the gas-workers; we also have many branches of one trade in amalgamation, and further there have been local federations of skilled and unskilled trades; and, on the other hand, the employers have organized into still larger associations, and have formed besides free labour societies of varying strength. To meet these new difficulties and to grapple with the new dangers arising from these new organizations, fresh institutions have however sprung up in the shape of general trade boards, as in the boot and shoe trade, as well as fresh general local boards like that instituted by the London Chamber of Commerce. On every side the employing and working classes have made fresh efforts to meet the new problems which confront them.

I ask this Congress to pause before passing any vote or expressing any opinion which may seem to condemn so large a body of our countrymen unheard, when much more good may be done in your high sphere by assisting the institutions which already exist, and which owe their foundation and success to the earnest desire that animates the majority of the employing and working classes to promote social peace.

HARRY PHILLIPS, Esq., Alderman of West Ham.

*The MS. of this Paper was not received in time for insertion here,
and appears in Appendix A.*

(b) BOARDS OF ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

The Rev. W. MOORE EDE, Rector of Gateshead; Hon. Canon of Durham; Hulsean Lecturer, 1895-6.

THOSE who preceded me have spoken of the attitude which the Church should assume with regard to the settlement of industrial disputes by strikes and lock-outs. I have to speak of the more excellent way. Strikes and lock-outs appeal to force; the principle of settlement, if there be a principle, is that might is right. Arbitration and conciliation appeal to reason, and endeavour to settle differences on principles of justice and equity.

I believe I have been asked to speak on this subject because I have had personal experience, having acted as chairman at meetings for the settlement of industrial disputes, and also because I have been intimately associated with the Bishop of Durham in the efforts he made to bring about the formation of Conciliation Boards in the coal trade of Durham and Northumberland—efforts attended with success, in that the Boards were formed—efforts followed by failure, in that the miners of both counties have, by decisive majorities, decided to discontinue the Boards.

It is not my business now to consider our industrial system, either descriptively or critically. Wage labour may be but a transitional stage in our social development, and may be succeeded by something better—as slave labour was succeeded by serfdom, and serfdom by free labour. I am not now concerned with the past or the future, but with the present. In industry as now carried on there are two classes, employers and employed. The employers control the capital, direct the industry, and

purchase labour. The employed sell their labour and have little voice in the control of industry. Under this system, differences inevitably arise. Trade is not stable, prices fluctuate, and industrial changes are frequent; hence there is a constant need of readjustment of wages and modification of trade customs and rules. Every such readjustment is a possible ground of quarrel. What can be done to lessen the friction and the ill-feeling to which these readjustments often give rise? Why should there be any strikes or lock-outs? They are wrong in principle, disastrous in their effects. In the end the terms of settlement have to be adjusted by a conference of the contending parties and discussion. The conference and the discussion must take place. It is better they should come before the fight and render the fight unnecessary. Why do they not come first? Because there are obstacles in the way. There are obstacles which are due to human imperfection. Pride not infrequently prevents an appeal to reason. Let me give an illustration. A certain strike had lasted some time, and had caused considerable hardship to the members of another organisation who were not concerned in the dispute. The secretary of the non-combatants called on me one day and said:—"The employers want to meet the men, and get this affair settled. The men are just as anxious to meet the masters, but neither, however, likes to ask the others to meet, because it would look as if they meant to give in; but if you would ask both to meet you and talk the matter over, they would be very glad to accept such an invitation, as neither would lose any dignity." As on enquiry I found he had correctly gauged the situation, I acted as requested, and the invitation was promptly accepted.

We all know how pride has in the past often caused employers to refuse to negotiate with the representatives of the men. Thank God, that form of pride has well nigh disappeared in England. It has not altogether vanished, it still lingers in the unwillingness which is sometimes displayed to meeting in conference under a neutral chairman, whose presence would secure perfect equality. Suspicion, want of trust in the honest desire of the other party to really ascertain what is just and fair, often hinders a peaceful settlement. Neither party trusts the statement made by the other. Selfishness is another hindrance. When one of the parties to the quarrel is not confident in the justice of its case, but believes it has the power to enforce its will, it is sometimes tempted to appeal to force rather than reason.

After all, there is a great deal of human nature in man. While much of it is good, some of it is evil; and the evil elements tend to discord and the separation of man from man. The evil which we have to combat in ourselves as individuals is the same evil against which aggregates of individuals have to contend. Pride, suspicion, temper, selfishness, self-will, bigoted ignorance, all play their part in separating men and creating that envy, malice, and uncharitableness which is destructive of harmony and peace.

But over and above the causes which have their root in the imperfection of man, there are others which are due to external difficulties.

The want of a satisfactory tribunal to which a dispute may be referred is one hindrance to peaceful settlement. Our courts of law have no power to form contracts; they can only enforce them when framed. Some have suggested that a court should be formed, and that all trade

disputes should be referred to it. In a free country such a court cannot be compulsory, for it cannot compel free men to work when they do not wish to do so, nor compel employers to pay rates of wages which will involve them in bankruptcy. All that the Government can do is to afford facilities for arbitration, or mediation, by offering to provide, when both parties desire it, some person who shall endeavour to ascertain the facts and assist both in arriving at a just settlement. To this the Conciliation Act of 1896 wisely confines itself.

Many disputes have been happily settled by arbitration, and it is easy to say that all disputes ought to be. There are circumstances, however, which may legitimately cause men to hesitate before they consent to submit a question to arbitration. The decisions of our most able judges are sometimes upset on appeal, and the most impartial and able arbitrator, being human, may err. Employers may think that their financial position is such they cannot run the risk of error on the part of the arbitrator, as that would mean ruin. The employed may think that their wages are so low they would rather strike and starve than risk an adverse decision; or, more commonly, they may think they would be at a disadvantage in presenting their case, owing to their not having access to the books of their employers. Sir David Dale, who has had more experience than almost any man in arbitration, sums the matter up thus:—"Though both sides look with hesitation and doubt as to whether they are justified in staking the results of some very important claim on the judgment, it might be the erring judgment, of one man, his own experience would bring him to the conclusion it had brought Mr. Burt, viz.: that of all the risks and uncertainties that might attend the remitting of some question affecting a whole district to the judgment of one person, that at any rate was a less risk than the risks that entered by endeavouring to settle that question by strike or strife."

Yes, arbitration is better than strife, but conciliation is better than arbitration, and presents a higher moral ideal. In arbitration both parties endeavour to convince the judge, and each endeavours to present his case so as to win a favourable verdict. Victory, rather than justice, is the end aimed at. But in conciliation each party endeavours to convince the other by arguing across the table—the end aimed at is agreement as to what is just and fair. There is no defeated party who feels aggrieved and cherishes resentment, there is unanimity and peace.

A Conciliation Board does much more than settle variations in wages without recourse to strikes. It affords a means whereby all questions affecting the well-being of the workers and the conditions of the industry in which they are engaged can be brought under review, and thus the whole industrial life raised. The decision of a Conciliation Board not being determined by the arbitrary will of one man or one class, but by the agreement of the ablest of both classes, has a powerful moral effect. The necessity of obtaining the consent of the Board causes the employer to recognize that the men are co-partners in the industry, and the men to realize that the employers' interest and the trade interest are bound up with their own. Thus conciliation brings both classes together, removes antagonism, and promotes mutual consideration.

Surely the true ideal is the settlement of all differences between employers and employed by the representatives of both meeting together,

and in full and frank conference considering all the circumstances of the trade, recognizing their solidarity of interests, as well as their points of difference, and settling, after all considerations have been taken into account, that which is just and fair, and the right thing to be done in the interests of all. We have often occasion to regret the bitterness of class feeling, but when employer and employed meet together to ascertain what is just, each tends to take a wider view, and the interest of the class is merged in the well-being of the whole.

In England we are, I believe, well on the way to a peaceful solution of our industrial disputes. Conciliation Boards have been formed in many of our large industries. Some have worked successfully for many years. That in the iron and steel trade has been in operation for twenty-seven years, and all through that period has settled every question without once resorting to force, and the number of wage variations so settled exceeds twelve hundred.

What hinders the formation of such Boards in every trade? Perhaps I can best illustrate the obstacles to the formation of such Boards by a brief account of the rise and fall of the Boards in the coal trade of the North. In the year 1894, a number of leading representatives of employers and employed met round a table at Auckland Castle, and discussed frankly and freely, in private, the question of conciliation. While everyone approved the principle, everyone expressed a doubt as to how far the general body of employers and employed were prepared to take practical measures to form Conciliation Boards. In order to bring the subject before the masters and men of both counties, the Bishop of Durham was asked to convene a public conference, and invite representatives of employers and employed. This was done, and on January 20th, 1894, a large and representative conference was held. Here again unanimity prevailed. From the conference the subject passed to the lodge rooms. Four months later the Conciliation Board was an established fact in the Northumberland coal trade, and Durham did not long lag behind. The Durham Board was a great advance on that of Northumberland; that was confined to the settlement of wages disputes, whereas the Durham Board could deal with all questions affecting the well-being of miners. Deep convictions are of slow growth; the conversion of the miners was too rapid to have that depth which is required to stand the strain of adversity. Bad times set in, the prices fell, and the Boards were compelled to award deductions in wages. Naturally this created dissatisfaction, which their faith in the new method was not strong enough to withstand. The Board seemed to many to take the decision out of the hands of the rank and file, and leave it too much in the hands of the representatives on the Boards, and as their proceedings were not fully known, there was a feeling that perhaps all the pressure had not been used that ought to have been, and that the employers might have done without a reduction if they had to face a strike. Moreover, some thought the Board an obstacle in the way of agitation for a living wage, and others regarded a County Board as standing in the way of a union of all the miners of the kingdom in one Federation. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and there had not been time for the growth of confidence in the new methods. But the cause of conciliation is not lost when the leading representatives of the miners state in an official circular, "Many of us, if not all, have

been in every form of relation that has been in use in the county. Negotiation, arbitration, sliding scales, strikes, and now the Conciliation Board. In our opinion, there has no better system been tried. If it be ended, what shall we put in its place?" That question has not yet been answered, and in the difficulty of effective reply lies the hope of the return to conciliation.

My subject is the duty of the Church towards peaceful settlement of disputes. I have kept the duty of the Church till the last.

The duty of the Church is to preach—to proclaim in the pulpit and in the press—the Christian ideal of justice, of brotherhood, of peace. Of justice: "that the one supreme rule in the conduct of business is to claim from another what we ourselves in his place, with full knowledge, should be willing to concede."* Of brotherhood: that employers and employed are not hostile classes, but members of one family, bound by the closest ties, and that their real unity is greater and deeper than their momentary differences. Of peace: that as the use of force is evil, the ascertainment of justice by reason and friendly discussion is the true method of settling differences—one which leaves no bitterness behind, which binds men closer together, and that now and always, "it is good and pleasant to see the brethren dwell together in unity." The Church must preach, and the Church must practise. Churchmen must endeavour to give effect to the ideal by embodying it under the forms which are possible in our day and generation. The more men are imbued with the Christian ideal, the more they will endeavour to settle differences by peaceful methods. Over and above the duty of proclaiming the Christian ideal of peaceful settlement, and endeavouring to give effect to it, there is also that sphere of Church duty which consists in raising character, and by the help of the Spirit of God exorcising evil from the heart of man. In so far as the Church raises character, conquers pride and selfishness, it removes those obstacles to the peaceful solution of industrial disputes which the evil in man occasions.

If anyone misinterpreting the word Church uses it for the word clergy, and asks me what the clergy can do to settle trade disputes, I will give the layman's reply, "Mind your own business, and do not interfere with what you do not understand." For us clergy to descend into the arena of industrial strife is a mistake. We are not trained in business, and we rarely understand the intricacies and technicalities of industrial quarrels.

But we clergy, rendered independent by endowments, have exceptional opportunities of promoting industrial peace. We are, or ought to be, intimate friends of both employers and employed. We, knowing each, and yet not identified with either, can sometimes bring together the representatives of both for friendly conference. It is astonishing when even the most violent meet together in a friendly way how moderate and reasonable they become. I have an intense belief in the value of friendly and informal conversations, with no reporters present.

The Bishop of Durham has given a splendid example of what clergy may do. He has never interfered, never expressed an opinion in favour

* Bishop Westcott.

of either party in times of difference, but when the great Durham coal strike had run its course, and tempers were somewhat cooled, he invited both parties to meet at Auckland Castle and confer together, and thus ended the strike. But that is not all. From time to time he brings together representatives of all classes and all interests to confer concerning social questions, and consider how far it is possible to bring actual life into closer conformity with Christian principles. Those conferences often lead to no definite result, but meeting thus is the best result, for it increases confidence and trust between man and man, and confidence and trust are the necessary pre-requisites for the peaceful settlement of differences.

DISCUSSION.

H. A. COLVILE, Esq., Evangelist Brotherhood, Waterloo Terrace, Wolverhampton.

WITH all my heart I wish I could believe that the age of strikes and lock-outs was drawing to an end; but, personally, I believe that the clouds are gathering, and that we shall see more bitter strife between capital and labour in the future than ever we have seen before. I cannot hope for anything else as long as our present economic arrangements hold good. I believe that with all our great trades growing more and more into limited liability companies and trusts; with all the big fish swallowing up the little ones; with the idea prevailing that in the struggle for existence it is to be every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost; as long as men care nothing who goes down in the struggle so long as they mount upon the corpses—as long as all this continues, I see no hope for a termination of strikes and lock-outs. As long as trade was in the hands of private individuals there was far more hope of less friction than at present, when it has got so largely into the hands of the great limited companies. While it was in the hands of private men, no matter how bad or how great a sweater or grinder he might be at heart, he, at any rate, was somebody whom you could get at. It was possible he might be wanting to get into the Town Council, he might even be aspiring to become Mayor, and, therefore, the trades' leaders had someone with whom they could deal. Any of you who know anything about trades unions and their leaders will know this, that many a strike has been averted or stopped when the leaders of the men could go to the employer privately and put their case before him. But with limited liability companies there is nobody whom you can get at. You go to the managing director, and he refers you to the chairman of the company. The chairman in like manner refers to his co-directors, and after a time they write and tell you that they have considered the matter, but that they have their shareholders' interests to consider, and in that way you have nobody to get at. As long as that continues, I see nothing in the future but a prospect of more bitterness in the war between capital and labour. Well, what is the duty of the Church in this respect? Personally, I believe that it is the duty of the Church to teach what the Bible says, that "My people shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat of the fruit of them, they shall not build and another inhabit, they shall not plant and another eat." I believe it is the duty of the Church to see that labour has its due reward. I suppose that we have more than half a million of people in London alone almost on the verge of starvation; and there is no settled state in a condition of things in which men who are in employment are living in a continual dead-funk as to whether they will be in work next week or not, and while there are so many ready to take any job that is vacant and to do it at any price, rather than want for bread and water for their wives and families. With such a state of things I fail to see any hope of strikes and lock-outs coming to an end. On the other hand, I see nothing but clouds gathering; and the duty of the Church, as I understand it in these times, is to preach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. After nineteen hundred years of Christianity, we still see around us these thousands and thousands of people struggling for bare maintenance, or else perishing in the strife; and thousands of others toiling on with no hope before them but the cold charity of the workhouse after a lifetime of hard work. Seeing all this, I see no hope of putting an end to strikes and lock-outs, except by a complete alteration of our present economic arrangements; in other words, I believe there is no other way of

putting an end to the present strife between capital and labour, strikes and lock-outs, but Christian "socialism."

The Rev. F. LEWIS DONALDSON, Rector of Nailstone,
Nuneaton.

WE have heard to-night, not for the first time, that we clergy are not, above all things, to interfere between masters and men. But, I ask, has there ever been this pell-mell rush of clergy in regard to industrial disputes? I am not aware of it, nor, so far as I know, are my friends aware of it. To tell the clergy not to be too keen about these things is, as Mr. Adderley said at the Birmingham Congress, rather like telling the House of Lords not to be too keen about Home Rule. Of course it would be presumption and folly for us clergy to leave our own sphere of theology to lay down laws and theories in any particular industrial dispute. But I am sure there is no wide disposition among us to do so. Nevertheless, we are bound to sympathize with the people called the working classes so long as the conditions under which they live and work remain unsatisfactory. At present the tendencies which make for industrial peace (Conciliation Boards, etc.) are, I think, very strong in England. But still tendencies remain which make for war, and these tendencies are found to spring from the evil conditions under which so many thousands continue to work and live. The original causes of the origin of the "strike" system remain. They have been modified, no doubt, but they remain. In Birmingham, for instance, fifty years ago, the working classes lived in insanitary, unwholesome hovels, neglected politically, socially, and ecclesiastically, even while the present splendid suburb of Edgbaston was beginning to rise. It was out of such conditions as those that "strikes" and "lock-outs" arose, and therefore the "morality of strikes" can hardly be considered without regard to those conditions. I am not an old man, but I can chronicle a vast change of opinion and tone in regard to the rights of the industrial classes to strike, should there be no other way for them to achieve the balance of justice in trade. Fifteen years ago it was by no means an unusual thing to hear, when men came out on strike, that "they ought to be shot." Now society recognizes that a strike is as just a thing in the abstract as a lock-out, and that men, though they may strike foolishly and wickedly, may also do so sanely and rightly. But it is still objected that strikes mean war. This is a serious objection, but not, I maintain, a final one. War is terrible, and by all rightful means to be avoided—but it may be necessary. So may also the war of strikes, until the conditions out of which they arise are put right. But it is further objected that the cost is vast, and that society at large suffers. This is true enough, but yet it is also true that the first cost of a strike falls upon the strikers and their families, upon themselves, their wives, and children, who suffer the terrible privations of famine and want for what they believe to be right. For this reason I think the working classes will become in the future more and more cautious ere they make the declaration of war which a strike involves. Let us hope that caution and wisdom will prevail in all their counsels. Meanwhile, we are bound to sympathize with them in all their just complaints. It is not for the comfortable and well-placed to hurl at them the charges of "materialism." George Eliot, speaking of the power of the "De Imitatione Christi" over the hearts of men, accounts for it by saying that it was the outcome of the heart's prompting, and was "not written on velvet cushions to teach endurance to those who are treading with bleeding feet upon the stones." So Church-people, I feel, are bound, in regard to the morality of strikes, not merely to speak, from the midst of the comforts of life, counsels of perfection to those who are contending for industrial justice, but remembering the wrongs of the poor (and they are many) to sympathize, as true shepherds and friends, in all things lawful and just, with those who indeed are treading with bleeding feet upon the stones of the way of life.

HUGH HOLMES GORE, Esq., Bristol.

I CANNOT conceive a more charming inconsistency than the divergent positions taken up by Canon Moore Ede on the one side, and Mr. Donaldson on the other. The former spoke as one who has taken an active part in the settlement of strikes, requiring at once a knowledge of economic facts and capacity to weigh the various evidences

produced on the one side by the employers, and on the other side by the workmen. That is practically putting the clergyman in the position of having to judge the details of an economic question; and when Mr. Donaldson claimed consistency with Canon Moore Ede, I failed to see where the consistency lay; for the latter claimed that the clergy should not attempt actually to enter into the economic aspects of strikes. Now, I am here to argue that it is the duty of the Church, and of the clergy as the heads of the Church, to take a very active part in strikes, lock-outs, and all industrial questions; and to do it on the lines laid down yesterday afternoon by Archdeacon Sandford. It is for the Church to say what the action of men should be in given circumstances if they were guided by the law of Christ. But with reference to the details, that possibly is not our duty; but the duty of the priest is to inquire, as it is the duty of the laity to inquire, what are the principles of justice that lie at the bottom of the question which has to come under consideration; and I take it that what our Christian faith has taught us is this: that we are all the sons of God, all brothers under one common Father. And that being so, the principle we ought to maintain as Churchmen is this: we should see, as far as we can, that no brother of ours shall live in circumstances worse than we feel we are prepared to consider as sufficient for ourselves. If that is the measure of justice we are prepared to lay down, remembering as we do that our Divine Master had nowhere to lay His head; if, acting in that spirit, we realize the principle of human brotherhood, we shall then, where questions of industrial progress arise, without considering whether the workman or the employer is right, we shall then ask whether it is just that the workmen should receive only the wages given them, and whether it is sufficient to satisfy that measure of justice of which I have spoken. But the clergy have sometimes had the courage to stand up for the workers. The last great coal lock-out was, I believe, in a great measure won by the influence of determined clergymen who were supporting the miners up and down the country side. I say it is to the credit of those who took part, and I regret that more did not do so; because, if you take the standard I have mentioned, who among the clergy before us to-night are prepared to say that every cottage in their villages is such that they would consider it sufficient for themselves to live in. But we must go ahead, so that every cottar shall have as good a house as the vicarage. It seems to me we have a duty; and whilst we dine with the squire, or accept the invitations to his garden parties, how many take the opportunity to preach the Gospel which Jesus Christ would have preached, and ask why they should live in such circumstances while the labourers on the outskirts of their estates live in cottages hardly fit for pigs or dogs? This is not the occasion to enter into controversial matters; but I would say this, that when Canon Moore Ede takes the optimistic view that we have come nearly to the end of our industrial struggles, I wonder if he knows, or has considered, that within the past six months the shipowners on the Clyde and at Belfast were striving to crush the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in order that the rates of wages might be reduced a little more. What were our clergy doing on that occasion? To see the masters doing that is not, to my mind, a sign that Boards of conciliation and arbitration are likely to settle or prevent trade disputes for some time to come. Fortunately for the time being there is a little better trade for our workers, and wages are not so bad as they have been; but we know that there is always reaction in these matters, and when the reaction comes, then it will be for the clergy to say whether in this matter they are going to be on the side of Christ or of Mammon. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." The chance of the Church of England to-day to win back her careless sons and daughters who walk about the streets, and go in thousands to the great athletic meetings, and to the music halls, but who are absolutely indifferent to the Church, is to stand loyally by them and say that those who are poor and oppressed are the ones with whom we are going to throw in our lot, even as our Divine Master did.

The Rev. T. P. RING, Rector of Rawmarsh.

THIS is a remarkable meeting. It is first a meeting of the Church Congress, and secondly, it is a meeting to which five hundred working men of the district have been invited; and I am sure we all feel thankful that so many have responded to the invitation, and have come together with the bishops, clergy, and members of the Congress to take counsel on this great, important, and all-vital question. Now, may I be allowed to say a word on behalf of the clergy regarding it. The clergy are not the Church, but they are an important part of the Church, and I most utterly deny,

from an intimate knowledge of them, that they are at all indifferent or unsympathetic with the aspirations or the ideals of the working men. Once make it plain that the cause of the working man is just and righteous, and you will have ninety-nine out of every hundred of the clergy of the Church of England on their side. I remember the great lock-out in the Potteries district. In that case the working men were undoubtedly right. There was no question about the justice of their case. I am not a timid man myself, and I did not mind speaking out and making myself a target for the shots of others; and so I publicly defended their cause and stated their case, and the Bishop of Shrewsbury was among the very first to write to me and to say:—"I believe every word you have said: they are absolutely in the right, and they have my deepest sympathy." Let me mention another instance. When the public became perfectly convinced of the justice of the men's case in the strike or lock-out in the coal trade, the clergy in the Potteries and the Black Country, and throughout Yorkshire, were foremost in sympathising with the workmen, and in feeding them and helping them to make a firm stand for their rights and the rights of their wives and children. Now, I want to suggest to you to-night that the solution of this question rests, not so much in upholding or refusing to uphold the rights of masters or of men, but in drawing both together in common sympathy and common brotherhood, as undoubtedly they are bound together in common interest; because, who can doubt that the colliery proprietor and his workmen, or the employer and employed in any other trade, have common interests at stake. I am looking forward to the time when the different interests of the unions of the men and the unions of the masters will be drawn together in a united bond to protect themselves against the bidding down of prices, and against the miserable desire on the part of the public to get a good article below its proper price. I would say to the masters in the first instance that they ought to act in union with their workers to resist that vile competition with one another which is feeding on the very blood and life of our people, dragging them down in the sweater's den, taking all the best of their strength and manhood, and then flinging to them a dole which will hardly keep body and soul together. It is competition between capitalists for a larger share of trade that prevents the men getting fair wages for their labour. Well, let there be a strong combination between the two non-conflicting interests. Let the men and the masters agree together that such and such an article of production costs so much: that so much of that cost is for the living wage, so much for the intellect and power of the managers employed, and of the masters engaged in the business; and—if we must have interest—so much interest on the capital invested. Having determined that cost, let them say that the selling price of the article is those three sums combined, and that not for one farthing less shall that article be sold. There you have at once the living wage to which a man is entitled who toils and labours with the sweat of his brow; and, instead of destroying the capitalist and injuring the employers of labour, you have undoubtedly bestowed upon him the greatest and best of all blessings. But it is said: What about foreign competition: does not that come in and hinder such an arrangement? I believe that foreign competition in this respect is an absolute bogey which can be disregarded. In any great movement someone must begin; and if we are ever to interfere with the unrighteous laws of competition which are dragging men down to be mere machines working and toiling against one another, some nation must take the lead. Now, this is our Church's opportunity. If she is true and faithful now and full of sympathy with the working men, you will find them coming back to her fold and thronging her altars as bees returning to the hive, realizing that she is their best and truest friend. But not for expediency do I argue, not simply to fill our churches; but because it is our absolute duty as the Church of the Carpenter of Nazareth, as the Church of the brotherhood of man; and I believe that there is no society, no corporation, no Church so fitted for this work as the grand old Church of England. What is the justification of our establishment and our endowments if we fail to realize the unique position they secure to us of speaking out in a spirit of absolute independence as the Church of the nation, without fear of rich or poor, on the side of righteousness and truth.

The Rev. T. HILL, Vicar of Somercotes S. Peter, Grimsby.

WITH regard to a remark of Mr. Gore, I do not think the houses to which he referred as unfit for habitation so often belong to the squire as to the small house-jobber in the neighbouring town. If we are to have private landlordism at all, the large is preferable to the small: it is far more liberal-minded. That, however, by the by. Those

who remember the history of this subject at Church Congresses will notice the marked growth of sympathy in the Church with trade unionism. Twenty-two years ago this subject was urged upon the Subjects Committee at Stoke-upon-Trent; but the Bishop of Shrewsbury, then rector of Stoke, will probably remember how opinion was so much against it that it was excluded in spite of his good-will. And, further, such official pressure was brought to bear that an independent meeting during the Congress week had to be abandoned. But the subject has been discussed at half-a-dozen Congresses since then, and to repeat the old arguments against unionism is now like slaying the slain. Out of those efforts at Stoke grew a committee of clergy under the chairmanship of Mr. Oakley, afterwards Dean of Manchester, for publicly discussing trade unionism and the Church, and the fact that many more of its members have since reached canonical, decanal, and even episcopal rank, further shows how the movement has long since passed its pioneer stage. But at that time it was not so. One of the earliest tasks of that committee was to obtain the withdrawal of strongly hostile literature from circulation by such official bodies as the S.P.C.K. and the National Society. Among other publications were a tract of the former which assumed as not needing argument that a man on strike was *ipso facto* working for a new master, the devil; and a reading-book of the latter which roundly taught that membership of a trade union was, as such, subjection to tyranny. We have progressed since then. But our earnestness still needs testing. It is not now enough to recognize the principle of unionism. Unionism in the great trades is now strong, and needs no help from the Church. The aristocracy of labour is quite able to take care of itself. To attempt to patronize it will lead to the retort, "Thank you for nothing." Even in the early days of the committee I have spoken of, a trade union leader, Mr. Broadhurst, I think, said, "Where were you gentlemen twenty years ago?" It was forty years ago, when unionism was weak and banned by the law itself, that such utterances as to-night's should have been heard. To-day, if we are honest and earnest, we shall go farther. The battlefield has changed. To range ourselves on the side of the weak will still bring us unpopularity with many of the influential people with whom we have to do. The problem now is no longer justice for skilled men's labour, but for unskilled, and for female labour. It is what Mr. Phillips has told us about. And the problem is still more acute when we come to the more or less casual workers, with whom poverty is partly effect and partly cause. All these classes are the despair of trade unionism. They are a rope of sand; they cannot organize themselves. It must be done for them, partly from the classes above, partly even from the State. The principle of a living wage can be frankly recognized, for instance. The Government and the Municipalities can raise the average standard of wages and lower that of hours, by their own practice in public establishments, as has been lately done in the Dockyards, etc. All monopolies in public commercial business can be nationalized or municipalized. The Post Office is already an example. Tramways, gas, and water works are following; and railways also. Last—with whatever cautions or delays justice may dictate—should come the nationalization and municipalization of the fundamental monopoly of all, the soil and space by and on which we all must live.

The Rev. WM. CROUCH, Vicar of Gamlingay, Cambridgeshire.

THERE was one expression in the Paper of my friend Mr. Phillips which I think might very well be misunderstood. He said quite truly that a strike of ninety-nine trade unionists against one blackleg was an immoral strike, but he did not mean what might be deduced from that statement, namely, that in all circumstances a strike of union men against blacklegs is unjustifiable and immoral. The strike of ninety-nine against one is obviously simply the persecution of an individual. But a union, to have its proper effect, must be strong; and if the blacklegs are so numerous that by their baseness, their cowardice, their want of self-sacrifice, or want of readiness to help their fellows they are able to weaken the union, then we maintain from the highest point of view that the strike is a moral one, and brings it within that class where, as he said, the men are working under conditions which make it impossible for them to go on. Nor is a strike made the less just by the men choosing, as the opportunity for making it, a time when the employers will feel it more keenly. It is often the more merciful on that account, because it may hasten the termination of the strike, and so diminish the amount of misery. I have spoken also to Canon Moore Ede as to his remark that the clergy should not rush into industrial war. Now, I have the proud honour to be the chairman of the first Parish Council which has obtained

an order from the Local Government Board to take land compulsorily for allotments, and the people told me that they would not have got that if I had not responded to their call to become the leader of the labour party in our parish. I have told Canon Moore Ede, and he admits to me that there are times when we are called upon to take our part, and when we cannot and dare not refuse. In our own parish the struggle in which I took part has been of the nature of an industrial war. It was a struggle between the labourers and the employers, in which the former were seeking to make the conditions of their life tolerable. I believe that there are cases where it is the duty of the clergy, not only to endeavour to get disputes settled by arbitration or, better still, conciliation, but when all other efforts have failed, and when they are thoroughly convinced of the justice of the cause, actually to take part in industrial war.

CONGRESS HALL.

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE OFFICE FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION.

(a) COMMUNION. (b) WORSHIP. (c) INTERCESSION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

It has been usual at meetings of the Church Congress to devote the Friday morning to what has been termed a devotional meeting. We have slightly modified that arrangement on this occasion. The meeting this morning has reference to the most solemn subject with which we, as members of the Church of Christ, can deal, and we propose to conduct it in such a way as not to disturb the devotional and pious feelings of those who are present. And therefore it has been decided that there shall be no manifestation of feeling either in the way of assent to, or dissent from, the remarks that may be made by those who address us. I am quite sure that every member of the Congress will feel that this is a fitting course to take, and will therefore listen in silence to what is read or said. At the same time, after the Papers have been read and we have sung a hymn, an opportunity will be given to any members of Congress who may desire to do so to take up the subject for discussion. I hope that all their remarks will also be listened to in absolute silence, and so we shall give to this meeting the character and the tone which it ought to have in consideration of the subject with which we have to deal.

PAPERS.

(a) COMMUNION.

The Rev. W. H. BARLOW, D.D., Vicar of Islington.

THIS is the general subject. The task assigned to me is—out of three specified aspects, (a) Communion; (b) Worship; (c) Intercession—to take the first.

At the outset let me say that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is, beyond doubt, an ordinance designed for the use of adult Christians. In the Church of England none may come to it but such as are either confirmed, or are ready and desirous to be confirmed. And although the age for confirmation is not definitely fixed, yet those presented to the bishop for this rite are supposed to have been carefully taught the elements of Christian faith and obedience, and to have an intelligent personal knowledge of all that, in spiritual things, concerns their present and eternal welfare.

This Sacrament, then, is not the Sacrament of initiation, but that of continuance, growth, and perfecting in the Christian life. More than this, special pains were taken by the compilers of our service to guard the highly spiritual character of the ordinance. According to the opening rubrics, the names of intending communicants are to be sent to the curate at least some time the day before. Should any name thus submitted be that of an open and notorious evil liver, or of one who has done wrong to his neighbour, so that the congregation be thereby offended, a definite course of action is prescribed, debarring the unworthy professor from the Table of the Lord. Further order is also taken, touching the treatment of those who, whilst proposing to present themselves as communicants, are known by the curate to be at variance between themselves.

In the first of the exhortations, when the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion, particular stress is laid on the importance of receiving worthily. All then present, and intending at the appointed time to partake, are bidden to search their own consciences (and that not lightly, and after the manner of dissemblers with God, but so) that they may come holy and clean to such a heavenly feast. In the third exhortation, appointed to be read at the time of the celebration of the Communion, the same point is again earnestly pressed, and the duty of careful self-examination enforced. In the second form of thanksgiving, after all have communicated, each recipient is called upon to speak of himself as a "very member incorporate in the mystical body" of the Son of God; and also as an "heir through hope" of God's everlasting kingdom, "by the merits of the most precious death and passion" of His dear Son. The Catechism, in the well-known words of the closing answer, declares it to be required of those who come to the Lord's Supper, that they "examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death, and be in charity with all men." And in harmony with the warnings and exhortations just cited is the weighty statement of Article XXIX., that "the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing."

Thus we have a catena of authoritative teaching, showing unmistakably that all who come worthily to the Holy Communion are regarded as being in Christ; not merely by outward profession, but in heart and life. They are counted as living branches of the living vine. Their union with God, through Christ, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, is

pre-supposed. And thus the ancient watchword is true, "ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις: Holy things for the holy." Or as Chrysostom interprets the phrase. "εἰ τις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἅγιος, μὴ προσέλτω: If any man be not holy, let him not draw nigh." Or, in the words of the Didachè, the earliest extant account of the Eucharistic service, "εἰ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω. εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοήτω: If any man is holy, let him come. If any man is not holy, let him repent."

I have thus tried to set forth, in our Church's own words, the assumption that underlies the claim of anyone to avail himself of the privileges of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, viz., that he is fitted to do so, outwardly by baptism and confirmation, and inwardly by adoption (through supernatural grace) into the family of God. In other words, it is taken for granted that spiritual union already exists between the man and his Lord. They are assumed to be at one with each other. *Ex hypothesi*, forgiveness has been bestowed on the one side, and consciously received on the other; old things—old enmities, old doubts, old unbeliefs, old mockeries, old blasphemies, have passed away: all things are become new. There are new joys, new hopes, new aspirations. There is a new strength, a new fervour, a new patience. The man is a new creature, or better still, a new creation, in Christ Jesus.

On this basis, and on this basis alone, can communion be established. For what is communion in this sense? It is the constant interchange of thought and feeling between those who are already agreed. There is the speech of one, and the answer of the other. The uplifted eye is turned to an all-gracious Friend, and the response, so to speak by the eye, comes to the waiting soul. Confidences are reposed and sacredly guarded. Thoughts are poured forth which no human friend may know, and guidance is given in return, which (by its wisdom) proves itself divine. Plans are submitted, and purposes are unfolded, which have for their aim the glory of God, the abasement of self, and the highest welfare of mankind. Of these, in due time, there comes a gracious acknowledgment. Difficulties are removed, mistakes corrected, energy and perseverance supplied, final blessing assured. In all this we find the idea of communion developed. It is the having speech with God as a man talketh with his friend. It is the high, and holy, and elevating dignity of holding converse with Jehovah, of being taken into His counsels, of knowing His mind, of seeing all things as He sees them, and of being used as His instrument, in executing His purposes of mercy to a fallen world. This is communion in its highest sense: communion with God; communion indeed.

Now, in what way does a partaking (by which I mean a worthy partaking) of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper help in promoting this communion of the soul with God? I answer:—

(1) Granted that union has already been established, yet the sense of that union may by sin have become, for a time, as fine gold dimmed. Sin is the great enemy of the peace of the soul. Sin, directly it is seen to be sin, must be confessed and repented of before God. Therefore, at the very outset of the service, we pray that our hearts may be cleansed by the inspiration of God's Holy Spirit. We proceed to the recital of the Decalogue, and (remembering that the exposition of the moral law, as given by Christ, includes the inward intention as well as the outward

act) we supplicate God's mercy upon every breach of His word, and beg for power to keep His commandments for the time to come. Thus, at the commencement, we are called upon to judge ourselves by a standard, not our own, but God's. And when we pass, later in the service, to the definite confession of iniquity, how searching and solemn are the utterances:—"We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings. The remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable."

Some have thought that these declarations are too strong for those already united to God by faith in Christ. I cannot agree with them. Certainly the words are stronger than those of the Confession in the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer. But this is surely right. The more we know of God, the more terrible will sin appear in our sight. The closer we draw to Him, the more will His mind be our mind on the mysterious question of sin. Instead, therefore, of complaining of the strictness and severity of the Confession in the Communion office, let us rather rejoice in the same. Putting murmurings aside, let us dwell in thought on the unsullied purity and absolute spotlessness of the character of God, and bless His Holy Name for providing a way by which the guilt of sin may be removed and its power broken for them that believe.

(2) Again, if it be a help towards developing communion with God that we should with true penitence confess our sins, it is a real help to have stood up and recited, with heart and voice, that noble confession of our faith, the creed of Nicæa. To have been occupied (though on this point it is not my province to dwell) in the sacred privilege of intercession for others (those in authority in State and in Church, those worshipping with us at the time, and those in sorrow and sickness): to have been moved to thanksgiving on the one hand for all the servants of God, now departed this life in His faith and fear, and on the other for the redemption of the world by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ: to have listened once again to the declaration of God's pardon for all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Him: to have had recalled to our minds the comfortable words from Holy Scripture on which that declaration of pardon rests: to have taken our stand, as it were, with angels and archangels in lauding and magnifying the glorious name of God, and in joining in the song of "Holy, holy, holy," which is sung before His throne—all this is quickening and soul-stirring in the extreme. And if, after such promptings and invitations, the faith and love of the communicant are not brought to a bright glow of fervour, if his communion with God be not established and renewed with fresh energy and delight, the fault must be his own. The fault is not in the service, which is thus spiritual and Scriptural; nor can it be in any failure on God's part to fulfil His promise, Who giveth freely of His Holy Spirit to them that ask Him.

(3) But the aids and incentives to communion with God which I have thus far dwelt upon, are preparatory to the actual reception of the consecrated elements of bread and wine. I say elements advisedly. For the Lord Jesus, the same night that He was betrayed, took both bread and wine, over both He gave thanks, and then, *λάβετε, φάγετε, πίνετε* (Take, Eat, Drink), was His Word of invitation and of command. If He thus appointed two kinds, who can claim to be wiser than his Lord,

and to restrict the laity to the use of one element only? Moreover, the Church Catechism is undoubtedly right when, in answer to the question, "Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?" it supplies the answer, "For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby." It was at death that the body and blood of Christ were separated the one from the other. It was by His death that the sacrifice, once for all offered for the sins of the whole world, was made. It is the crucified Christ to Whom our thoughts are especially directed, and on Whom we spiritually feed; whilst it is with the glorified Christ that we are once again bound by most holy ties of faith and love.

Now it might have been supposed that when the *Tersanctus* had been recited and the time for the consecration and distribution of the elements had arrived, all needful preparation of mind and heart and soul had been passed through. And yet, even now—as if the true worshipper must carry the thought of his own unworthiness to the very end—in the prayer offered in the name of the communicants before the Prayer of Consecration, we once more disclaim our own righteousness; we once more renounce all pretence of claim to merit; we once more ask for the cleansing of the whole man, body and soul, by the application of the sacrifice of the crucified Lord.

And then, when the bread and wine have been so ordered that the priest may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, after further touching pleadings of the sufficiency of Christ's atoning work, the words of institution (used by the Lord Himself) are pronounced over the bread broken, and the wine outpoured, and the distribution to each one, in tenderest but most animating terms, is made.

What could express in so true and telling a way the unutterable love of God in the gift of His dear Son for the recovery of sinners unto Himself? That heart must be dull and cold indeed which, if only attention has been carefully fixed on all that has gone before, does not at this point rise to the dignity and blessedness of its position.

Why do I eat this bread and drink this cup? Because the Lord so commanded. Why did He command it? That His death, and the benefits that flow from His death, might be kept continually in remembrance. When did He command it? The same night that He was betrayed. His death! His betrayal! Yes! These were for sinners. And that is my state. Then His passion, and all the benefits thence derived, were for me. So, once more, I review my position. Once more I assure myself of God's favour and goodwill towards me. Once more I forget my past life of shame and unworthiness and sin. By the hand of faith I once more grasp the promises. I cling to the Crucified. I bask in the sunshine of His love. I hear His voice saying, "Follow Me." My heart is knit to His heart. My affections are interlaced and intertwined with His. Through Christ, my present Lord, I cry, "Abba, Father." I hold communion with God.

I pass now from communion of the highest order, *i.e.*, communion with God, to communion of a secondary order, *i.e.*, with others than with Him. In the use of the song of the Seraphim, recorded in Isaiah vi., we assert our right to worship Jehovah in the very language employed by them. In thanking God for the saints who now rest with

Christ, we pray that we may have grace so to follow their good examples, that in the end we may be partakers with them of the kingdom of glory. On these two departments of enquiry, however, I have not time to dwell.

But I reserve the few moments that remain for an examination of the relation that exists between the worthy communicant and others of God's true servants now in the flesh with himself. And here let me say that, as there must first be union between the soul of man and God if communion is to be established and maintained, so in regard to the servants of God on earth, if there is to be spiritual communion between them, it must be preceded by the vital union of faith and love towards a common Lord. To speak of spiritual communion between those who are not already one in Christ is to speak foolishly. For no such spiritual communion can exist.

This communion of the saints on earth is considered (in the service of the Lord's Supper) under two heads: (a) The whole family of God living at any one time among men; and (b) the particular congregation gathered in any one place for the reception of this particular sacrament. As to (a) it is right, it is profitable that, so far as our thought can carry us at the moment, we should strive to embrace in the arms of our Christian love all God's people, east and west, north and south, who (bought by the same costly blood and born again by the one Spirit) are running with us the same race, exposed to the same temptations, fighting the same fight, looking forward to the same heavenly home. And then, above all times, is the season to remember those absent and distant ones, when at the foot of the Cross we recall the sins of mankind, and the propitiation offered for the same by the Saviour of the world. In the words of our XXVIII. Article, "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another." It is not only that, because there are further and very important points to be remembered. But it is that. And this conception of it should never be forgotten.

But (b) let us turn, lastly, to the communion which is intended among those who, in any one place and at any one time, gather round the Table of the Lord. Our Church has required that a certain number of communicants must be present if the rite is to be administered at all. The second and third of the Post Communion Rubrics run thus:—"And there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be a convenient number to communicate with the priest, according to his discretion." "And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive the Communion, yet shall there be no communion except four (or three at the least) communicate with the priest;" whilst in the office for the Communion of the Sick, timely notice must be given to the curate, signifying how many there are to communicate with him, which shall be three, or two at the least, except in cases of special sickness, when, upon the personal request of the diseased, "the minister may only communicate with him." The question of the numbers required to be present if the Communion is to be administered being thus settled, it would be easy to review the whole service once more, noting the points in which the communicants, being united already in the principles of a common faith and practice, are to

have fellowship with each other. But to-day this word only must suffice. Every confession of sin is a joint confession. Every thanksgiving is a joint thanksgiving. Every expression of consecration to God's service is a joint expression. Every anticipation of future glory is a joint anticipation. There is no isolation or separation among the communicants individually. Our Church, in short, tries to bring each one nearer to Christ, and by that very fact each one is brought nearer to all the rest. "I speak as to wise men. Judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many are one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread."

(b) WORSHIP.

The Very Rev. R. W. RANDALL, Dean of Chichester.

WE are to think next of the Holy Eucharist as an act of worship. And so we mount to the highest point, to the principal object of the service. All that this service has to do with is unspeakably high, and blessed. It must be so, for it is the one and only service of Divine appointment. It is the one service directly and immediately appointed by our Blessed Lord for His Church. If we think of it only as the means ordained by Himself for our communion with Him, for that feeding upon Him whereby we are made so one with Him, and He with us, that we live by the power of His life, it is impossible to speak too highly of the joy and blessedness of that union with our Lord which is granted to us in the Blessed Sacrament. The words of Hooker do no more than suggest what the heart feels at the moment of communion: "O my God, Thou art good! O my Soul, thou art happy!" It has been well said, "Short of Heaven itself, there is nothing so full of bliss as a true and devout communion." The unveiled Presence of Christ makes the joy of Heaven. The same Presence of Christ, as yet under a veil, makes the joy of our communion with Him, of His communion with us.

And yet we mount to a higher point than communion when we think of the Eucharist as an act of worship. Communion is the means, the strength, the motive power of worship. Worship is the end to which communion leads. More still. Worship is that for which we were made. It is the end and object of our being. For what is worship? Is it not "giving God His worth," "the honour due unto His Name," setting forth His glory, His greatness, His majesty, His holiness, His perfections—expressing to Him, so far as we can after our measure, what He is in Himself in the glory of His adorable Being, what He is to us in the action of His love? This is worship—this is the work and occupation of the angels at this moment, as it has been from the first moment that they were breathed into being by the Most High. This will be our work and occupation if we attain to the Presence of God in eternal life. This is the highest glory of our being now, not to receive from God—no! not even the gifts of pardon, of grace, even of Divine Life itself imparted to us (blessed as those gifts are, and

fast as they bind us to God Who is so tender in His Love for us); no, but to give to Him. It is true of acts of worship, as it is of all that we do for God, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." There is a joy and exultation in the heart which has realized in any measure what God is in Himself, what He can be to man. This is what S. Paul calls "rejoicing in God." This joy must find its vent. It must pour itself out. It must acknowledge to God its sense of what He is, of what He has done. Like one enamoured of the Divine beauty and excellence, it must speak out its adoring love. Abashed, humbled, full of awe under the sense of the glory of the Divine Presence, each one of us who realizes what God is finds himself impelled to worship. Abraham cries out that he is but dust and ashes. Jacob thrills with dread before the manifestation of God. Moses, while the burning bush proclaims the nearness of the Almighty, puts off his shoes from off his feet. S. John falls at the feet of our Lord in the splendour of His risen glory. Even the six-winged seraphim, pure and loving as they are, veil their faces before the brightness of Him that sits on the Throne, and cry one to another: "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts: the whole earth is full of His Glory." So a passion of adoration is stirring throughout the whole Book of Psalms. A melody of sweet, loving, lowly praise bursts out again and again in the songs of those whom the Holy Ghost has taught what is due to God.

But a more true, more holy, more pure, more loving worship even than that of the greatest of saints is to be offered to God; a worship that shall indeed be worthy of Him, and well-pleasing—that shall give Him all His due; the worship of a mind which knows the full glory of His perfections, of a heart which loves Him with the most complete devotion, of a will which unflinching finds pleasure in His Will, of lips "which are full of grace." Yes! there has been offered to God the worship of a life which was a joy to Him, the worship of a death which set the crown of perfection on the worship of the whole life. And it was the worship offered by one of ourselves, by one who is indeed our Brother. The Words of Christ were spoken by human lips. Oh! what music in the ears of God! The thoughts, the feelings; the affections of Christ were contained in a human heart, oh! what a casket of jewels under the loving gaze of God! The gladness of obedience, the sweetness of resignation were exhibited by a human will, oh! what a satisfying joy to the Will of God. At last the honour, the perfections, the love, the claims of God, were recognized. All that He would ask for His own Glory; all that could make up the supreme happiness of the answering love of His dear Son, found expression in the life-long worship of that Son Who said: "Lo! I come to do Thy Will, O God. I am content to do it, yea, Thy Law is within My heart."

And now see the bearing of that perfect worship on the Holy Eucharist. It lives on, it is represented, it is commemorated, it is perpetuated, in the Holy Eucharist. God Himself had declared that it should be so. He had foretold that over the whole world, in every place, He would be honoured, recognized, magnified, adored, through the commemoration of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be

offered unto My Name : and a pure offering : for My Name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts."

It is this that makes worship the principal object of the Holy Eucharist. There we commemorate that highest, purest, most perfect worship, not of the lips only, nor only of the feelings and affections, nor only of the actions of the body, nor only of the inward adoration of the spirit, but of the whole life, of the whole Christ both God and Man. And, therefore, in full trust in God through Christ, "as accepted in the Beloved," in union with Christ, made members of His Body, the real and true children of God through Him, we worship God. For who are we with stained lips, and the memory of past sin, and the sense of present sinfulness, to offer worship to God? The words of praise seem to be choked ere they burst from us, our hearts are ready to die down at the thought of our utter unfitness for showing forth the Glory of God. Yet we are acting with our all perfect Lord, and He with us. We dare to do our duty, to do that for which God made us. We speak the high words of praise, we join in the lowly acts of adoration which belong to the service, because our Lord is in the midst of the two or three who are gathered in His Name.

This surely is what S. John sets before us to encourage us in those wonderful passages of the Book of Revelation in which he describes the acts of worship of the redeemed. It is hard to say whether he is describing the worship of Heaven as the pattern for the Church on earth, or whether, as is perhaps more likely, he is transferring to the courts above the character of the worship of the Church on earth. Either way, whichever interpretation we adopt, the whole worship centres in Christ. It is "the Lamb, as It had been slain," which calls forth, which gives force to the worship of the Redeemed. Bishop Woodford, in a noble sermon on "Public Worship, a Service of Praise," says, "the whole of the fourth chapter of the Book of Revelation sets forth the ideal or prototype of the Church. It is the pattern in the mount, which we, as far as we can, are to realize on earth. 'Behold, a Throne was set in heaven, and One sat upon the Throne.' What is this but the mercy seat of the Jewish tabernacle, the Altar of our Christian Churches, which is always the symbol of God's Presence among us, and on which rests at times, sacramentally, His most Blessed Body and Blood. 'And round about the Throne four and twenty seats, and upon the four and twenty seats four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment.' Those mysterious beings represent the whole ministry of the Church. They are crowned because we are all made kings and priests unto the Father. 'And before the throne a sea of glass like unto crystal.' Here we have the heavenly image of the baptismal font, the laver of regeneration, the cleansing ocean which has purified 'ten thousand times ten thousand.' 'And in the midst of the Throne, and round about the Throne, were four living creatures full of eyes.' Thus you have in this sublime description, a picture formed with celestial materials of the interior of the earthly sanctuary. The Throne, the Altar; the four and twenty elders, the Christian ministry; the four Living Creatures full of Eyes—*τὰ ζῶα*—(the whole Christian people full of light, and full of life, from Him Who is Light and Life, as set forth in the four Gospels); "the crystal sea, the Baptismal Font: each part accurately corresponds. The shadow is below, the substance

above. And now, having delineated the solemnities of the Heavenly Tabernacle, the Evangelist proceeds to mention the worship there performed. And what says he? Does he tell us of the voices of those mysterious beings uniting in one ineffable Litany to the Father of Mercy? Does he speak of strong crying and tears, such as angelic beings may shed? Are the posts and pillars of that ethereal temple moved with the sound of prayers irresistible in the intenseness of their fervour? Oh, no! it is not prayer, but praise, the majestic accents of which float through the infinite space of that Holy of Holies. It is the melody of praise whose wave-like sounds ebb and flow around the everlasting Throne. Not *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, but Gloria in Excelsis, for ever and ever wakes the echo of that glorious temple. Not of their own weakness, but of God's power; not of their own wants, but of His all-sufficiency; not of themselves, in short, but of Him speak they who congregate round the glassy sea. Its lucid bosom hears not Peter's cry, 'Lord save me, I perish,' but Mary's loftier strain, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord.' 'When those living creatures give glory and honour and thanks to Him that sitteth on the Throne, Who liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders fall down before Him and cast their crowns before the Throne, saying, Worthy art Thou, O Lord, to receive the glory, and the honour, and the power, for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are, and were created.'

This is the ideal of Christian worship as taught by the heavenly pattern. Above all, this is the central thought, the heart and core of the Holy Eucharist. At the very beginning of the service we beg of that our "hearts" may be "cleansed by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit." For what is it that we ask that great gift? That we may worthily make our Communion, and receive pardon and grace? No (much as we need them), but "That we may perfectly love Him, and worthily magnify His Holy Name." It is important to notice that worship and adoration are placed prominently before us at the very beginning of the Service, because we may often be prepared to take our part in the Church's great act of praise when we are not ready to make our Communion, or when we have already communicated at an earlier celebration. There is no reason why we should be excluded from joining in the praises of the Eucharist, any more than in the praises of Matins and Evensong. The only persons who were ever excluded by the Church were the unbaptized, and the excommunicate. Indeed even the penitents were allowed, as a special privilege, to be present at the Celebration without communicating, as the last step in their restoration to full Communion. Undoubtedly the most fervent, perhaps the most acceptable, worship offered to God, must be that of those who have been drawn into closest union with our Lord in a devout communion, but the worship of all true and loving children of God must be pleasing to Him in the Eucharist of His dear Son. All may ask for the grace that they may worthily magnify His Holy Name.

Towards the close of the service, what is almost our last entreaty? "That He would be pleased to accept our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." More still, as the highest of all acts of worship, as the truest acknowledgment of His Majesty, and of what we owe to Him, 'we offer and present unto Him ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be

unto Him a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice." And then, as though we were abashed at the contrast of our imperfect service with the faultless worship of the life of the well-beloved Son in Whom the Father was well pleased, we unite ourselves with Him in those remarkable words at once of dutiful adoration and of tender trustfulness, "Although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by Whom, and with Whom" (mark the words) "in the Unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto Thee, O Father Almighty, world without end."

Yes! this the highest, the most heavenly, the most Divine use to make of the Holy Eucharist. Our Lord Himself instituted that service that we may have the opportunity of rendering to God "our bounden duty" of adoration of the life and of the heart, of the body and of the soul, of the words that can be spoken, and of the inward devotion of the spirit which is too deep to be spoken, of the bended knee, and of the prostration of our whole being before the glorious perfection of the Divine Majesty.

"Whoso offereth Me thanks and praise he honoureth Me," is the invitation of God to us whom He has made. "O come, let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker," is the answer of the soul eager to show forth its sense of His glory. "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise His Holy Name," is the resolve of the soul that has recognized what God is, to devote every power that it has to magnify Him. "The oblation of man to God—this is worship in its loftiest aspect. It is that mysterious act, wherein heaven and earth, as it were, for a brief space, change places; earth gives, and heaven receives."*

"Lowly as we are, poor as we are, corrupt as we are—there is something which God wants, and which we alone can give."† "All the beasts of the forest are His, and the cattle on a thousand hills; and it needs but a word to syllable into existence new worlds for the manifestation of His power; but the fruit of the lips, and the thanks of the heart, are man's to bestow." It is to awaken us to this high and blissful duty of adoration that the Gospel in the midst of the service, each day or each week, brings us some fresh revelation of God. And we hail it with those bursts of praise at the beginning, and at the close, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord"; "Praise be to Thee, O Christ." In like manner, to lift us above and beyond ourselves, to carry us away from the thought of our own needs, and our own interests, to put self for awhile in the background, the Creed is recited. The Creed draws forth all the energies of worship within us. It sets God before the soul in all the mysteries of His Being, in all the tenderness of creative, redemptive, and restoring love, in the gracious promises of His protecting presence with His Church, in the pledge of unending glory in the life to come. It is a psalm of adoration, and a hymn of triumph. It stirs the faithful with one mind and with one mouth to glorify God.

Then, just as the hand of the minstrel is swept across the strings of

* Woodford, "Christian Education," page 169.

† "Public Worship, a Service of Praise," page 30.

the harp to make it tell forth its music, so in the midst of the service the call to more intense adoration sounds forth in words that have come down from Apostolic days, "Lift up your hearts." The instinctive response of those who know to Whom worship is due breaks forth: "We lift them up unto the Lord." The devout resolve is accepted: "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God." "It is meet and right so o do," is the ready answer. The gathered worship of thousands of eager, fervent souls is lifted as a united offering to God: "It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God. Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of Heaven, we laud and magnify Thy glorious Name; evermore praising Thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory: Glory be to Thee, O Lord most High."

It is impossible to conceive words which could more emphasize and accentuate the expression of worship which is so prevailing a characteristic of the Holy Eucharist. Heaven and earth are joined in one common act of homage. Angels and men are ranged as in one united band around the throne of the Most High. On both His glory seems to stream forth. The sense of the greatness of His majesty possesses, moves, and awes all. Time and space seem to be for awhile annihilated. The worship of the world to come has taken the place of the worship of this passing world of sin and sorrow. At least for a brief space there are no cries for pardon, no entreaties for consolation. The thought of self has passed away under the contemplation of the Glory of God, as mists are drawn up and evaporate before the rising sun. Once more, in Bishop Woodford's words: "The song of praise is wafted upwards on the strength of the Eucharistic oblation. It thunders like the eternal voice of the sea at the celestial doors. It rolls on through the seven circles of the heavens. It is so free from all that savours of earth, and sin, and sorrow, that the whole Angelic hierarchy adopt it for their own, and swell the strain as it passes by them on their radiant seats. Heaven and earth are one in giving glory, and honour, and thanks to Him that sitteth on the Throne; one in worshipping Him that liveth for ever and ever; one in casting down all that they have, their strength, their skill, yea, their whole being, 'like golden crowns, before Him.'"

The sense of this wondrous union of the whole family in heaven and earth in adoring love finds its expression again at the close of the service. In the "Gloria in Excelsis" we catch up and echo back the Angels' song of joy and devout ecstasy at the birth of our Lord, "Glory be to God on high." And then sentence after sentence is poured forth in awful exultation, as though any single word must be too weak to tell of the majestic perfections of God: "We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty."

Was it to make the whole service lead up to this climax of praise that the "Gloria in Excelsis" has been moved from its old place at the beginning of the service to the end? It almost seems as if it must have been so. Not till we have been cleansed anew through the

sacrifice and death of Christ which we have pleaded, not till we have been made one with Christ, not till heaven in the Person of Christ has stooped to earth—not till then do the strains of the "Sanctus" swell out into the more rapturous harmonies of the Angelic choir. Not till the soul has sought and found her Lord and King in blissful Communion, not till we can say, "My Beloved is mine, and I am His," are we ready to say, as the fire of devotion to Him is kindled within us: "Thou only art Holy; Thou only art the Lord; Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most High in the Glory of God the Father."

"Paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum: cantabo et psaltam in Gloriâ meâ" (Ps. cviii.)

(c) INTERCESSION.

The Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, Canon and Chancellor of S. Paul's.

WHEN Tertullian pleaded for the early Christians that they were a portion of the community which the world could ill afford to spare, because they had free access as the priests of humanity to the Father of the human race, he displayed at least a firm belief in the value of intercession, to the extent of supposing that he could exact a recognition of its importance from unwilling and unbelieving critics. Certainly, at the present time we feel that intercession, at least when it emerges outside books of devotion and the ordinary platitudes of a missionary platform speech, is a word which does not carry with it its own justification to an adverse critic; in fact, that it is one of those words which need rescuing from the common debasing process which goes on in the wear and tear of the ordinary currency of religious life, aided by the clipping scissors of exacting controversy. "Intercession," as we meet it, for instance, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "is a much wider word than prayer." * It represents a whole series of transactions in which one person may engage with another on behalf of a third.† Let us think of a case in which we use this power of intercession. The hearts of all Christian people, without distinction, are at the present moment outraged by the inhuman and atrocious wrongs practised by permission or connivance of Turkish misrule against our fellow-Christians, the Armenians. We intercede for them. We approach God on their behalf. What does it mean? It means that between God and the working out of certain causes, which He knows and we cannot understand, we interpose ourselves—what we are, what we say, what we claim—and in so doing believe that our weight in the scale of justice can countervail what seems to us the pitiless momentum of causes which we do not comprehend. Intercession always is this if we understand what we mean by the term. Whether we pray for our relations, for the Church, for our parishes, or for an erring friend, it is all the same—an intercession. I stand between God and a certain sequence of events, and ask Him to listen to my voice and regard my actions as of the greater weight. Well may we say, "Who is sufficient for these things?" And, as we remember how Abraham, when casting about for a sacrifice, was shown a ram caught

* Milligan: "Ascension," p. 152.

† *Ibid.*, p. 151.

in a thicket by his horns, so the Church has always felt that intercession is not the hopeless interference of a weak individual, powerless either to avert or obtain, but rather an energetic setting in motion, an efficacious application of that greatest power in the world, which has in it all the merits which humanity could ever plead, which is summed up in the signature, as it were, to every prayer—"Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

I.—When we speak of the present action of our Blessed Lord in heaven, it must not be supposed that we are speaking on a purely hypothetical subject, neither is it to be supposed that we rest on the interpretation of one text in the Epistle to the Hebrews which may be disputed. Apart from this or that text in Holy Scripture, we find ourselves led by the plain typical import of the ancient Jewish sacrifices, looking forward, and the unmistakable voice of Christian antiquity, looking backward, to the conclusion which Revelation sets before us. "It is of necessity that this man have also somewhat to offer" (Heb. viii. 2); in which, note in passing, "the purpose of the writer is to describe present, not past, priestly acts, a ministry at that moment going on, and not even in the particular referred to finished."* "He is not simply interceding on the strength of a past gift or sacrifice, He is presenting an offering on which His intercession is based, and in which it is involved."†

To make this position clear as that on which all intercession is based, look at the typical significance of the ancient sacrifices. Here, as is well known, there were five actions: (1) The surrender of the victim; (2) the imposition of hands by the offerer, mystically transferring his sins to his substitute; (3) the slaying of the victim; (4) the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar by the priest or upon the mercy seat by the high-priest; (5) the consumption of the victim in various ways. Here the Epistle to the Hebrews makes it clear that the action of our Lord in heaven answers to the fourth of these sacrificial processes. It is the pleading of the one offering, once made, never to be repeated, inside the veil, in heaven, so that our privileges are summed up in one verse of the same Epistle to the Hebrews: "Ye are come unto Mount Zion and . . . to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling" (Heb. xii. 22, 24).

II.—The question now before us is the all-important one: Have we any nearer interest in, any closer access to, that blood of sprinkling than the simple pleading of prayer which passes to God sprinkled with the precious blood, when it is offered through Jesus Christ our Lord? The voice of antiquity, the living voice of the Catholic Church, says, "Yes." In the Eucharistic sacrifice, the sacrifice of the altar, the sacred *τεμενον* is, as it were, extended, and either heaven descends to earth, or earth ascends to heaven; so that we can plead here, in our Eucharistic intercession, the all-prevailing blood of sprinkling in a service which in reality is one with the service in heaven. In the space of twenty minutes it is impossible properly to justify these statements. Perhaps I can do no better therefore than quote two recognized Anglican divines on the subject.

Hooker says: "The fathers of the Church of Christ call usually the

* Milligan, p. 121. † *Ibid.*, p. 122.

ministry of the Gospel priesthood, in regard of that which the Gospel hath proportionable to ancient sacrifices, namely, the communion of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it have properly now no sacrifice"; * commenting on which Mr. Keble says that the Gospel hath properly now no sacrifice, *i.e.*, no such sacrifice as had been mentioned before under the head of "ancient sacrifices," we all grant; but he that thinks most highly, and therefore least inadequately, of that holy and divine sacrament, cannot well say or conceive anything of it higher than this, that it is in the strict sense of the word "that which the Gospel hath proportionable to ancient sacrifices." † It stands, *i.e.*, in the scheme of reality in the same position as sacrifices did in the scheme of types. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, again, in a passage too long to quote fully, says, "We celebrate and exhibit the Lord's death in sacrament and symbol, and this is that great express which, when the Church offers to God the Father, it obtains all those blessings which that sacrifice purchased. Themistocles snatched up the son of King Admetus and held him between himself and death to mitigate the rage of the king, and prevailed accordingly. Our very holding up the Son of God and representing Him to His Father is the doing of an act of mediation and advantage to ourselves in the virtue and efficacy of the Mediator. As Christ is a priest in heaven for ever, and yet does not sacrifice Himself afresh, nor yet without a sacrifice could He be a priest, but by a daily ministration and intercession represents His sacrifice to God: so He does upon earth by the ministry of His servants. He is offered to God. . . . It follows, then, that the celebration of this sacrifice be in its proportion an instrument of applying the proper sacrifice to all the purposes which it first designed." ‡

This doctrine, in itself of the greatest comfort, and based on soundest scriptural authority, has, I know, been imperilled and made distasteful by two monstrous errors, or rather two developments of the same error. The one combated in Article XXXI., that the offering of Christ on the Cross was for original sin and sins under the old covenant; whereas the Sacrifice of Masses must be multiplied to any extent for the remission of actual sin, and sins under the new covenant, starting with the idea (as pointed out in a recent remarkable series of articles) that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist was an absolute, not a relative, sacrifice; || while the other development of this fatal error may be seen printed with authority in many books of modern Roman devotion, that the sacrifice of the altar involves a fresh sacrifice and a fresh humiliation to the Divine victim. With these we have nothing to do, while we cordially and energetically repudiate them.

But I return to my original contention, that here, as has been said, in line, not so much with Calvary (for the precious blood-shedding is only commemoratively represented), but with the heavenly intercession before the throne, in the spirit of the ancient cry, *τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, we lift up the oblation of the Body and Blood of the Lord into the plane of the great pleading of the blood of sprinkling.

Briefly, certain conclusions follow from this.

* Hooker v. 78.

† Keble, "Eucharist," Ad. 69-71.

‡ Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Vol. III., *Discourse*, "Reception of the Sacrament," p. 29.

|| F. Puller, "Revue Anglo-Romanism," No. 9, p. 414.

(1) The Holy Communion must ever be the Church's "great distinctive and supreme act of service." * The worship of the Church is no mere independent arrangement which might have been different. † It is ordained by Christ Himself to make, as it were, the worship one which links heaven and earth together. If we catch a glimpse of the early Christian Church through the rifts of paganism, it is the worship of the Eucharist which we see. The frequent and cruel charge of Thyeanean banquets which was so commonly brought against the early Christians obviously rests on misunderstood and perverted traditions of the Eucharistic feast. When Justin Martyr describes the early Christian service, he describes the Eucharist. They are Eucharistic memories and allusions which lie embedded here and there, shining like diamonds in the scattered writings of the Church. We can never be content as long as a choir-office is allowed to usurp the distinctive honour of Sunday worship. To substitute an office, however venerable, however beautiful, in place of the Eucharist, will be found in the end to be substituting an arrangement of man for the ordered purpose of God. A Sunday without its Eucharist is an anomaly which ought to be impossible. A priest who neglects this characteristic function of his ministry must surely feel that his Church is like a broken link in the beacon-chain of altars which flashes up the great memorial to God. As one looks down from a height over the far-stretching plain beneath, and sees the towers and spires of the churches reaching away into the vanishing distance, one realizes what a mighty intercession it might be, when at every altar, at least on every Sunday, the priest proclaims the Lord's death until He come. If we believe that we have in the Holy Eucharist such a mighty power of intercession, the altar must take its rightful place in our worship, and as a Church we must for ever bid adieu to those times when a priest celebrated three or four times a year a liturgy printed in small type in a corner of the Prayer-book, before a handful of worshippers, who were conscious of doing an unusual act, restricted only to a privileged few. Here is work for those who are tired and wearied with life's struggle, or who complain of the smallness of their opportunities, and the scant size of their parishes. Here is a work which will tax their spiritual strength to the uttermost, cheer their declining years, and bring vast good to the Church—to show before God and man the precious blood of sprinkling which is the heritage of the sons of God.

(2) If we feel we may claim a right, at least to a Sunday Eucharist, we must assert also the right of the faithful to be present when this Great Intercession is being offered, even if at this particular moment they are not prepared to receive the Holy Communion. This is the universal custom of the whole Church. It is also the custom of the Presbyterians, and, I believe, some dissenting bodies. It is admirably defended by Dr. Milligan, as follows: "Our children in Scotland remain in church during the celebration of the Supper, because they are not strangers. They also are not strangers who, though they may not communicate on the special occasions, do communicate on other occasions or at other hours." ‡ The subject of non-communicating attendance at the Eucharist is one which comes up from time to time; it is at the present time

* Freeman i., 165.

† Milligan, 309.

‡ Milligan: *Ascension*, p. 304, note.

being discussed in *The Guardian*. The term is not a felicitous one, the subject is hedged in with prejudice, and there is no time to deal with it now. I would only say, if we appeal to antiquity, let us appeal all round. If the ancient Church knew nothing of so-called "non-communicating attendance"—which I should not be prepared absolutely to admit—she certainly knew nothing of a Christian going out in the middle of the Eucharist, on any other terms than that he was "driven out." Further, a distinction is to be made between the habitual attendance of non-communicants or gazers, and the attendance of devout communicants who are not prepared to receive at a given time. In the brief and hurried notice which is all that I can give, perhaps I could not do better than sum up in the words, recently uttered, of our much revered Canon Carter, "To say that communicants unwilling to communicate at all times, or hindered by some pressing cause at certain times, or keeping a fixed private rule of communicating, may not most loyally and legitimately have the blessing of repose, and deepened faith, and quickened love, in uniting themselves at any time in our Lord's presence, with all the thoughts and acts and associations that circle and centre around the great Eucharistic oblation—this, indeed, however well-intended, would be a strange application of a rule supposed to be for our Lord's honour."* No one dreads more than I do the severance between the pleading of the sacrifice and the Communion. When the abuse comes let us rectify it, and remember this, that at present we have to deal with an abuse at least equally great, whereby large masses of our people grow up, live, and die content with attendance at a choir-office, of whom it may almost be said, We have not so much as heard whether there be a Eucharist.

(3) One last conclusion will follow, and that must be briefly expressed, viz., if we assert, as we are right in asserting, the great priesthood of the laity, it is a priesthood to which there must be an ordination. The æsthetic ceremonialist, the musical bee who passes from church to church sipping the sweets of great composers, the careless, the indifferent, the unholy, in one word, "the gazers" of the second Prayer-book—such as these cannot plead the Great Intercession which mounts up before God. It will be a serious thing if multiplied services do not keep pace with increased devotion and holiness, or if men think that religion can ever be made easy, or the sacrifice of Calvary ever pleaded except by those who have learned to take up the cross. The Church of England at the present moment would seem to need less organization and fewer activities, and more thorough and diligent preparation of her communicants, which are her lay priests.

May I conclude with a passage from an author whom I have quoted more than once to-day. "If on the one side the activities of the Church seem to increase her strength, on the other side these very activities, by engrossing almost all her thoughts, are wearing her down to the level of the world, and thinning the heavenly life-blood by which alone she can be sustained. We have too little of the spirit of devotion, of meditation, and of prayer. Multitudes are ready to speak for Christ, or to sacrifice themselves in labouring for His cause. But the utterances are too few that come from sitting at His feet or leaning on His

* *Guardian*, September 9th, 1896.

breast."* Here is the spirit in which priest and layman alike may offer this Great Intercession.

"Look, Father, look on His anointed face,
And only look on us as found in Him ;
Look not on our misusings of Thy grace,
Our prayers so languid, and our faith so dim.
For lo, between our sins and their reward,
We set the Passion of Thy Son our Lord."

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

IN regard to the discussion which is now to take place, I think I shall be meeting the views of the members of Congress if I do not place any exact limit of time for the addresses that may be given. I must be careful for your sake that no speaker shall occupy too much time, and at the same time I do not think it would be well to interrupt the thread of an argument unnecessarily. The whole subject is one to be dealt with in the most calm, quiet, and thoughtful manner possible. The speakers will perhaps be good enough to understand that the bell will only sound once.

The Rev. E. F. WAYNE, Vicar of Dorrington, Shrewsbury.

POSSIBLY the result of the opportunities I enjoyed and studies pursued whilst for many years a chaplain in places both east and west on the continent, and as chaplain to the late Bishop of Gibraltar (Bishop Harris), as bearing specially upon "non-communicating attendance," may be acceptable to the members of this Congress. But I speak on this difficult and delicate subject with the utmost diffidence, in the presence of so many of our reverend fathers in God, and of very many priests more learned than myself. As to the bearing of the present prevalent practice in the south of Europe of the laity "assisting" at the altar and not "communicating," my memory seems to recall friendly conversations with pious Roman Catholics, both priests and laymen, where they have in the fullest degree recognized its dangerous incompleteness in fulfilling the will of Christ, and their deep desire to see the Holy Communion more frequently received. It was the fear lest advocating attendance without reception would lead to the number of our communicants decreasing, which induced the late learned Bishop of Lincoln (Bishop Wordsworth) to more than once utter words of warning.† If true, and I believe it would be true, this is a serious objection against any movement in the Catholic Church in England to encourage such. Yet I feel bound to say I have read and heard statements which show that those making them have estimated the rare number of communicants in Roman Catholic Churches by observation at High Mass, and forget the large number of communicants at earlier celebrations. Other objections to the habit of non-communicating attendance are yet clearer and weightier, viz., the danger of the profanation of the Mystery by the presence of curious "gazers"; and its very opposite, the notion in the minds of the devout, and it may even be in the minds of the careless, that they receive a sort of sacramental virtue in the fact of their being present at the offering—a spiritual communion equivalent, or nearly equivalent, to actual communion. It was this which influenced the saintly Keble to write—and I am so anxious not to misrepresent in the faintest degree his opinions, that I will read his words—"I cannot deny that I have a strong feeling against the foreign custom of encouraging *all sorts of persons* to 'assist' at the Holy Eucharist, without communicating. It seems to me open to two grave objections: it cannot be without danger of profaneness and irreverence to very many, and of consequent dishonour to the Holy Sacrament; and it has brought in and encouraged, or both (at least so I greatly suspect), a notion of a quasi-sacramental virtue in such attendance, which I take to be great part of the

* Milligan, "Ascension" p. 283.

† "Miscellanies, Literary and Religious," by Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Vol. II., p. 161.

error stigmatized in our thirty-first Article." To this statement, clear and complete in itself, I heartily agree, and commend to your closest attention the whole of this letter, written to a friend, which is only too long for me to read to the end.* Again, arguments bearing on our attendance "pro and con" are being used by appealing to words in our Liturgy, Rubrics, and Articles. I am rather looking forward to the future than back to the past history of our Church, so merely remark that the absence of any clear expression, or rubric, indicative of when those not intending to communicate should withdraw, at least renders their presence not illegitimate; and that in our branch of the Church it would be an unwarrantable thing to exclude them.† The inference goes no further. But beyond and deeper than these considerations lies the deep-seated desire to worship God, and in the difficulty of doing so, to worship Him under visible forms. It is ingrained in human nature. It is coeval with the earliest ages of our race, and will, I suppose, last to the end of the world. And thus when thoughtful and devout minds observe the singular and horrible absence, to all appearance, of the sense of worship, if not of reverence, amongst so many in England, no wonder they have urged attendance at the Eucharist, a reserved sacrament (not only for bearing to the sick, as in the early Church) upon the altar, or a service of Benediction,‡ if only to stimulate into activity, and arouse the latent impulse for adoration so well nigh lost in our land. And yet the delight of worshiping God can and ought to be taught and realized independently of any visible object—legitimate or illegitimate. I have seen, when he believed himself to be unseen except by God, an Arab of the Lybian desert prostrating himself in wrapt adoration of the invisible God; and if an illiterate Mohammedan does this daily and habitually, cannot a Christian Englishman? But if we urge the happiness of this sense and need of worship upon our people, we must not forget that from the day that our Saviour told the woman of Samaria that "the hour cometh when ye shall neither in Gerizim nor yet at Jerusalem (alone) worship the Father," that "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth," § the knell of localism was sounded; and the prayer and the worship of a ploughboy in the midst of his furrow is as certainly heard and accepted as of any one of us prostrate before the Blessed Sacrament.|| And equally profound as is the yearning for local worship, almost continuous with the human race, and fixed on some visible object, is the other great human craving, viz., to offer God a sacrifice. Yet from the time of Cain and Abel, God has not equally accepted the intention of some; and for others He has "had not respect."¶ It becomes us, then, most scrupulously to consider the nature of our sacrifice and the intention with which we offer it. For this purpose, though we cannot forget the record of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament in the synoptic Gospels by our blessed Lord, and the effulgent light thrown on His mysterious dwelling in us in the

* "Letters of Spiritual Counsel, etc.," by John Keble. Letter CXXVIII. 3rd Edition.

† The inference drawn from the fact that in the primitive Church the "consistentes," penitents, were permitted to be present at the offering, *à fortiori*, the faithful should be encouraged to be present, is not sound. It may be answered in the words of Cardinal Bona, no mean authority, in his great work on Liturgies: "It is certain that in the first ages of the Church all the faithful continued steadfastly in breaking of bread, as the Acts of the Apostles testify, nor was anyone permitted to be present at the sacred mysteries who could not offer and partake of the mysteries, except those who were under penance; and therefore 'non-communicating attendance' was, in fact, like a stigma of shame, and a ban of excommunication." The true inference is rather this—not being under this ban, if present, the faithful cannot but be communicants. It would be a scandal to offer and not partake. This as a general rule; and yet there may well be times when there has not been due preparation, or when sudden temptations, mental and moral, have assailed us, when we may profitably be present without venturing to partake.

‡ The "Service of Benediction" with the Blessed Sacrament was not introduced into the Church till a very late date.

§ S. John iv. 21, 24.

|| Of course this argument that true devotion everywhere to Him "Whose ears are always open to our prayers," is not to be used against Christian "places of worship," any more than Our Lord's words could be against the Temple as a place of worship. Churches and altars will always be enormously helpful to the worshipper, but it is an argument against the thought that God's eyes and ears are more open to adoration and prayer in certain places and at certain times than at others.

¶ Gen. iv. 5.

sixth chapter of the Gospel according to S. John, and words in the Epistle to the Hebrews, it will suffice us to consider only the tenth and eleventh chapters of the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians. They are saturated with sacrificial thought: and in this light the Holy Eucharist is regarded in the early Liturgies, and in all the writings of the Fathers from S. Clement to S. Chrysostom. But in both those tenth and eleventh chapters, S. Paul, whether speaking by the Holy Ghost in his own name in the tenth, or in the eleventh chapter repeating our Lord's words in instituting this Sacrament, positively welds together the sacrifice with the reception. No one can well understand verses 20 and 21 in the former chapter without a knowledge of something of Aryan worship, how that it was through partaking, in family worship, of the sacrificial offering first made, that the virtue of the demon passed to the offerer, and communion was effected. Whilst rejecting the idol as anything, S. Paul accepts the analogy as true of the Christian's sacrifice and communion with Christ. And we cannot doubt, if we turn in the eleventh chapter to our Divine High Priest and Teacher's own words in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, "*ταῦτο ποιεῖτε ἐς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*" (considering the Person, time, and place), that the "*ποιεῖτε*" and the "*ἀνάμνησιν*" had, as they have in parallel passages, a sacrificial import. The sole question is what kind of a sacrifice did our Lord purpose that His Church should offer. Is not this the answer? That the proper "*θυσία*," or sin-offering, had been presented to the Father for all mankind, but that the benefit or application through the "*ἀνάμνησις*," or memorial act, is for those individually who eat and drink of it. Moreover, it is not to the act of offering a memorial sacrifice, but to the eating and drinking of it, that our Lord gives the assurance in His last will and new covenant with man, that it is "for the remission of sins."* The Passover itself, and all Jewish sacrifices, found their antitype in the death of our adorable Saviour; and all their counterpart (though diviner than their sacrifices could be to the Jew) in the blessed Sacrament of the Christian Altar. But the thank or peace-offering from a subordinate now takes the prominent place, the characteristic ceremony of which was the eating of the flesh by the sacrificer. This could not of old be offered till the sin and the burnt offering had been accepted, and as our propitiatory sacrifice has once for all been accepted,† there remains for us what S. Paul, and S. Ignatius, and the whole Church has ever called it, the "Eucharist," or Thank-offering, the prayers of consecration, and oblation, and the sprinkling of the precious blood. Now it would have appeared strange to a Jew to have been present, except it may be in some contributory act of ministry, at the peace-offering without "partaking of the Altar,"‡ and therefore it would seem that the custom of the Christian who makes his peace-offering, or, in other words, is in attendance at the sacrifice, should be for himself to be a communicant. The offering and the eating were and are now one act of pleading not to be divided. It follows then, that our holier yearning after God in the abasement of worship and joy of adoration (which could not, and ought not to be withheld in the presence of the divine gift, "This is My body," "this is My blood"), should nevertheless be accompanied by the most devout reception. When, therefore, the Bishop of Rochester in a striking and impressive passage towards the end of his sermon at Holy Cross Church on Tuesday last spoke of "the logic of the heart" in connection with Eucharistic worship, he doubtless assumed that it would be necessarily conditioned by the Divine intention underlying its institution; for the logic of the heart, alas, has, when unregulated, often led to strange and sad results. When we study the history of the Church, with developments like railways, first parting from the main line by a few inches, and then only feet and yards, till the great curve sweeps out into miles of divergence, we are compelled to ask, in view of the possibility of non-communicating attendance becoming the usual practice of our Church, "Are we on the main line?" What was the original intention? for what appears to have been Christ's dominant thought will and must be ours. This is the supreme, almost the only, question. Was it pre-eminently to assist our feeble worship, or would the awful prayer of consecration, with its tremendous Amen, cleanse our souls by making a proper sin offering? or, was it not rather to be a Eucharist and peace-offering, an eating and a drinking of the victim (*ἁπαξ*) once for all offered, slain, and accepted,

* S. Matt. xxvi. 26-28.

† Heb. vii. 26, 27; x. 12; 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

‡ Lev. vii. 11-15; 1 Cor. x. 18.

and now living unto God? And yet one further consideration. Our sacrifice on earth is certainly one with, but cannot exceed, His as now presented in heaven. But Christ's present offering of His own adorable and pierced body behind the veil is the pleading involved on the merits of the Cross in that "He died unto sin once." * That was the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." His present intercessory offering of Himself before the Father is not, therefore, strictly speaking (and we ought to speak strictly), a repetition, or even continuation, of His one expiatory sacrifice in dying for men. It is, in His same wounded, but now glorified body, the re-presentation and pleading the sufficiency of the accepted expiation. That was expressed in the cry, "It is finished." That was consummated by the bowing of the Head, and the giving up His Human Spirit to the Father.† Surely this is the relation between the "necessity that this Man have somewhat to offer" now in heaven, and the "having made peace by the blood of His cross" on earth. ‡ I pray you to recognize its extreme importance, for this necessarily defines the pleading re-presentation we too assuredly make of that accepted body broken and that blood outpoured on Calvary; or rather, which Christ makes by us, on our earthly altars as we "shew His death till He come."§ This sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist was too little remembered a century ago; but do not let the pendulum swing back to pre-Reformation times. If the supreme dominant intention of our blessed Lord in giving us this Sacrament was that we with contrite hearts and humblest faith should thereby not only commemorate, but have applied to us "the benefits of His death" by a transcendent mystery, eating His flesh and drinking His blood, "that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed through His most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us," then, any commendation of non-communicating attendance, urging the sacrificial value of this holy rite by the introduction of the thought of a fresh propitiatory virtue, instead of hastening to and glorying in communion with God through the forgiveness of the Cross, would retard the advance of His kingdom, and fall short in fulfilling that incorporation with Himself which is the sublimest object of His mercy.||

The Very Rev. H. M. LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield.

I REJOICE that all three aspects have been brought before us, because it seems to me that it is only when we look at them all that we can grasp the fulness of Eucharistic doctrine. It all depends on the continuity of worship between the Old and New Covenants foretold by the prophets, and therefore according to the purpose of God. Now the worship of the Old was mainly sacrificial, and the Book of Leviticus shows us that though the system of sacrifice was very complex, yet all the divers kinds may be arranged in three orders, under the heads of (1) burnt-offering, (2) sin-offering, (3) peace-offering. (1) The burnt-offering bespoke the complete self-dedication, the entire devotion, body, soul, and spirit, of all that a man was, to God. It was wholly consumed by fire. It was always regarded by the Jew as the highest type of pure worship. It was never partaken of by the offerer. (2) The sin-offering, of which the highest form belonged to the Day of Atonement, had for its dominant feature propitiation, effected through blood shed by the offerer, but pleaded by the priest, the whole congregation, by virtue of their priesthood, joining in his intercession for the sins of the whole nation. Those who offered it did not partake. (3) The peace-offering, the prominent idea of which was communion with God, symbolized by participation in the body of the victim, first presented to God and then given back by Him to the people. Participation was essential. It is especially to be noticed that the peace-offering was accompanied by an offering of bread, called again and again in Leviticus, "the sacrifice of praise" or "thanksgiving"—"a wonderful provision," says Freeman, "for the growth of the Eucharist out of this rite." Now Christ, as the antitype, gathered up and consummated all those orders of sacrifice in His own great sacrifice on the Cross; in what way I need not stay to explain—it is obvious. Then He also instituted a service for the express purpose of commemorating His sacrificial death; and so we naturally

* Rom. vi. 9, 10.

† S. John xix. 30.

‡ Heb. viii. 3; Col. i. 20.

§ 1 Cor. xi. 26.

|| Compare the answer to the question in the Catechism, "Why was the Lord's Supper ordained?" with the whole of the "Prayer of Humble Access."

expect to find in this some corresponding features, something to commemorate in all its triple significance, that of which it is the divinely appointed memorial. It was, then, sacrificial. Sadler says of it, "It was instituted in sacrificial terms, at a sacrificial time, and for a sacrificial end." So, as we look on, when the veil was lifted to reveal to S. John the worship of the Church, as the worship of the Temple was shown to Moses in the Mount, it was centred entirely round the sacrifice of the altar. It is, it is true, a description of the worship of heaven; but S. Ambrose has reminded us, that though the reality is in heaven, the picture is in the Gospel, as the outline or sketch was in the Law. And when we study the early Liturgies, these three sacrificial ideas are brought into prominence. There is only one change—the order of importance is reversed—the peace-offering and burnt-offering exchange places. Henceforward the aspect of Communion, though it does not absorb the other two, stands out before all, in consequence of the tremendous influence assigned to it by Christ—"Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you." But it is sometimes said, whatever the early and mediæval Church taught in the Missal, the idea of sacrifice was effaced from the Prayer-book. But is it so? Look at just one page—"the Prayer of Oblation," as it is technically called, in the very centre of the service. All three sacrificial ideas are gathered into the compass of a few lines of it. In the forefront is placed the peace-offering, to maintain the continuity of the Old and the New: we pray God "mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving"; even the ancient designation is preserved. Then there is the pleading of the sin-offering, with its propitiatory virtue—"grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins," etc. It is a most vivid representation of the high priest's pleading on the Day of Atonement. And, thirdly, the very embodiment of the burnt-offering, in the exact language in which the Jew would have described its significance, "and here we offer and present unto Thee ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice." It would lay a tremendous strain upon our credulity to be asked to believe that this was a mere undesigned coincidence in figurative language. What the Revisers of 1552 did was, not eliminate sacrificial doctrine—that would have been impossible—but provide *an alternative* for those who rejected the idea of sacrifice; but overruled, I believe, by the wisdom of the Holy Spirit, they were guided to leave the old sacrificial language of the Liturgies untouched; and there it lies, thank God, embedded in the Service, to be freely used by those who value its use. The conclusion, then, I would put before the Congress is, that the Eucharist is a manifold Service, with three great ideas and doctrines underlying it, each one of which may be from time to time regarded separately, with all thought concentrated upon it at the particular celebration. We may approach it in its Communion aspect—as the highest means of grace—as that wherein the Christian sacrifice rises high above the Jewish, for there is no indication that the body of the Jewish victim conveyed any spiritual blessing, whereas this conveys the very Food of Immortality, without which the soul will die; and I do pray my brethren in the priesthood to keep always before their people that this is of first and paramount obligation. Secondly, we may approach it at times, without participation, as the worshipper took part in the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement, blending our imperfect intercessions with the perfect mediation of the Great High Priest in heaven. Lastly, we may come to it, again without participation, as the Jew attended the offering of the burnt-sacrifice, with no thought of self, but bent upon offering ourselves to God, body, soul and spirit, in the worship that is due unto His Name. All that I have said, let me add, refers in my judgment to those alone who lead a communicant's life. One last word on the aspect of worship. Let us never forget the lesson which the greatest of Spanish saints so forcibly expressed in the record of her famous vision. As she lay asleep there passed before her a woman of strange and awful mien; in one hand she carried a pitcher of water, and in the other a pan of flaming coals, and when asked by the bewildered saint where she was going with that mysterious burden, she answered in most awe-inspiring tones, "I go to burn up heaven and to quench hell, and I do it that men may learn to worship God, not from any hope of future reward in the one, not from any fear of threatened punishment in the other, but simply and solely for what God is, for Himself alone." *Experto crede*: test the principle sometimes in the Holy Eucharist, and if we may trust the experience of the best and holiest men we know, you will live to thank God for what you have done.

The Right Rev. W. WALSHAM HOW, D.D., Lord Bishop
of Wakefield.

THE more one studies and meditates upon this great subject, the more clearly one sees how varied are the phases and aspects under which it may be regarded, and the more thankfully one acknowledges how it satisfies widely different tones of mind and moods of feeling. At one time one may come in lowly penitence longing to lay down the burden of repented sin at the foot of the Cross; at another time one may come full of thankful joy in the remembrance of God's mercies and blessings: one day the whole soul will be full of earnest intercession for some beloved one; another day the soul may simply lie before God receptive of any gift He may be graciously pleased to bestow. But it is not subjectively only that Holy Communion possesses various phases and aspects. In itself this blessed service has its different aspects. And, if so, it is inevitable that some will set special value on one aspect and some on another. No doubt, too, these different aspects will push themselves to the front in different degrees at different times, one age of the Church giving special prominence to one aspect, and another to another. Now there can be little doubt, I think, that before the Reformation the sacrificial view of the Holy Eucharist had very largely shut out, or at least overshadowed, the view of the rite as a Communion, and by a natural reaction after the Reformation the latter view threw into the shade, and almost into oblivion, the view which regards the rite as a commemoration of the great Sacrifice, and a pleading of that Sacrifice before God. One of the boons of the great Church movement of the last half century has been the recovery of the acknowledgment of what is called the sacrificial character of Holy Communion as a most true and precious element in the due regard of the holy service. By the sacrificial view, I mean neither the offering of a new sacrifice nor the prolongation of the one great offering, but the pleading and re-presenting before God in blessed memorial the one once-offered all-sufficient sacrifice of the Cross. This aspect of the Divine rite seems inherent in its very nature. The commemoration would be a very meagre and imperfect thing if it were only a commemoration in the sight of man, reminding him of the great things done for him, and not also a commemoration before God, pleading and presenting before Him the one plea under cover of which we poor sinners may alone claim "access with boldness." "For lo! between our sins and their reward we set the Passion of Thy Son our Lord." Again, I would not undervalue the fuller acceptance and teaching of the truth of a special Presence of Christ in this holy rite, very real, though spiritual and heavenly; a Presence which I, I think in accordance with the spirit and teaching of our Church, shrink from defining and localizing; a Presence which I think of as immanent in the whole blessed rite, and which I cannot limit and circumscribe; a Presence which commands my reverent adoration; a Presence to bless and hallow the bread and wine, to feed and strengthen the hungry soul, to pardon repented sin, and to infuse new life and grace. But while I thankfully recognize such aspects as belonging to the very nature and essence of the Holy Sacrament, I am very anxious to press for the due recognition of Communion as the great primary end and purpose of the holy rite. It seems to me impossible not to allow that our Lord instituted the Lord's Supper for the express purpose of Communion, and that, if we appeal to Holy Scripture (and God forbid that the appeal to Holy Scripture should ever lose its force), no other aspect can compare with this in importance. In fact, it is not too much to say that this is the only aspect of Holy Communion dwelt upon in the New Testament. The blessing is simply and solely linked with the communicating. I want to put this aspect of the Holy Sacrament first, and not last: I want to put it a long way first. I want it recognized as essential to the fulness of this blessing. Such a recognition is not only in accordance with all that is revealed to us in Holy Scripture, it is also in full accord with the writings of the Fathers of the primitive Church, who, while freely allowing the aspect which contemplates the rite as an offering made to God, yet always presuppose the act of Communion. Let this aspect be freely and frankly acknowledged as the primary one, and I would not speak disparagingly of exceptions, or of practices honestly consistent with such acknowledgment. I always like to preach positively and not negatively. I did not stand up to say that this or that practice is wrong, but to say that to put Communion first in considering the various aspects of the holy service is right. I am sure it is right. That glorious summary of the gifts and blessings of Holy Communion, in which our Church teaches us that "then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His Blood; thus we dwell in Christ and Christ in us; we are one with Christ and Christ with us," links these great benefits simply and definitely with the receiving of the Holy Sacrament. Now, can I refuse

to see the same teaching in our Lord's great discourse upon the Bread of Life in the synagogue at Capernaum? God teach us to give ever to His truths and revelations the same order of time, dignity, and momentousness with which He has Himself endowed them in His Holy Word.

The Right Rev. SAMUEL THORNTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ballarat.

WE are on holy ground, and our shoes should be put off, and we must speak in all love and humility. My only claim to be heard is as Bishop of a diocese where—in effect—there has been no controversy about the Eucharist, arising, as I hope, from no deficient sense of its importance, but from a desire to regard it, not as the enemy would seek to make it, as a field of controversy, but, as the Master intended it, a bond of union. We try to understand each other's views of it rather than combat them; and how one learns, on that principle, the many-sidedness of the things of God, and His method of revealing them “in many parts and ways” to His people! Moreover, there is a mysterious side to the Eucharist, and mysteries “belong unto the Lord God.” We are not masters of them, and may not controversially dogmatize on or elaborate them; and we should “speak as the oracles of God” do, in this respect, about the Sacraments. The sacrificial character of the Eucharist may be pressed unwisely. There is a sense in which it is assuredly a sacrifice (and the table an altar), but there is a sense in which it cannot be: just as the power to bind and loose, in one sense, could never belong even to the chiefest Apostles; but, in another, was rightfully conferred on the last ordained priest, the Church referring to her Lord all the difficulties involved in doing so. Canon Newbolt alluded, in an interesting way, to the correspondence of the Eucharist with the Jewish sacrifices. I quite agree as to the constituent elements he traced in the latter—they are traceable in all generically, though different offerings exhibited them in specifically different measure. The part of the Sacrifice of which Eucharist specially reminds myself is, not the blood sprinkling, but the feast of fellowship around the smoking altar. The culminating point of the sacrifice was to be found there. After presentation and immolation at the altar's foot, there was cremation of the victim on it, and, while offerer and priest feasted round it, the fragrant steam was wafted to the skies (as it is expressed a hundred times) “for a sweet savour before the Lord.” What did that symbolize? Reconciliation—atonement; restored fellowship between a propitiated God and pardoned penitents; the Former condescending, in this way, to share in the banquet with the latter. This was the “savour of rest” which is said to go up into the nostrils of Heaven: a symbol profoundly expressive, but capable, of course, of gross literalistic perversion by carnal minds. Hence the constant pleadings of the prophets for its spiritual application; apart from that, sacrifice was nauseous abomination. “I will not smell in your solemn feasts,” says God by Amos to the hypocrites: “with your sweet odours I will accept you,” is His promise through Ezekiel to penitent Israel. Now, in Eucharist, the sweet savour and the banquet are furnished in common to God and man, and “Communion” is embodied in the Communion with God; for the separate bread and wine (it mars all to merge the latter in the former) speak of the death that parts flesh and blood, and in the consecrating prayer the celebrant symbolically “tells out” Christ's death before God as well as man, by reproducing the Lord's acts at the Last Supper. Actions often can be more expressive than words; witness those of the silent Mary when she washed and anointed Christ's feet, winning that oracular “decoration” of her deed which was to echo down the after-time. In Eucharist we enact, in a way divinely prescribed, what we put into words at the end of every collect. In idea, the savour of the sacrifice thus goes up before the Lord—the savour of utter self-effacing love—in its infinitely perfect exemplification; and when we ourselves make loving sacrifices for men's salvation, we are said to be “unto God a sweet savour of Christ.” And then we have communion with each other in that sacrificial feast. This seems suggested, I think, in the broken bread and “divided” cup. It is common to take the breaking of the bread as emblematic of Christ's Body torn with anguish in His Passion; Chrysostom takes it so. But, *pace tanti viri*, was this its intent? It is expressly said that Christ's body was not “broken” in His passion. But “He brake, and gave the [one] bread: and the [one] cup of wine, which could not be so treated, He did not pour out to symbolize death, but said,

"Divide this among yourselves;" "drink ye all of it." A common participation in it seems the prominent idea. And I hope I do not raise any painful question by saying I think that the use of separate wafers obscures this. Thus we all hold Communion feast with each other and with God. Over Christ's cradle God and men are brought together over a common joy; just as father and mother kiss each other in rapture over the cot where their rosebud lies, so heaven and earth have fellowship in that wondrous Birth which concerned both alike. And so over the Cross, and over the emptied Grave, of Jesus, God and man are bound together in the fellowship of a most tragic, but most blissful reconciliation.

Thou Holy One of God!
The Father rests in Thee,
And in the savour of that Blood
Which speaks to heaven for me,
The curse is gone; through Thee I'm blest:
God rests in thee; in Thee I rest.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

I RISE with great diffidence to say a few words before we close this meeting. But I feel that it perhaps would not be right for me, either as President of the Congress or as Bishop of the diocese, not to express a few thoughts that are in my mind in regard to the meeting and to the subject generally. I begin by thanking God with all my heart for the rapt attention with which all present have listened to the valuable Papers and Speeches we have heard this morning. I thank God, too, that I am assured there is a very large amount of agreement amongst all those who have spoken and read Papers in regard to the subject with which we are dealing. We are all agreed that in the Holy Communion we may have the three aspects presented to us which have been touched upon—the aspect of Communion itself, the aspect of worship, and the aspect of intercession. We value all three, and we desire to make the best use we can of all three. As regards Communion, I take it that we are all absolutely agreed that there is a gift of great import to us in the reception of the consecrated elements, and that those only receive it effectually who receive the consecrated elements in faith and love, and with truly penitent hearts. In regard to worship, I take it that we are all agreed that this service is the central act of Christian worship. In regard to intercession, we feel, I am sure, every one of us, that the service of Holy Communion is the great Christian prayer-meeting, and that we come together in order unitedly to offer our intercessions to Almighty God. I think, too, that we are probably agreed that the three different sacrifices under the Jewish Law are unitedly represented in the service of the Eucharist, and that as they are all fulfilled in Christ, so they are brought before us, and in a certain sense offered by us, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At the same time it is well that we should sift the value of the arguments that are used, and when we come to the subject of worship, it is important that we should define accurately what we mean by worship, and that we should have a clear understanding of the use of the term. We are told that worship is giving glory to God, giving to God and not receiving from Him. I am free to confess that I cannot altogether follow that definition of worship. Remember that we have absolutely nothing in ourselves that we can offer to Almighty God. There is, indeed, a sacrifice which God demands of us, the offering of our souls and bodies, the consecration of ourselves to His service, but it is for active service. Those who stand before the throne in heaven and see His face serve Him day and night, and I believe that the truest worship we can offer to Almighty God is the worship of an active life in His service. I do feel that I am worshipping Almighty God when I am present and receive the sacrament of the Body and Blood of my Lord—that I am consecrating myself to His service, and receiving much more from Almighty God than I can possibly give to Him. Then when we come to the interpretation of Holy Scripture, the argument resting on the symbolism of the Book of the Revelation of S. John the Divine, beautiful as it is, and harmless, no doubt, as it may be to try and carry it out in our forms of worship here in this world, I cannot help thinking that it is somewhat of an assumption to suppose that it is intended to be a pattern of the outward form of worship here. Though I speak with the greatest possible diffidence, I am inclined to think that the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, if taken as a whole, is capable

of various interpretations, and that we must not press any one too closely. Then in regard to the subject of intercession, I am led to speak of what, after all, lies at the root of the great question that has been so ably presented to us at this meeting, and that is the question of going to the Service of Holy Communion in order that we may offer our prayers to Almighty God, whether we receive Holy Communion or not, with somewhat more efficacy and with a surer guarantee than we can have at other times when we offer our prayers to Him through Jesus Christ our Lord. The question has been asked, have we any clearer access to God in the Eucharist, when we are present at the celebration, than we have at other times? If we are going to press that point, and to say that there is additional grace or additional benefit derived from such attendance, surely we are bound to ask ourselves how it is that in Holy Scripture itself, in the New Testament in connection with the institution of the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, we can find nothing in the words of our Lord, or S. Paul, that seems to justify that assumption, or to lead us to suppose that the disciples of Jesus Christ received any intimation that those whom they taught were to be present at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist without being themselves partakers. When we accept the position that Christ sums up in Himself all the three forms of sacrifice, we believe that they are absolutely united in that sacrifice, and in the representation we make of it in Holy Communion. How, again, is it that for some centuries in the Church Christians seem to have been deprived of this particular means of grace? Scudamore, no mean authority, says that "In the Apostolic age, and generally for many centuries after, all present at the Liturgy both remained to the end and received at the Communion. The first slight trace of a deviation from this rule appears in Egypt at the beginning of the third century. . . . An Alexandrian writer of the fifth century expressly advises persons who fear to communicate not to do so." There must have been some reason why our reformers were anxious to return to primitive practice in this matter, and we know that so strong was the feeling throughout the Church that Communion was being neglected in those days, that even at the Council of Trent the members of the Roman Communion were strongly urged to communicate more frequently. I do not think that anybody denies that it was the intention of the compilers of the earlier Prayer-books, that those who were not going to communicate should retire from the service. I pass to the time of the Restoration, and to what Bishop Cosin, writing respecting the revision of the Prayer-book, says on this point: "The first and second exhortations that follow are more fit to be read some days before the Communion than at the very same time when the people are to come to receive it. For first they that tarry for that purpose are not negligent, and they that are negligent be gone and hear it not." And, again, in his book, "*De Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Religione*," he says, "*Postea qui nobiscum communicationi non sunt, emittuntur foras.*" I quote these passages in order to show what the custom of the Church of England has been since the Reformation, and on what ground it rests. At the same time I wish to guard myself against for one moment saying that this is a question of moral right and wrong, and that those who feel that they do derive benefit from attendance at Holy Communion without receiving should be excluded from it. But I do feel, and feel very seriously, that there are certain dangers connected with the encouragement of the practice. I can only speak from my own experience. I can only speak from what I feel from conviction to be dangerous. I cannot doubt that our present service of Holy Communion is meant for those who intend to partake. I feel, too, that there is a tendency to depreciate prayer and praise at other times and in other places; that there is a tendency to forgetfulness of the fact that "*heaven and earth are full*" of the glory of God; that He is present at every time and in every place. I do feel in my heart, and I speak from experience, that prayers are heard as surely and as certainly at one time as at another, and in one place as in another, if they come from earnest, faithful hearts, and that the prayers of those who may from one cause or another be excluded from the privilege of presence at Holy Communion are still heard if offered through Jesus Christ our Lord. "God is in every place beholding the evil and the good." "Whoso offereth Me thanks and praise honoureth Me, and to him that ordereth his conversation right will I show the salvation of God."

MUSIC HALL,

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP OF NEWCASTLE in the Chair.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF
THE GOSPEL.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. J. PERCIVAL, D.D., Lord Bishop of Hereford.

WE are engaged this morning on one aspect of a question which increases in difficulty in proportion as the Church becomes more intimately connected with the State. It is the question how to render to God the things that are God's, while rendering Cæsar his dues. It is always with us, and under our present circumstances it is apt sometimes to be very troublesome to us as English Churchmen.

However, the immediate section of it which we are at this moment considering is by no means the most difficult, and we naturally turn at the outset to enquire what guidance is furnished for us by the Lord Himself and His Apostles. We do this because, as Christians, we are all agreed that the New Testament has to do with everything that enters into the moral and spiritual life of men, and therefore with all social and political affairs, as well as those that seem to be more directly or exclusively personal.

We look to the Gospel for the principles that should regulate our conduct in all departments of life; and we acknowledge these to be the supremely authoritative and dominant principles; our action, whether it be individual or national, is to be approved or condemned *in foro conscientia*, as the Gospel revelation gives or withholds its sanction. Such is our ideal law of life and conduct. We profess it whenever we gather for Christian worship, and in every Christian assembly, as in this hall to-day.

Moreover, as Churchmen, we hold that it is a special function of the Church, and of all who claim to be its commissioned officers, to maintain this law, to placard it, as S. Paul would have said, before the eyes of men, to instil it into the minds of young and old, and to be unceasing and fearless in the endeavour to stamp it on the many-sided life of the world and its practical affairs.

But, it may be said, the New Testament presents us with this difficulty: when we consider the attitude and the language of our Lord and His Apostles, we are struck by their absolute and most careful abstention from every word or action which could be construed as having, what we should call, a political character, or which, in other words, might directly lead to any political unsettlement, or seem to be in any way revolutionary. We read no criticism of Roman government.

though it was the government of a Tiberius or a Nero, and no direct appeals to put an end to social evils and abuses which, as we know, were prevalent on every side—not even a word of direct condemnation of the treatment of women, or the shocking cruelties of slavery and infanticide.

As a distinguished English writer has said :—"The Founder of Christianity and His Apostles were surrounded by everything that could tempt human reformers to enter on revolutionary courses. There seemed to be no hope but in patriotic arms. Nevertheless they said not a word against the powers or institutions of that evil world. To endure patiently the dominion of those monsters was the honour of Christianity, and the dishonour of mankind."

Standing in the midst of that world of oppression and wickedness, the Saviour Himself simply bids men render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ; S. Peter exhorts the disciples to submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake ; and S. Paul's injunction is that every soul should be subject to the higher powers. And one very good reason for all this is manifest. They were living under the iron hand of a heathen power which would have ground them to dust if suspected of any revolutionary aims.

Thus, while sowing the seed of new life, they left the politicians, the rulers, the statesmen, and the diplomatists of their time to go on their way without special remark or comment. And if the politicians and diplomatists of our day say to us, as some who represent them seem inclined to say, "Why cannot you be content to follow that example and leave us alone in the same way?" we may fairly reply, "The men thus left alone by our Lord and His Apostles were heathens, who had not learnt to acknowledge the claim of Christ. Do you desire to be placed in the same category?"

The attitude which it is our duty to adopt must be in some measure dependent on the circumstances and conditions of our life. If you and I were to-day in the position of our unhappy Armenian fellow-Christians, subject to the unspeakable rule of the Mohammedan Turk, it would be our wisdom to act in literal accordance with that example.

But when we think of ourselves as living under a Christian Queen, as free citizens of a Christian state, as sharing all the responsibilities of our common national life, can any of us imagine that the language of our Lord, or of S. Paul or S. Peter, means that we should keep silence about the duty of those who represent a Christian country in the capacity of its rulers, or statesmen, or ambassadors?

On the contrary, we feel that we are bound to speak on the conduct of our affairs by those to whom they are delegated as earnestly and as freely as Isaiah spoke to Hezekiah, or as the Lord Himself spoke to scribe or Pharisee, to priest or lawyer.

I desire to say this with all possible emphasis, because Christian principles have hitherto been treated far too commonly by Churchmen of every degree, as if they had to do with only a section of human life, instead of being the influence and power that should leaven the whole of it.

Thus international affairs and relationships seem still to occupy a place which is to all practical intents and purposes outside the Christian pale. There is hardly even the pretence of any appeal to Christian

obligation in connection with them. The terms which define international aims and international policy are almost always such as the balance of power or the safeguarding of national or imperial interests, and other similar expressions, which declare that the whole structure of these relationships is built upon a foundation of selfishness and rivalry, and not upon any moral or Christian basis.

Accordingly, the spirit in which almost every diplomatist seems to enter on his dealings with other diplomatists is the spirit of self-interest and suspicion. His greatest triumph is to administer a check to a powerful neighbour, not on the ground of right or morality, or for the sake of the general weal, or in vindication of some high principle, but to win some advantage or supposed advantage for his own country in the unscrupulous race of national greed or self-assertion.

"The key to all rational estimate of European politics," says a distinguished writer, "is to recognize that the dominant factor in politics to-day is the passion of national self-assertion, the struggle for national primacy. For, right or wrong, the great nations are resolved to make themselves as big, as formidable, as extensive, as rich, as science and energy can make them, or at least to tolerate no other nation bigger than themselves. For this they are ready to sacrifice everything at home or abroad, their traditions, their safety, their credit, and almost their honour."

It is this principle of selfish greed which is mainly responsible for that mischievous and degrading influence in English life commonly described as jingoism, that bastard patriotism which it should be the aim of the Church to eradicate and destroy, planting in its stead the true Christian patriotism, whose aim is righteousness.

It is the same principle which has caused the Christian powers of Europe to incur at Constantinople what Mr. Gladstone has so truly called miserable disgrace. Had the spirit of Christ our Lord gained any real and paramount influence in the council chambers of monarchs, statesmen, and ambassadors, we should never have seen what must now lie as an indelible and dishonouring stain upon the history of nineteenth century Christianity—this humiliating picture of the armed powers of Christendom, in their mutual jealousies and rivalries, holding the lists while the creature they prop on his throne insolently and defiantly pursues his course of robbery, outrage, lust, and murder among his unarmed and innocent Christian subjects.

Here, then, in this great field of international politics we have a whole dark continent of human life almost entirely given over to what in the language of the New Testament is branded as *pleonexia*, or covetousness, or greed. This is the malign power that rules it in undisputed possession. The progeny of this power is to be seen in intrigue, jealousy, suspicion, cynicism; and its deeds are not seldom written in human misery and blood, and its influence and consequences in national and individual degeneration.

But the point on which we have to concentrate our attention is that the influence of the Spirit of Christ has still to penetrate it. Do we ask how it comes to pass that such a state of things is possible in this late age? The answer is not very far to seek, the plain fact being that in the slow evolution of progressive morality mankind have not yet reached the point of giving unreserved and implicit allegiance to Christian

principles in the affairs of nations. The world learns to apply the lessons of the Divine Spirit to human affairs very slowly, very partially, and very imperfectly. It stumbles over them generation after generation, and century after century, like a child over the study of a new language. In our boyhood, by frequent drill and repetition, we mastered a page of our Cæsar or Xenophon, so that we were able to construe it as fluently as our teacher could desire ; but when he turned to a new page and put us face to face with the same words, the same constructions, the same principles and rules of language, only the combination was somewhat varied and the subject matter not exactly the same, we interpreted it all upside down ; and so it seems to be even now in the school of Christian ethics.

Men have learnt to apply the Divine Author's principles of conduct to their individual and their family life, and also in a certain rudimentary fashion to their social relationships and obligations ; but they seem to leave those principles behind them when they pass out into the field of international politics. And it is only on this theory of gradual illumination, or the slow and secular evolution of Christian life, as seen in the slowly widening application of Christian doctrine and principles to the complex affairs of men, that we are able to account for the torpor or apathy of the Christian world, including, it must be admitted, our own English Church, when nations or the representatives of nations act in ways which would be reprobated in private life.

"We need," it has been said, "a new Christian casuistry"; and there is a profound truth in the saying, for the meaning of it is that we need a more direct and detailed and systematic inculcation of moral duty in fields of life hitherto but little touched, or at any rate but little affected and influenced by Christian teaching.

Such object lessons as have lately been furnished for us by European politics abroad, and by what we euphemistically designate as colonial expansion in our own empire, bring it home to us very forcibly that one of the special duties of the Church is to give more serious and thoughtful attention than has hitherto been given to those neglected or unoccupied fields : in other words, to preach with more insistence the doctrine of national and international righteousness, and to apply it without fear or favour to high and low.

We have it laid upon us to widen men's conception of Christian doctrine and its paramount and universal claims in national as well as individual life ; and I venture to think that it is all the more incumbent upon us to keep before our minds this aspect of our duty as Churchmen, because our very close connection with the State seems to make it more than usually difficult faithfully and fearlessly to exercise our prophetic office.

This Congress opened with a discussion on the claim of the Church to be the embodied conscience of the nation. This claim we desire to see perpetually established ; but to establish it we must take care that the Church avoids the risk of being what a distinguished theologian has called a *tame conscience*, led about in the silken bands of our conventional relationships ; and it behoves us always to pray that it may be a conscience illuminated and sanctified by that Spirit of Jesus which is the light of the world.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF MEATH.

THE recent dispute between Great Britain and the United States regarding the boundary line of Venezuela and British Guiana, and the imminent danger which at one time threatened the peaceful relations of the two former countries, have made thoughtful men and women on both sides of the Atlantic consider whether some practical steps could not be taken to render impossible the recurrence of such an awful danger as that of war between the two English-speaking races. This thought has naturally led many Christians to enquire further whether the relations which at present exist between nations are such as would meet with the approval of the Founder of their religion.

Certainly the present aspect of the nations of Europe armed to the teeth in the presence of each other, and ruining one another in a frenzied competition in the increase of their armaments, is hardly one which would seem to be consistent with the precepts of Christ, the Prince of Peace; and yet, notwithstanding, perhaps partly in consequence of these armaments, I suppose there never was a time when the consciences of civilized nations were more sensitive to moral influences than they are at present. Though wars of aggression, prompted by low and selfish motives may sometimes still be urged, yet even the most powerful autocrat or minister would hesitate before openly engaging in a palpably unjust war of pure aggression and of conquest. He would not only fear to outrage the public opinion of the civilized world, but, even in such a country as Russia, he would endeavour to cloak his real motive by appealing to the religious or national prejudices of his people, so as to ensure their ready acquiescence in his ambitious or covetous designs.

Napoleon, even in the height of his power, never ventured to ask the people of France to sacrifice their blood and treasure for mere glory or for the advancement of his own personal schemes of ambition. He always declared that he was forced into war by the hostility to the liberal institutions of France of autocrats and aristocrats; or that he made war for the purpose of rescuing the people of oppressed nations from the tyranny of their rulers. Take the wars which have occurred in so-called civilized countries since the close of the great Napoleonic struggle. The Crimean War was nominally waged on the part of Russia for the rescue of Christian populations from the yoke of the Turk; on the part of the Allies for the maintenance of the balance of power, and to check the ambitious designs of the autocrat of the north. The war of 1859 was waged by the Austrians in defence of territory which had been for years an integral portion of their empire, and ostensibly by the French for the rescue of Italians groaning under foreign rule. The war of 1866 was said to be fought by Prussia for the purpose of freeing the people of the smaller states from the shackles imposed on them by their princes under the overwhelming influence of Austria, and to enable the German people to become a great and united nation. The Austrians, on the other hand, declared that they fought for the independence of the smaller states, and to prevent their absorption by the great and rising power of Prussia. The war of 1870 was asserted to be a war of defence on the part of Germany, and of self-preservation on the part of France, who feared that, by the election of a German sovereign to the throne of Spain, she might find herself

hemmed in on the south as well as on the east by a rising, ambitious, and hostile power. These were the ostensible reasons given, in each case, by both sides, as an excuse for letting loose the dogs of war, and yet we know that selfish, ambitious, and covetous motives were largely responsible for all these wars. It is an advance in international morality when nations are ashamed to confess that their real reason for making war is greed of gold or of land, love of glory, or personal or national ambition. Rulers and nations were not so careful in former ages. A Pharaoh, a Cambyses, an Alexander, a Cæsar, a Louis XIV., a Charles of Sweden, a Frederick the Great, cared not to conceal the real objects of invasion. The world acquiesced more or less readily in the opinion that might was right. Happily, except in relation to uncivilized countries, an international conscience has within the last century been aroused—a conscience which forbids the barefaced robbery or annexation of the weaker nation by the stronger. The object of all Christians should be to foster and encourage the development and growth of this international conscience, so that it shall be as dangerous for a nation to sin against the code of international morality, as it is for an individual to break the Ten Commandments. A great step towards the formation of such an international opinion, and towards the establishment of some court which shall be authorized by the nations to give expression to the general consensus of ideas in international ethics, has been taken within the last six months by the two great English-speaking peoples, who, in their respective countries, have been endeavouring to formulate some scheme by which international disputes between Great Britain and the United States shall always be submitted for decision to a permanent tribunal composed beforehand of their most eminent men.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain recently rejoiced the hearts of his fellow-subjects by letting it be publicly known that his Government had entered into negotiations with that of the United States, with a view to the establishment of such a tribunal, and on the other side of the Atlantic our American cousins have been holding a most influentially attended conference at Washington on international arbitration. This conference was composed of some three hundred members, representing thirty-six states and one territory, and unanimously passed the following resolution, "That, in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity, and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment, between the United States and Great Britain, of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations, and that it is earnestly recommended to our Government" (United States) "so soon as it is assured of a corresponding disposition on the part of the British Government, to negotiate a treaty providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies."

I am certain that the Church Congress of 1896 will reciprocate the wish of our brothers across the ocean, and that I am only giving expression to the feelings of the people of Great Britain, when I say that the announcement by the British and American Governments of the establishment of such a tribunal would be welcomed with one general shout of universal rejoicing, and that the Government which had taken such a practical and all-important step towards the prevention of fraternal strife between the two great English-speaking countries of the

world, would have earned for itself the everlasting gratitude of all true-hearted subjects of Her Majesty the Queen.

If such a tribunal were established, the international relations of, at all events, Great Britain and America, might, and would, doubtless, be considered in the light of the glorious Gospel of the Prince of Peace, and when once these two countries had placed their relations on such a happy and blessed basis, it would not be long before other nations followed their example, and, although doubtless the millennium is far off, still mankind would have made a decided step forward towards the time when—

“ The war drums throb no longer,
And the battle flags are furled,
In the parliament of man,
The Federation of the World.”

We are justified in believing that the statesmen of Great Britain and of America will find that, in seeking to establish a permanent tribunal for the settlement of international controversies, they have not undertaken an impossible task ; for the practicability of international arbitration has already been proved. It is no longer an uncertain experiment, but an acknowledged success. In this century not less than eighty controversies between civilized powers have been settled by arbitration. This statement will probably startle some people ; but it is a fact. If so many international disputes have been amicably arranged by means of arbitration, why should not all, or nearly all, misunderstandings between the nations be settled peacefully. Of the above arbitrations forty-seven have been between the United States, and twenty-one between Great Britain and other nations.

As Britons and as Protestants, may we not be permitted to hope that the honour of being the first to establish an international tribunal for the settlement of all differences, may rest with the two English-speaking Protestant nations of the earth.

It is not to be supposed that the establishment of international arbitration as an acknowledged and recognized means of settling differences between nations will, at once, or perhaps even in the distant future, abolish all wars ; for it must be remembered that there are certain classes of disputes, such as the question of national autonomy, which no self-respecting country would ever permit to be submitted to arbitration. It might even occasionally be found necessary for the nations to coerce a Government which had declined to yield to the decision of the international tribunal ; but, of this we may be assured, that blood would be less frequently shed, and, as the consciences of the nations became more and more sensitive and enlightened, wars would diminish in number and in violence, and be more and more condemned by the public opinion of the world.

If we agree, as I believe we all do, that it is desirable that the light of the Gospel should in the future, more thoroughly than it has done in the past, illumine the relations which exist between nations, let us consider as Christians, and as practical Englishmen, who are not accustomed to leave all initiative to their Government, how we can best hasten the advent of the time when the foreigner shall be regarded with kindly rather than with hostile feelings, and when in international, as well as in

social affairs, men shall follow the command, to "do unto others as they would be done by."

"Love thy country, and every other,
And wherever man dwells find a brother
Whom God hath related to thee."

Many of those who are assembled here to-day are either managers of schools, or are able to exercise influence over the education of the youth of this country. It appears to me that the education of children is often responsible for much of the animosity and prejudice which exists between the people of different nationalities. Let those of us who have the direction of learning, see that nothing is taught which may encourage hostile feelings towards foreigners, and that history especially is explained in a fair and Christian spirit. Without depreciating their own country, or diminishing in the least from the just glory which attaches to heroic and noble deeds of past generations of British kings, warriors, and statesmen, let the teachers of youth be careful that they are just in their criticisms of the actions of foreign nations and individuals, and where there is cause to blame their own country or countrymen, they should not hesitate to point out to their scholars that, in these instances, there is no cause for national pride, but rather for sorrow that Britons or their rulers should not have acted a nobler part. Let them lay stress on the occurrences in history when foreign nations or peoples have acted kindly or charitably towards their country or its inhabitants, and pass quickly over accounts of persecutions, of murder, of cruelty, of oppression of Englishmen by the foreigner, pointing out that even in these cases we should not bear ill-will towards a people because, in times gone by, their ancestors ill-treated ours. If the brotherhood of man were more faithfully taught in our schools, there would be less race prejudice, and men would act much more in the spirit of Him at Whose birth the angels proclaimed, "On earth peace, good-will toward men;" of Him Whose greeting ever was, "Peace be with you;" of Him Who said, "By this shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye love one another."

The Rev. H. W. MOSS, M.A., Head Master of Shrewsbury School, and Prebendary of Hereford.

THE subject before the Congress suggests a view of Christianity which is seldom present to our minds. Preachers and theologians in every age of the Church have almost exhausted the resources of language in dealing with the relations of individuals to one another as illuminated by the Gospel; but that the mutual relations of those great masses of individuals, which we call nations, may properly be brought within the scope of the same divine laws and promises, is a thesis which has much more rarely been discussed. And this for one or two obvious reasons. In the first place, preachers and writers, as a rule, command the attention of only an infinitesimal portion even of the nation to which they belong, and, naturally enough, their thoughts are turned primarily to the direct needs or special interests of their hearers or readers. Then, again, the circumstances under which the Church was founded necessarily threw this aspect of Christianity into the background. The

original promulgators of the glad tidings delivered their message as individuals to individuals. They gathered separate and alien lives into the unity of a common Church, in which national differences were submerged under a sudden flood of new ideas, new aspirations, new hopes. Moreover, international relations, as we understand the term, had been almost crushed out of existence by the political conditions which prevailed within the limits of the Roman Empire. And yet who can doubt that those relations were meant to be subjected to the conquering progress of Christ's kingdom? The Incarnation logically involved this among its many other stupendous consequences. Personal life, family life, national life, the mutual intercourse of those great communities which make up the sum-total of humanity—what are these but successive stages in the development of our race, not one of which can rightly be excluded from the scope of Christ's Redemption?

Has not much happened of late years to prepare mankind for a clearer recognition of this truth than has ever been accorded to it in the past? The extraordinary increase which has taken place during this century, especially in the latter half of it, in the facilities of locomotion and communication, has drawn together the most distant regions of the earth. The nations are slowly, dimly, groping their way towards a better understanding of each other. The old theory that one nation's gain must necessarily be another nation's loss, although, I fear, still paramount, has had its supremacy shaken. There are grave considerations on the other side of the account, I know. The vast armies of the Continental Powers, for instance, and the melancholy fact—a curious set-off to the boasted advance of democracy—that a few words from any one of three men might put those terrible machines in motion, forbid us to be too sanguine. The millennium has not yet come, and, so far as human eyes can descry, its advent is still remote. But there are invisible forces at work in the world which are more powerful than the will of monarchs. Just as Rome's beating down of national barriers, although accomplished in the main for selfish ends, largely facilitated the spread of the Gospel in the first centuries of our era, so the material conquests of science and commerce, which the present generation has witnessed, however little of religious intention may have been included in their primary aim, have undoubtedly helped to bring out into fuller light the closeness of the ties, spiritual as well as material, which bind nation to nation.

Our consciences are stirred now and then into a vivid appreciation of this truth by exceptional or dramatic circumstances. So, at the present time, indignant—justly indignant—at the barbarities which attend the carrying out in detail of a tyrant's deliberate purpose of extermination, England is more than willing, did other Powers permit, to do what in her lies to right a foul wrong. If she holds back, it is only because she knows that, even in such a cause as this, she is not entitled to draw down upon Europe the horrors of a wide-spread war. Similarly, a few months ago, when a long-smouldering difference between ourselves and the great republic beyond the Atlantic seemed likely to burst into a sudden blaze, England, influenced largely, no doubt, by the spirit of kinship, but also, I am sure, by yet loftier sentiments—sentiments wholly worthy of a Christian nation—never forgot those momentous considerations, reaching far into the future of the human race, which

ought to render a war between the two nations, the mother and her daughter, wholly impossible.

But must we always be content with these rare flashes of insight? Can we not, as a Church and people, rise permanently to a higher level of principle and practice in our dealings with other nations? We often read those nations edifying, and usually, I dare say, well-deserved, lectures on the selfishness of their policy; but has our own conduct been entirely irreproachable in the past, when measured by a Christian standard? Take a map of the world, pay an imaginary visit to every place or region where the British flag is flying, and, wherever you halt, indulge in a brief historical retrospect. I doubt gravely whether at the end of your tour the pharisaical spirit will reign undisturbed in your breast. Nothing could indicate more significantly the profound distrust which our political antecedents, combined with a consciousness of the nature of their own motives, have engendered in foreign nations, than the chorus of incredulity with which our perfectly honest professions of disinterestedness in advocating the cause of the Armenians have been received on the Continent. And indeed, while in this instance our censors are mistaken, he would be a bold man who would venture to deny, in the face of certain events in South Africa, too recent to be forgotten, that, in the matter of land-hunger, as in other much nobler qualities, there is still (to say the least of it) a strong dash of atavism in the English blood.

Well, I ask whether, without pusillanimity, without the smallest intention of relinquishing, at the prompting of some spasmodic impulse, still less under external pressure, the elevating responsibilities of empire, we cannot treat those responsibilities in a more Christian temper than heretofore, and endeavour to appreciate more justly the aims, the claims, and the characteristics of other nations. God has assigned to England a conspicuous place in the shaping of the history of the world, but let us not implicitly attribute to Him a favouritism which is wholly at variance with His laws and methods. Other nations are just as essential parts of the human family as are England and her offshoots. We are legitimately proud of our country: but is it in harmony with the Christian ideal that that reasonable pride should sometimes degenerate into a kind of superciliousness towards the other great communities of Christendom, whose share in the future of mankind may not be less, whose share in the regard of our common Creator certainly *is* not less, than our own? And, to turn to another aspect of our national position, although England's behaviour to subject races compares favourably with that of most other countries, does anyone here think it possible, by any exercise of argumentative ingenuity, to reconcile in all its particulars our treatment of those savage tribes which have been brought within the range of English influence with the teaching of S. Paul or S. John? Let us thank God for missionary effort, which has so often, and in so many heathen lands, redeemed the credit of England as a Christian nation.

International Courts of Arbitration are sometimes suggested as a specific for international differences. It has been well pointed out that such facilities for litigation might create or inflame more disputes than they would heal, and that there are some questions which no self-respecting nation would consent to submit to any court. But we ought surely

to accord a hearty welcome to the disposition manifested by our American kinsfolk to refer disputes between them and us to a legal tribunal. The spirit which dictates the wish is worthy of all praise, and all right-thinking Englishmen would hail with pleasure the conclusion of any well-considered arrangement which would strengthen the bonds of amity between the two countries.

Such helps and palliatives must not be disparaged, but I fear that the disease which is the source of our troubles is too deep-seated and too penetrating to yield to any merely human remedy. "Whence come wars and whence come fightings among you?" asks S. James; and in his reply he refers the evil to no outward or superficial cause. There can be no solid, enduring improvement in international relations until those relations are regulated by higher principles than at present—until interest ceases to be the pole-star by which, almost, if not quite, as much in Christian countries as elsewhere, the ship of the State is steered; and until justice and fairness and charity are regarded, not merely as individual, but as national, duties. "Utopian dreams," it will be said. Is there anything in literature, ancient or modern, I answer, more Utopian than the New Testament? And yet on that Utopian foundation is built Christ's Church, beyond all compare the strongest and most lasting edifice in the whole world. And nothing can be more illogical than our position as Churchmen, if, while we admit that we are bound to contend against selfishness in the individual, in the family, in society, in short, wherever we encounter it, on the small scale, as the very antithesis and negation of our Lord's great act of self-sacrifice, we are content to acquiesce in it without a word of protest, if only its dimensions are sufficiently colossal. Where, then, is our faith in the Creed which we profess, and in the power of our Divine Master?

The Rev. T. J. LAWRENCE, Rector of Girton, Cambridge; and
Assistant Chaplain of the Savoy.

I TAKE for granted—(1) that the Divine law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (S. Matt. xxii. 39), applies to nations as well as to individuals; (2) that the ideal state in which God's will is done on earth as it is in heaven is a state of peace.

I do not assume—(1) that it is contrary to the law of Christ for Christians to be soldiers; (2) that war is always and everywhere wrong; (3) that patriotism is an evil thing, as being the great cause of national aggressiveness and international conflict. I will not even discuss whether all the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount can be applied to the intercourse of States. These are matters of controversy among Christians; but no Christian worthy of the name can deny the universal application of the law of brotherhood, or doubt that the work of Christ will not be fully done on earth till "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isaiah ii. 4). This is the irreducible minimum of Christianity which we can consent to apply to international relations; and yet it is the little leaven which will leaven the whole lump. Grant us this, and let it further be granted that Christians ought to work with all their might to realize the ideals of their Lord, and we have an ample foundation on which to base the arguments and appeals of the present Paper.

It follows from the premises we have accepted that a State is bound to make upon another State no claims to which it would not be prepared to assent on its own part were the positions of the two reversed. This simple rule disposes at once of at least half the pretexts whereby States have attempted to justify an aggressive and self-seeking policy. Take, for instance, a question which is now attracting general attention. What is to be the future of Constantinople? The problem is enormously difficult, and its difficulty does not vanish when we cease to regard it from the standpoint of pure selfishness. But there would certainly be far better hope of a peaceful and satisfactory solution if States could be induced to apply to it the simple rule of doing as they would be done by.

Our next conclusion refers to war. How men glorify it! How they elevate the successful soldier on a pedestal far above that reserved for the hero of peaceful triumphs! How jubilant they are over additions to their armies and navies! And yet how essentially unchristian is this attitude of mind! In saying this I assume no proposition controverted in the Church. I simply affirm with the herald angels of the nativity that Christ came on earth to give it peace. It may be true, I myself think it is true, that war is sometimes a necessity. It may be true that the soldier is needful to protect civilized societies against external foes. It may be true that increased and increasing armaments are part of the price States must pay for liberty to work out their destinies in their own way. But if these things are so, how we ought to humiliate ourselves in dust and ashes on account of them. After nineteen centuries of Christianity, Christian States constantly resort to means of action absolutely incompatible with the realization of Christ's principles in their mutual intercourse. What should we say if the law of honesty had so small an effect on conduct that we could find no safety for our goods but in barred, bolted, and garrisoned houses, furnished lavishly with all the newest scientific devices for baffling and catching thieves? I doubt whether our dominant feeling would be pride in the ingenuity of our mechanism and the number of our defenders. Rather should we mourn for the hardness of men's hearts; and, while we gave due honour to the courage and skill that kept us safe, our utmost endeavours would be used to alter the miserable condition of society in which such defences were necessary. Above all, we should make it our first care that our own garrison never used their arms in raids upon the property of others. Surely a similar attitude ought to be adopted towards the armaments of modern Europe. According to the figures given in the "Statesman's Year Book for 1896," its Christian States possess armies amounting in the aggregate to 3,557,000 men, and navies manned by 274,000 sailors. This is a peace establishment. On a war footing the numbers could be raised to 13,800,000 men, without counting the last reserves, which are called out only in the event of invasion. The direct cost of these preparations for war is about £204,000,000 a year, while the indirect cost is incalculable. The ideal of Christ is peace. The reality of Christendom is wealth and manhood devoted first and foremost to war.

No one can be deceived to-day by the flimsy pretext that these enormous armaments are kept up for the purpose of protecting civilization against barbarism, and coercing recalcitrant members of the family

of nations into decent and brotherly behaviour. The bones of a hundred thousand slaughtered Armenians cry out against such hypocrisy. It is mutual jealousy, not the desire to punish wrong-doers, which causes nations to crush their manhood and their industry with universal armaments. They first substitute a law of self-aggrandisement for Christ's law of brotherhood and self-sacrifice, and then find themselves obliged to work away from Christ's ideal of peace if they would preserve their national existence. They are like individuals who live by choice in ill-ventilated rooms, and then take to dram-drinking as a cure for depressed vitality. Our Lord once said that He "came not to send peace on earth but a sword" (S. Matthew x. 34); and I have no wish to deny that the sword has sometimes a part to play in God's plan of education for mankind. But any sword sent by God can only be a sword of justice and righteous punishment. No torturing of the text can make the words apply to the overgrown forces of modern Europe. Nor can these armaments be justified by the statement, the perfectly true statement, that the fighting services are a school of honour, discipline, and courage. If peace meant ignoble ease, there would be something to be said for the proposition that an occasional war was necessary for the preservation of the distinctive virtues of manhood. But while the conquest of nature calls for strenuous effort, and while social life is impossible without association, obedience, organization, and self-sacrifice, it follows that all that is good in war can be obtained without war. Away with sophistry, and let us face the terrible truth that Christendom to-day is more heathen than Christian in the sphere of international relations.

I will not stop to enquire whose fault this is; but I will say emphatically whose fault it is not. International jurists are not to blame for it. International law owes its existence in its present form to a revolt from the theory and practice of unbridled self-interest in the intercourse of nations. Suarez, the Spanish Jesuit, and Grotius, the Dutch Arminian, were learned divines as well as masters of jurisprudence. Both applied the principles of mutual love and pity to the intercourse of States, and the latter was moved to write his epoch-making book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, by horror at the licence and cruelty he saw around him at the beginning of the Thirty Years War. These men, and more especially Grotius, laid the foundation of the law of nations as we have it to-day. It postulates the independence of all sovereign States and their equality before the law. It curbs the ferocity of warfare, safeguards the rights of neutrals, and extends the immunities of commerce. When in 1873 its leading exponents formed themselves into the *Institut de Droit International*, they took for their motto *Justitia et Pace*, and in the spirit of those words they have ever since conducted their deliberations. International law is capable of improvement; but its principles are in the main sound, and its rules just. The seat of the evils we deplore is not to be found in the law of nations, but in the policy of nations. In other words, the public opinion of rulers and citizens in matters of international concern falls woefully short of the Christian ideal, and even accepts a standard far lower than that which it exacts in the intercourse of individuals.

But if the evil lies in opinion, the remedy is in the hands of the Church of God, and to a great extent in the hands of the ministers of

the Church. Is it not the duty of the clergy to rouse men's consciences in these matters, as well as in matters connected with the morality of private life? We can do so without attempting to do the work of statesmen with the tools of theologians. We have to lay down righteous principles and denounce without respect of persons any plain deviations from the law of God's kingdom. We can preach honesty without presuming to interfere in the daily conduct of the business of our flocks. We can preach control of the tongue without playing the spy upon their private conversations; and we can preach international morality without attempting to dictate their political affiliations.

The task is hard; for the complex conditions of modern life have brought up fresh reinforcements in aid of the powers of evil. We have tamed in some degree the old ferocity which made men delight in flying at one another's throats; but since the discovery of America, the exploitation of native races has been a profitable iniquity, and in recent times the cosmopolitan financier has not scrupled to foster wars and revolutions for his own greedy purposes. Yet, if Christianity has done little to render the nations ashamed of war, it has at least succeeded in making the usages of war infinitely more humane than they were even two centuries ago. The influence which in the middle ages enforced the Truce of God upon strong-fisted kings and marauding barons has within the past year prevented a fratricidal war between Great Britain and the United States, and is now moving the rulers of Europe to some sense of shame for their apathy in the face of the Armenian horrors. We hope before long to see provision made by treaty between ourselves and our American brothers for arbitration in disputes which diplomacy cannot unravel. The Roman Church has spoken out bravely in favour of such a peaceful settlement of international difficulties. The great Nonconformist bodies leave us in no doubt as to their views; and there is good reason to believe that the bishops of our own communion will make a strong pronouncement in the same sense at the coming Lambeth Conference. Let us thank God and take courage. The unseen forces of truth and love are stronger than the strongest battalions; and though the struggle be long and hard, yet

"Down the happy future runs a flood
Of prophesying light;
It shews an earth no longer stained with blood,
Blossom and fruit where now we see the bud
Of brotherhood and right."

DISCUSSION.

SIR WALTER PHILLIMORE, D.C.L.

I AM reluctant to add anything to the excellent tone of the prepared Papers and Speeches that we have heard this morning, but I especially wish to rise to emphasize something which has been said by the last speaker, Mr. Lawrence, with the view of showing that all those ideas that nations are to assert their own interests, and look to their own interests without regard to the rights and claims of other nations, are not only unchristian, but brutal and unscientific. The writers on international law who framed international law, and who have elaborated it, have insisted upon it with a view of making something which will bind nations into harmony, and show their respective rights and duties. Grotius was not merely one of the greatest annotators of the Scriptures, he was also a confessor, and very nearly a martyr for conscience.

sake, and his great work on "The law of peace and war" was the beginning of international jurisprudence as we know it. The other writers who have carried it on—Wheaton, Lawrence, Bluntschli, Calvo, and I may say my own father, Sir Robert Phillimore—have composed their works on international law largely with a view of defining rights and duties so as to prevent that terrible litigation of States—war. At this moment there are two societies of lawyers, one which Mr. Lawrence has referred to, and another of which I have the honour of being a member, which are devoting themselves to arbitration with a view of ending disputes. In Brussels last year we had a most satisfactory conference of lawyers and representatives of all nations combining with this object. But arbitration will not solve everything. I agree with Lord Meath, though I am not a protestant, that there are occasions when nations cannot go to arbitration; and in order to lessen the number of those occasions, and in order to train nations to submit themselves to arbitration, what we want especially to develop is what has been called international conscience. You have heard sometimes of that which is called refined selfishness, when sometimes a devoted husband or wife sacrifices even the righteous claim of other people to the spouse whom he or she loves. That refined selfishness extends from families to nations, and when it extends to nations it is sometimes unjustly called patriotism. Besides the war of soldiers, we have the war of tariffs; we have that boycotting which is called protection; we have all the various ways by which it is supposed that what one nation gains another loses, and that *per fas et nefas*, the nation must nevertheless look after its own interests. With nations it is, as the Bishop of Hereford remarked, Christianity imperfectly developed. There are simple rules between man and man, and there are rules of honour between tradesmen and tradesmen. Do these rules cease when you form a Joint Stock Company? The fact of a man being a Director of a Joint Stock Company ought not to prevent him dealing with another Company honourably because he is acting for the interests of the shareholders, and in the same way the statesman of one nation has no right to act unjustly to other nations. The first virtue to be developed in the international conscience is justice; but almost all Christian virtues in time may be applied to nations. Humility, or at any rate an absence of self-exaltation, may very fairly be applied to nations. Sometimes people think—and sometimes nations think—that, as the chosen of the earth, everything is permitted to them. There are various developments of this. One body, I forget which of the sects, which arose at the time of the Great Rebellion, came to these two resolutions, "That the Saints shall possess the earth," and "That we are the Saints." Sometimes I think the English people are inclined, unconsciously, to apply those two resolutions to themselves. But if we would be Saints, if we hug ourselves in the recollection of the great deeds that England has done, should it not be at least an encouragement to us to proceed in what we think is our noble cause. The nation that has abolished slavery; the nation that gave up all the profits of the infamous *Asiento* Treaty, and spent as many thousands in putting down the Slave Trade as was formerly got in carrying the slaves from Africa to Spanish America, is the nation which ought to be foremost at this moment in disregarding all selfish claims and in asserting and cultivating the rights of other nations.

R. ST. JOHN CORBET, Esq., S. Mary's Place, Shrewsbury.

I AM sure it will be a great relief to all of you if you now hear a speech which in no sense can be called clever. At this Church Congress, as you are well aware, there has been a great strain upon the intellectual faculties; and when I was at Oxford I found Cicero and Sophocles so great a strain that I had to take to the river, where I made an exceedingly good coxswain, because I was so small. I am sure you would not wish me to make a strong political speech this morning, but I assert you cannot deal with international relations, whether in the light of the Gospel or of anything else, without introducing politics, and it is as an insignificant politician that I speak to day. I am sorry that we have had no direct dealings with politics: on the contrary, we have had perhaps rather too much religion, too little of the hard, level-headed political aspect of the question, which in the affairs of the world you cannot afford to neglect. Some time ago a great historian was asked, "What are politics?" and he replied, "Past history." A public man was asked the same question, and he replied, "Everybody's business;" and when the present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, was given that question, he answered, "The science of human happiness." And no man ever spoke truer words. Nothing in this world contributes more to the science of human

happiness than the proper exercise of political wisdom controlled by Christian feeling. But you know perfectly well, too, that the whole politics of the kingdom, the whole well-being of men and women, the whole regulation of international relations, are not in the hands of men who of necessity must be Christian. It was said that in the House of Commons, in the Parliament of 1892, there were forty Atheists or Agnostics, and I take leave to tell you that, in the hard politics of the universe, those forty men had much more power than the whole bench of bishops. If we happen to have a Prime Minister who is not a Churchman—that cannot be said of the present Premier—we know that he has nevertheless a free hand, because the whole science and art of government is, in one word, political. To keep our rulers and their acts up to the Christian standard which this Congress would desire, we must take heed to the electors, to the whole nation, in fact, and endeavour to deepen religious conviction everywhere. Christians do not simply grow, like Topsy! and until you do this levelling up, international relations by the light of the Gospel will have but a dim light to work by. The clergy do their best, but I say of them, as of their lordships on the bench, that they are no better than they ought to be. I speak, however, as a level, hard-headed politician, and in no other way; still I am a Churchman, and have every desire that international relations should be guided by Christian as well as political wisdom. Now, you cannot settle the Eastern question by taking the Sultan by the ear and probably putting a worse man in his place. You cannot simply do that; nor can you settle matters offhand by taking part in an Armenian and anti-Turkish agitation throughout the kingdom. Far from doing good, that agitation has, in my opinion, done infinite mischief—(“Question”)—I expected that outburst; because there are probably but few level-headed politicians in the room. I do consider, I repeat, that the agitation has been very unfortunate, because, for one thing, it has taken in the poor Armenians, and put up the back of the Sultan. I say, therefore, every man to his own business. I also hold that a great many persons who have taken part in this agitation do not really know their own business, and are devoid of that political wisdom without which the world cannot really be governed. Now I am well convinced that the Church Congress in this town will exercise good and wholesome influence generally, but I do say also that in the discussion of international relations, whether by the light of the Gospel or any other agency, you cannot afford to dispense with the political element—you cannot be content with the Christian. A Church Congress influence is good, but for the purposes of government and international affairs, the electors are the salt of the earth, for it is they who choose the House of Commons, and it is that House practically which directs international affairs. This I say as a hard-headed, and more or less level-headed, politician. In this capacity I have endeavoured to elucidate my point this morning, and if I have had the misfortune to offend any persons in this audience—as perhaps, has been the case—well, I will ask permission, without going back on my convictions, to retract what has seemed to be offensive.

The Rev. S. J. HAWKES, Rector of Pontesbury, Shrewsbury.

I THINK we may fairly say that the last fruits of this Congress have been the best. As a member of this meeting, I may congratulate it and its President upon the fact, as was said to me by one far better able to judge than I am, that this audience of it, though few, has heard the speech of the Congress. I had no wish to put my views before the Congress, but I rise to protest against the idea that the question which has been discussed to-day is a question of politics rather than of religion. Lord Meath said truly that we clergy, as teachers of the young, must train them, not in the mere mechanism of education, but in the principles which will make them true citizens in the years to come; that we must teach them as citizens of a great country that it is nobler and braver and wiser to sheath the sword than to draw it; to stand up, if need be, for the weak, the oppressed, and the down-trodden, than to range ourselves in the ranks of the strong, the tyrant, and the oppressor. And yet the feeling comes over me that, after all, education will not do everything. For I remember learning as a boy under the pressure of the cane of the schoolmaster, which makes its results remembered through life, one sentence. It was written by Erasmus, and used as a grammatical example by Colet, Dean of S. Paul's, who founded a great educational establishment, with reference to one of the wars of the time. The sentence ran:—*“Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero.”* “I prefer peace, even on the most unfair terms, to war even when most just.” I believe the sentiment is a true one.

Yet generations of Eton boys have learnt it, and straightway forgetting it, have gone out into the playground and learnt to fight the battle of Waterloo. I heard the Bishop of London say with reference to missions that we, the clergy, ought not to make them merely special occasions of teaching, but that we ought to make them run through all our teaching, and he said it is inculcated in that great sentence of the Creed:—"I believe in the communion of Saints." I am happy to have heard to-day another, though perhaps not altogether a conscious definition of that clause, and it is this:—"I believe in the Brotherhood of man; I believe in the brotherhood of nations." And I think that the recognition of that Brotherhood would be the first step and the greatest step to the re-union of the Churches. We, as individuals, can do little, but we look to our leaders, our noble leaders. You remember the words of the poet of our own land, Alfred Tennyson:—

"O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,
From Christ's great Gospel loose her latest chain,
And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly
To happy havens under all the sky;
Till each man find his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood,
Breaking their mailed and armed towers,
And ruling by obeying Nature's powers."

From the other side of the Atlantic comes to us a word as beautiful and as poetically expressed. It is the thought of the great American poet, Longfellow, as he beheld the Arsenal at Springfield. He says, and it is true as a matter of economy as well as of religious principle, and this may impress it upon our Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

"Were half this power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred,
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Should wear for evermore the curse of Cain.

Down the dark future through long generations
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease,
And like a bell with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, Peace.

Peace; and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of war's great organ shakes the skies,
But beautiful as songs of the immortals
The holy melodies of love arise."

As a clergyman speaking to clergymen, I do venture to ask my brethren to make this one portion of their teaching—international relations in the light of the Gospel. It is useless to tell us that by appealing on behalf of the down-trodden Christians in the East we are forsaking our proper vocation, and are stirring up the strife which God knows we would give our lives to allay. It is not so, human nature can endure it no longer—I do not say Christian feeling only, but human nature. We are bound to stand up in defence of Christ, Who suffers in His suffering people.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

As there is no other card sent in, you will perhaps allow me to close the discussion with a few words myself. Let me first of all make this remark. I think no one will doubt that the individual members composing the Governments we have had of late years in this country have been high-minded men who would desire to carry out entirely the principle which we are discussing to-day, and yet at the same time there is undoubtedly a conviction abroad that that principle has not sufficiently permeated

the country, and that for one reason or another, not even the Government of a Christian country is able to apply that principle in the way in which it ought to be able to apply it. I think we ought to consider some of the difficulties of a great empire like our own, and I should like to suggest first of all that, owing to our great dependencies and colonies, we have special difficulties to deal with. There is a very great power of local opinion in our dependencies like India and our colonies like those in Africa, and we are brought through these dependencies, and through these colonies, into all manner of complications with other countries, and it is asserted that we ought to govern these dependencies and these colonies according to the tenor of local opinion, and that we are not justified in pressing our own views to the exclusion of those views which are held to be paramount in the places concerned. I do not admit that myself as conclusive, though the principle is true enough within due limitations, but I simply state that this is a difficulty which has to be faced. Then there is another difficulty, and it is this, the extraordinary conflict of interest in a great commercial power like our own, or like that of the United States of America. The interests of a country like England are not all alike, and where there is not only a great conflict of interest, but where, as in America, there is absolute freedom of thought and of speech, then this conflict comes to the front and makes it extraordinarily difficult for even the most high-minded politician to act. Just at the time of that tension of feeling between the United States of America and England, I received two letters from American friends, one of them in the Central State of Illinois, and another from a lawyer in New York. The latter, writing from New York, said to me: "Do not suppose that we are all jingoes here. We don't like at all this policy of President Cleveland, and we are all most anxious for peace." My friend in Illinois wrote, "I did not vote for President Cleveland, and I do not suppose I ever should; but you will be very much mistaken in England if you suppose he does not voice the opinion of the United States of America." I received these two letters by the same mail, and I set one against the other, but then, having some little knowledge of the United States myself, I remembered that one came from Illinois, and that was just the very centre of strong feeling against the capitalists of the East; while the other came from New York, and I remembered that there was the greatest possible commercial jealousy between the Eastern States and the Central and Western States, and that the tension which caused this international difficulty was very largely a tension caused by the conflict of commercial interest between the Eastern part and the Central and Western part of that great country. Then let me say if there is this great difficulty in a country like our own, or that of the United States, we must go further still, and we must remember that there is a very great difference between nations in the way in which ethical principles permeate those nations. Let me give an illustration by a comparison between ourselves and Russia. In England all public matters are discussed, and discussed, freely by working men and politicians. They are discussed in every great town, in clubs, and in halfpenny papers, and working men read them, and ultimately the great working classes of this country have to give their opinion in their votes upon the great questions of the imperial policy. Now, if you will turn to Russia, you will find there that a very large majority of the people are absolutely ignorant of what we call foreign policy, or of foreign politics at all. They are not so highly educated as our own people, and they live in a totally different manner. Even amongst the educated, and amongst men who are the political classes in Russia, there is such a recognized division of responsibility and of work, and such a highly centralized departmental system, that foreign politics are assigned to men who have to deal with foreign politics, and others are not supposed to have anything to do with foreign politics at all. It is absolutely impossible to compare a country like our own, where the greatest matters of imperial policy have ultimately to be decided by the people, with a country like Russia, where the great mass of the people are ignorant of foreign politics, and where there is such a distinct departmental system that foreign politics are only supposed to concern those whose special business it is to deal with them. There are two inferences to be drawn from these facts. The first is—what a great responsibility rests with nations like England and the United States of America, where foreign policy is brought before the masses of the people, and where international relations must be considered by the people at large, and where, therefore, there is every opportunity for ethical principle to permeate the nation. Whatever we may say for other countries, there is a deep responsibility which attaches to nations like our own. That is the first inference I want to draw. The second inference I want to draw is, that we should have a great deal of patience in the application of our principles. We are not to suppose that, because other nations are so incredulous as

to our disinterestedness in the very great upheaval of public opinion, and righteous indignation against the terrible misgovernment and atrocious massacres lately manifested throughout England—we are not to suppose that other nations who have shown no such signs are really not touched with the same feelings and the same convictions. What we are to suppose and believe is this: We have had these matters brought before us, and we know them; we have had opportunities of expressing an opinion upon them, and we are in a totally different position from many other nations which are not so circumstanced, and we cannot help believing that other nations, when such matters are brought before them, and when their consciences are applied to these matters, will certainly, so far as their Christianity is true, arrive at conclusions which substantially will not differ from those which I will call the conclusions of the great mass of the English people. Now there are certain signs of growth which I think we may trace in our own country in reference to the application of such principles as these. First of all, if you remember the way in which that great dependency of India was won, mainly in the last century and in the beginning of this century, you cannot help feeling that there were deeds of which we ought to be utterly ashamed as a nation. I have travelled over two-thirds of India, and had special opportunities for four years of knowing the governing classes and many others, but no one will tell me now that there is any sort of desire on the part of the Government of India or of any men at home to carry on in any shape or form the policy of annexation which formerly prevailed. That sort of hunger has certainly ceased. There is now in England, I venture to say, a general feeling, a conviction, that these wars of aggression and annexation are not morally justifiable, and that they ought to cease. That is a sign of growth. Another sign of growth is the manner in which we as a country have dealt with the Red Indians in our North American Colonies. I remember a most interesting conversation I had in Philadelphia some years ago with the Bishop of Minnesota with reference to the Red Indians, and this conversation was in the presence of a third person, a very remarkable man, Mr. Hamilton Fish, who is now dead, but who was the Secretary of State for eight years under General Grant's Government. With the apparent approval of Mr. Hamilton Fish, who was a friend of the Bishop of Minnesota, the Bishop turned to me and said, "I cannot help congratulating you as a nation on the way in which your country has treated these Red Indians." He added in substance, "We have treated them as outsiders for whom we had no responsibility, as a foreign power, and we made treaties which have been too often broken. The force of circumstances, as people say, has made us push on and advance our power, and these poor people have suffered, whereas the Queen has always treated the Red Indians as Her Majesty's subjects, and given them all the protection she could, and the result is that the Red Indians in the Dominion of Canada are far more prosperous, far more contented, and in every way better off than they are in the United States." I felt a national pride and pleasure that that could be stated to me by so eminent an authority as the Bishop of Minnesota. I think a third sign of growth, which has been already touched upon to-day, is the recent agreement with the United States of America as to arbitration; and I may say particularly, the force of religious opinion in the United States during the recent tension upon the subject of Venezuela, in insisting upon a peaceful solution of that great question. Well, then, if there had been some signs of growth, what is our duty as a Church? I cannot help thinking that some light has been thrown on this to-day by what has been spoken so well by many speakers on this subject. I think it has been generally agreed to-day that what the Church ought to do is to insist upon the principle, upon the ethical principle, permeating the country, and therefore permeating the policy of the country. It is not the duty of the Church to interfere with details of politics, or to tell the minister what he should do in this or that way at particular junctures. That is a matter for enlightened Christian statesmen. I hold that just as in great social questions, such as are vexing the country and are likely to trouble us more, the duty of the Church is not to interfere in details, but to insist upon the principles, and to leave high-minded men, whose special business is to deal with these matters, to apply these important principles to the circumstances of the day. I think that if this Congress by its discussion to-day has done something to make this great truth of ethical principle permeating a nation's policy to be a principle which every single man is responsible in some measure for bringing before his neighbours, and for so enforcing that even the Government of any country cannot afford to disregard it, this meeting will not have been held in vain. We must remember always that we cannot—the best Christian men of the country cannot—be contented with the average conscience of our day. The average conscience to-day ought to be in advance

of the average conscience of fifty years ago. Whatever the day may be, and whatever the average conscience of the day may be, the conscience of the truest man must be in advance of that conscience; and it is by the conscience of the truest men and the best men that the average conscience becomes raised, so that in the next generation principles which are now held by a few become accepted, and prove to be for the happiness and good of mankind at large. I hope and believe that at this meeting we have done something to enforce personal responsibility for raising the average conscience of the nation, and for insisting upon ethical principle governing all our international relations. When the Church at large has realized her responsibility, not to direct foreign policy in detail, but to insist upon ethical principle learning that policy, then the responsible Government of the country will carry on its dealings with all other nations in accordance with lines which are suggested by the conscience of the country, and which will be not only for the good of that country, but for the good of humanity at large.

CONGRESS HALL.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the **PRESIDENT** in the Chair.

**TENDENCIES IN MODERN SOCIETY WHICH NEED
TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF
CHRISTIAN TEACHING.**

- (a) SOCIAL EXTRAVAGANCE.
- (b) CURRENT LITERATURE, SOCIETY PAPERS, ETC.
- (c) AMUSEMENTS AND RECREATIONS.

The Right Rev. the **PRESIDENT**.

BEFORE calling upon the speakers, I wish to mention that I have received from the Bishop of Hereford a copy of a petition to the Congress from the Women's Armenian Committee, Ipswich Branch, for presentation to the Congress. I have spoken to him on the subject, and he agrees with me in the opinion that the Congress cannot undertake to accept petitions from outside bodies, however much he or any other members of the Congress may sympathize with the particular purpose.

PAPERS.

- (a) SOCIAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

The Rev. J. WATSON, Vicar of All Saints', Pavement, with S. Crux, York; and Canon Residentiary of York.

THE prominence given at the present time to social questions is an indication of the increasing seriousness of the problems which face every thoughtful man.

Some striking social phenomena confront us and demand our serious attention—phenomena which are indeed exercising the minds of many earnest reformers, both Christian and non-Christian.

There are rude and drastic remedies proposed in some quarters for

social ills. Whatever we may think of these proposals, the policy of the ostrich will not do any longer.

We who believe in the Incarnation—we who believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is the enemy of all selfishness and wrong, and should be presented in practical life as the living King of men—must not be content to shut our eyes to the sins of Society. We must be in the forefront of those who are striving to cleanse the channels of human life. Christianity has to do, not only with the next world, but with this

The subject of social extravagance is not without its difficulties. What is and what is not extravagance is not always a very easy thing to settle. Culpable luxury is not an easy thing to define.

Luxury is a relative term. There was a time when an extra coat of woad, or perhaps a coat of woad at all, was of the nature of a luxury. Sir Walter Scott tells us that when a Highlander out all night on the moors rolled a ball of snow for a pillow, his companion kicked it away on the ground of its being a degrading piece of effeminacy.

The ordinary standard of living in England has been unquestionably of late very considerably raised. And few will be inclined to doubt that in a large class of our people the scale of expenditure has risen during the last thirty years to a remarkable degree.

The tendency observable in what is known as Society is such as to occasion serious misgivings. The widespread and general luxury of the richer classes in England, and the extravagance of their living, spreads insensibly below, and is constituting a very grave peril to the nation. I believe it is true what they tell us who know, that luxury, ease, love of pleasure, and selfish indulgence are producing a decadence which is to be deplored, and undermining our society as surely as they sapped that of ancient Rome.

It is high time that the Church made a determined protest against a tendency which is as much condemned by the laws and principles of Political Economy as it is by the laws and principles of the religion of Jesus Christ.

The existence side by side of urgent need and wasteful extravagance—of grinding poverty and lavish expenditure—the sharp contrast of want and misery, at our very doors, with the luxury and ostentation around us, are facts so glaring as to demand the most earnest consideration. The discontent at the misuse of wealth is very widespread. I believe myself that we are on the eve of no inconsiderable change in our social conditions. The rich are strangely obtuse if they do not see which way things are tending.

But, it may be asked, do you want us to go back and live on acorns and clothe ourselves with skins? Well, I am not one of those who think that the best man is necessarily the man who lives on bread and water—if possible, mouldy bread and ditch water. But I do say that what we need is a very much simpler life than that which a large number of us live. I am convinced that simpler living would bring increased happiness. Few realize how easily the current mode of life, so needlessly complex and expensive, may be simplified, and with how much advantage to health and happiness.

Now at what point does expenditure become luxurious in a bad sense? When does it become unjustifiable and wrong?

This question is by no means an easy one to answer. I think,

however, that we should not be far wrong in replying: When a man becomes the slave and not the master of his wealth, when that which ought to be a mere instrument becomes an end in itself, when money is spent in mere pomp and pride and self-gratification.

It is of the highest importance that men should be made capable of refined enjoyment, and money is well spent when it is made the instrument of cultivation—a source of pure and disinterested pleasure, helping to purify the taste, and contributing to the general progress of the people. I believe, with Mr. Leslie Stephen, that “a man is justified in such expenditure as tends to the highest cultivation of his faculties and the faculties of those dependent upon him, and tends to spread a higher standard of enjoyment and refinement throughout the whole community.” It is luxury in a bad sense when money is spent in vulgar ostentation and display, and ministers merely to men’s vanity and self-love—when the new-made millionaire dashes his wealth in your face and expects you to admire him for it on the ground that he has more money than his neighbours.

But is not all this spending a benefit to the State? Does it not find work for the labourer and circulate money? Does not luxury, in short, uphold the State? Yes, I reply, as the rope upholds the hanged man. Surely there can be no doubt that this wasteful, extravagant living is a mere bonfire which burns up the product of labour. Good for trade? Why you may as well say that to burn down London would be a benefit to industry! and that Nero when he fiddled (if he did fiddle) at the burning of Rome, was acting on true economic principles.

I believe that one of the chief sources of all this mischief is the social power of mere wealth. The greed for wealth is greatly augmented by the worship paid to the wealthy. Wealth and respectability are regarded as two sides of the same thing. Homage is too generally paid to the bloated fortunes which are doing so much to corrupt and vulgarize the country. You know Lady Jeune’s description of modern qualifications for fame: “To have a good cook, to be a smartly dressed woman, and to spend a fortune on flowers and decorations at magnificent entertainments.” We must cease respecting people simply because they live in grand houses which are redolent of gold. We must be no more civil to knaves in broadcloth than we are to knaves in fustian.

If it be true, is it not a scandal that the best passport into the highest society in England is gold? Is it not true that doors once open only to aristocracy of birth—commanding ability and conspicuous talent—are now open to almost any who can command unlimited wealth?—

“Every door is barred with gold,
And opens but with golden key.”

One who has a claim to speak says: “The smartest and most magnificent entertainments are those given by a host of people who thirty years ago would not have been heard of outside their own provincial neighbourhoods. To their houses flock the leaders of what was once, not long ago, the most exclusive society in Europe. The atmosphere heavy with the perfume of flowers, the spoils of the Riviera; the bewitching voice of the last fashionable prima donna, brought at a

fabulous price; the delicacies of the supper room; the banquet, with its priceless wines; these are the temptations which the crowd of magnificently dressed and beautiful women and *blasé* men cannot resist; and such is the nightly spectacle offered to any observer of what we term the smart set of London Society."

Another element of the shameful extravagance of our time lies surely in the conspicuous tyranny of fashion. Our women spend year after year more and more upon their dress, and seem to adorn themselves not so much to please men as to out-vie one another. The list of gowns made for a fashionable bride, the magnificence of the drawing-room and church parade gowns, are topics of the most absorbing interest. Every year women seem to be seeking some new method of making their garments more inconvenient and more costly. Bodies seem to be mere pegs upon which to display costly clothes; forms are distorted to fill arbitrary shapes, and fabulous sums are spent year by year to meet the fantastic requirements of an ever-changing mode. It is a reproach to our civilization and our Christianity that there can be found so many of our women who, indifferent to many serious obligations, seem to make personal adornment the absorbing feature of their lives.

And now comes the question, what are we to do? Can we do nothing towards the awakening of our national conscience in this matter?

I believe all this extravagant living is utterly incompatible with Christianity. It gives a constant lie to the doctrine of human brotherhood. The selfish and unprincipled use of wealth is absolutely condemned by Christian Ethics. I maintain that the Christian Church is pledged to fight a battle against this terrible sin of our age—the shameless extravagance and the unblushing pursuit of luxury—which is darkening the spiritual vision and hardening the hearts of our people. Primitive Christianity reproved it in the name of charity and humility. Political Economy condemns it in the name of utility, and Right in the name of equity. The old fathers of the Church were ignorant of Political Economy, but they were inspired by the instinct of justice and right, and by the idea of charity and human brotherhood.

What we have to do is to help men to realize that the possession of wealth entails serious obligations and responsibilities. This is emphatically a Christian principle. We must be ready in season and out of season to remind men that they are responsible, not only for the way they make their money, but also for the way in which they spend it.

I believe that the only force that can regenerate society—the only power that can cope with this serious and growing disease of modern life—is the religion of Jesus Christ. The old faith of Christendom will teach men that luxury is the misuse of the material world. It will teach them that man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. It re-echoes the voice which of old taught men to seek first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness. It will teach men that in every Christian life there must be something of the love, the earnestness, the seriousness, the self-sacrifice of the Cross of Jesus Christ.

(b) CURRENT LITERATURE, SOCIETY PAPERS, NOVELS, ETC.

The Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, D.D., Dean of Rochester.

WHAT would the Preacher, the son of David, who wrote nigh upon three thousand years ago that "of making many books there was no end," what would he say, could he see the long rows of daily publications at one of our great railway stations, read the advertisements of new and forthcoming works in one of our quarterly magazines, or watch the steam printing-press, as it produced in an hour that which would occupy throughout his life the pen of a ready writer?

On all subjects this making of many books is infinite, this current of literature, like the immortal "brook," goes on for ever. Be they good, bad, or indifferent, as Martial said of his works, *sunt bona, sunt mala, sunt mediocria*, the demand seems equal to the supply. Not at Athens, when S. Paul was there, was the desire greater to tell, or to hear, than now in England to read or to write, some new thing. And *the new thing*, which attracts the most, is well named *the Novel*. "The child is father to the man," and "Tell me a story," is the cry of old and young.

I find, accordingly, from information which has been kindly given to my inquiries by public librarians, that works of fiction have been read in the following proportions!—From the free libraries in the city of Birmingham, total circulation, 1,213,294; fiction, 586,731. At Liverpool, total circulation, 613,924; fiction, 478,462. At Manchester, total circulation, 152,767; fiction, 55,132. At Lincoln, the circulation of fiction, since the opening of the library in October, 1895, has exceeded that of all other books put together, being, in round numbers, fiction, 23,000; juvenile, 10,000; arts and industries, 2,700; classics and general literature, 2,500; history and biography, 2,400; philosophy and theology, 1,200; drama and poetry, 800. The first favourite of fiction is Doctor Conan Doyle. I greatly admire him as a writer, and esteem him as a friend; but I know that he would be the first to condemn the discrimination of those who preferred him to Sir Walter Scott, to Dickens, to Thackeray, or to the author of "Adam Bede." Of the books most read in history and biography, the third on the list is "The Memories of Dean Hole." Dean Hole is gratified, but he is not quite sure that in the ages to come he will maintain this priority, as an historian, over Motley and Macaulay, Froude, and Lecky, and Greene. Foremost of books philosophical and theological is placed Mr. Mallock's "Is Life worth living?"; dramatical and poetical, "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray"; and of classical and general literature, "The Strand Magazine."

The large proportion of those who read works of fiction is made up of persons who in capacity and character are altogether opposed to each other, chiefly of indolent and silly folk, *ignavum pecus*, who have no energy, no ambition, beyond their selfish gratification. No books evoke their sympathy which do not appeal to their senses. The others, comparatively few, are they who, weary at times with work and duty, and not neglecting the higher class of literature, refresh themselves with those clever novels, which excite our interest in the crises of their plot, cheer us with their humour, and subdue us with their pathos. And none appreciate their power more gratefully than they who turn to them

from the most sacred subjects, and the most solemn employments, to find rest, and relaxation, and something more. Who has not read until he could read no more, because a flood of thoughts came gushing and filled his eyes with tears, those touching stories, which strengthen our faith, brighten our hope, and enlarge our charity?

There are three kinds of objectionable novels—the impossible, the lascivious, and the profane. Not a few of our modern writers produce them in combination.

The first are comparatively harmless. They are disappointments, because, as a rule, their authors are accomplished scribes, and because when the reader is prepared to believe almost anything, he is distressed to lose his power of credulity. I can no longer identify myself with the heroes of this preposterous romance. I have ceased to enjoy great beads of agony breaking forth from my bewildered brow; it affords me no gratification to hear the bay of the ferocious bloodhound growing more and more distinct; to put spurs to my gallant charger, flecked with blood and foam. I have no zest for concealing myself in damp and dismal caves, for dangling over the sea on a rope by which I have escaped from my prison overhead, and which I observe is gradually fraying itself against a projection in the rock. I can exult no more in being suddenly struck down by a blow from behind, when I am polishing off the last of five furious adversaries, and in all being a blank until I wake in a dwelling of small dimensions, but scrupulously clean, the object of my affections gazing fondly upon me, with a finger placed upon her lips to intimate that there must be no expression of feeling. I am aware, of course, that my life is perfectly secure until the end of the third volume, and that it is more than probable that I shall live happy ever afterwards. But the strain of being knocked about, like the constable in "Punch," chapter after chapter, is too great for me, and now, after a short series of slaughter, hemorrhage, and miraculous escapes, I retire into private life.

Seriously and sadly we turn from these extravaganzas to books which are immoral and profane, to the Novel which Sheridan described as "an everlasting tree of diabolical writing," and of which it may be said, "thou shalt not bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be an accursed thing like it." There are authors who seem to think that they cannot be witty unless they are indecent, and that irreverence is sure to succeed. Without spiritual instincts or noble aspirations, they would degrade their readers to their own low level, and would persuade them that all men, who are not fools, would be knaves, did they not fear detection, and that women are virtuous because they are not tempted, or because their modesty is due to a slow circulation, and that "cold Dian" alone is chaste. Erasmus taught that "no man ever had a bad wife, except by his own fault," but they tell us that no man ever had a good wife, or wife good husband, and that there are no such things as happy homes, and "hearts of each other sure." They write for those who think as they think, that our being's end and aim is to live in houses ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion, to be clothed in purple and fine linen, faring sumptuously every day. They recognize no obligations of duty or obedience except from their tradespeople and servants. Their idea of work is restricted to the manual labour of the lower classes. The poor are sufficiently relieved by the rates and cared for by

the Guardians. Thieves, drunkards, and prostitutes must be managed by the police. And yet they make heroes of libertines and heroines of those who have lost "the shame which is a glory and a grace."

They present for our admiration young ladies disguised as young gentlemen—although it has been well said, "God hath made the sexes distinct, let not the tailor confound them"—who wear pot hats, and collars, and ties, and pins, waistcoats and jackets, sticks and whips, who smoke cigarettes, and make bets, and play at Monte Carlo, and "are game for a B. and S." They describe that which they most approve as "ripping," and denounce all which they cannot understand (an unknown quantity) as "bosh." They are followed by a bull dog of the Bill Sykes' denomination, and they behold with delight the discomfort of the archdeacon when this delectable companion sniffs his gaiters. In the evening they wear such garments as caused the sarcastic American to say that "he never fully realized the impoverished condition of the English nobility and gentry until he saw that they were no longer able to provide sufficient clothing for their wives and daughters."

And all this folly, and worse than folly, is set before us as a revelation of supreme felicity. Shakespeare wrote of one, who "would lie with such volubility, that you would think truth were a fool," and these professors of immoral philosophy make vice so charming that poor virtue looks almost insane. The transcendent beauty of the women, the athletic achievements of the men, nearly equal to those of a circus, the exquisite surroundings, gold, and silver, and ivory in abundance, as when the navies of Hiram brought them from Tarshish, and now as then in close combination with apes and peacocks—these fascinate the imagination and perplex the reason, as when, in the days to which I have referred, the ungodly were seen in such prosperity, and seemed to come in no misfortune like other folk. Not a word is said of the sure results—they

"Sin, and all the world goes round,
As if no evil deed were done"—

of retribution and remorse, of disgrace and dishonour, of disease and of want, of mortgaged estates and desolate houses, of broken hearts, of the valley of the shadow of death.

These pernicious writers ignore religion, or only refer to it as to "a fond thing vainly invented"—a myth and superstition. Only persons of weak intellect are supposed to take notice of the Lord's Day—worship is mere formalism, reverence is hypocrisy, and they who help others, or restrain themselves, are branded as "goody-goody," and are expelled for ever from the best society. Christianity is declared by those who know about as much of it as a blind man knows of a telescope to be "played out." The Old Testament is not more reliable than the False Decretals; the New Testament is a venerable legend, "a sweet Galilean story;" the clergy are Papists or Calvinists. They are also bracketed with old women, as though men who had won honours in the schools, in the cricket field, and on the river, were emasculated by their Ordination, and transformed into muffs and duffers. They hinder progress (I hope so, on the downward grade); their sermons are tiddle and cant—they are beneath notice. "Papa told me," it is written in one of the most

popular of recent novels, "to be good, and not to mind what priests or clergymen said to me. He'd been a clergyman himself, and knew all about it." They make a desert, and they call it peace. They prate about evolution, and they blow bubbles in which they see the Church of the future; but for the Church of the present they do nothing. They enter not themselves, and they that were entering in they hinder. They laden other men with burdens grievous to be borne, but they themselves touch them not with one of their fingers.

No one would suppose from reading these books that all over the civilized world prayer was ascending from millions of hearts, from secret chambers and oratories, from Christian households, from devout congregations, to the Great Intercessor, that through faith and grace, through the comfort of the Scriptures, and the power of the Sacraments, a multitude which no man can number were following in the steps of the Divine Master, caring for His poor, nursing the sick, visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, instructing the ignorant, raising the fallen, not willing that any should perish. There might be no priests working in the slums, no sisters of mercy, no men and women preaching righteousness, not only with their lips, but with their lives.

It has been said that these books are so offensive to belief, conscience, common sense, and experience, that they carry with them their own refutation. Ephraim is joined to his idols; let him alone. But what of those who are weak in faith, whose conscience is seared, who are young and foolish. It is shown from the statistics of the public libraries that the young are the most numerous of their readers. For example, of 27,710 readers of books borrowed from the lending libraries at Birmingham in 1894-5, 9,120 were from fourteen to twenty years of age.

Here is the epitome of a recent novel, which, though it cannot be surpassed as a specimen of immoral rubbish, has gone through fifteen editions!—

Herminia, the daughter of a dean, and educated at Girton, despises parent and preceptor, and feels it to be her special mission to abolish marriage. She regards that estate as an ignominious thralldom, "buttressed with unseen horrors." "She is pure and pellucid, and she is attired in a sort of sleeveless sack, which sets off to the utmost the lissom grace of her rounded figure, elsewhere described as opulent." On meeting the hero, Alan, "just home from the Perugenesque solidities of the Umbrian Apennines," her heart gives a delicious bound, and the heart of the hero follows her lead. They "thrill and heave"; but when marriage is suggested it is resented as an insult—anything but that. Then follows, after some blasphemous quotations of Scripture, that which the author designates as "an irregular contract," which shocks poor strait-laced, kind-hearted Miss Waters, and disgusts Alan's father, a London physician, who has been made a baronet for saving the life of a royal duke from the effects of his self-indulgence. Alan dies from typhoid fever in Florence. Herminia is prevented from following his example by the contemplation of her baby's rosy feet, but finally commits suicide, when her daughter, grown to womanhood, falls into the ordinary propensities of women, accepts an offer of marriage, but cannot think of inflicting such a mother-in-law upon her intended, when she is told, "Your dear father was not related to me in any way."

So Herminia, finding herself *de trop*, dies, "having struck a righteous blow in the interests of woman, a martyr to humanity," with a promise from her biographer that from her grave, at some future date, which he is not at liberty to mention, shall spring that church of the future, which not one of its disciples has ever condescended to describe.

The most pernicious form of this literature, which seeks to desecrate the sanctity of marriage, is the dramatic, because it tempts both the eye and the ear.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,

and this confederacy of immodest words and faces, dress, and posture, has a terrible power with the young to excite evil thought and deed, not only on the stage, but afterwards, so far as they can be reproduced by photographs in shop windows and in certain low-class magazines, which, I was informed by a newsagent, are chiefly purchased by youths of from fifteen to eighteen years. Accompanying these publications are advertisements of amorous books and pictures, intimations of infanticide, and other evil suggestions.

Sad indeed it is when she who has so much influence for good—has it not been well said that "she who rocks the cradle rules the world"?—suggests by her pen impurity to the pure, ridicules virtue, and condones vice; but she who personates evil hath the greater sin, having the greater power to promote it. The first Lord Burleigh is reported to have said to his son, "Thou shalt find nothing in life so irksome as a female fool"; and he might have added, Thou shalt find nothing in life so fatal to its happiness as a female libertine, for it is written that "More bitter than death is the woman whose heart is snares and nets." As for the writers, the men who prepare these hints and helps in depravity, we know what manner of spirit they are of. From the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh, and the tree is known by its fruits. Of this we have had recent and revolting evidence, and we may not forget, however painful the memory may be, that one of the foremost of these playwrights is now a criminal in jail.

How shall we prevent, or if we cannot prevent, how shall we oppose, this satanic influence, find an antidote for the poison, ring out the false, ring in the true, and overcome evil with good?

Assuredly it is the duty of those publishers and booksellers, library committees, parents and guardians, who profess and call themselves Christians, to follow the righteous example of those who have, thank God, the chief control in the circulation of books, Messrs. W. H. Smith and Son, and to reject such works as transgress the confines of decency, and encourage wickedness and vice. I repeat the words "thank God," because we owe a debt of gratitude to these gentlemen, the extent of which is only known to those who have purposely inspected, as I have, some of the books which they have placed on their *Index Expurgatorius*.

Let us be loyal to those who are loyal to their faith, who set before us in their beauty "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are pure." The authors are numerous who might repeat

the words, which the most famous of modern novelists, Charles Dickens, prefixed to his most famous work, "I trust that throughout this book no incident or expression occurs which could call a blush into the most delicate cheek, or wound the feelings of the most sensitive person;" and the authoresses are many of whom may be spoken the praise, which Macaulay wrote of Miss Burney, that, although she had a keen appreciation of humour, her language was never inconsistent with morality, nor even with virgin delicacy. From these we have books in abundance, which Christian gentlemen may read without yearning to kick the author, and ladies without sense of insult.

The same of theatres. Let us go to those only to which we can take our wives and daughters without fear of disgust. Irving and Beerbohm Tree have proved that Shakespeare is still appreciated. Twice a day when I was in America one of the largest theatres in New York was crowded to enjoy Mr. Tree's *Hamlet*, and I have just now heard from my friend, Mr. Wilson Barrett, that his Christian drama, *The Sign of the Cross*, has been most enthusiastically, yet most reverently, received on both sides of the Atlantic, and that five companies are performing it at this present time in England. "It is rendering," as Mr. Gladstone says, "a great service to the best and holiest of all causes."

Let us hold out the right hand of fellowship to those who are workers together with us, who abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good.

The Rev. ALFRED AINGER Master of the Temple; and Canon of Bristol.

WHEN this subject was first announced as chosen for the present Congress, I remember that that excellent journal, *The Spectator*, deprecated the choice on the ground that the clergy would be attacking books and papers of which they knew nothing by personal experience. The insinuation seemed to me a trifle unfair. It would indeed be dishonest in me, or anyone else, to follow the line *The Spectator* indicates. But it is possible to know a good deal about the novels and journals that most absorb public interest at any moment, without devoting much leisure to them, and it certainly is our duty to pay some attention to the morbid as well as to the healthy specimens of a literature which, beyond all doubt, has its effect, for good or ill, on the reception of Christian truth and Christian morals in the society in which we move.

If *The Spectator* had taken a quite other line and complained that there was not much to be said on the subject to any practical end, I should have agreed with it, for the existence and popularity of frivolous and even debasing literature is no new symptom. The form may change, but the thing is always with us. Wherever there are large, well-to-do, idle, and half (or quarter) educated classes, newspapers and books to suit their tastes are bound to flourish. The "society journal" (so-called) is a new form and a new name, but there is nothing new in the fact that large classes of persons find their chief amusement in reading about the doings of other people, their friends, neighbours, and contemporaries. It may be a harmless amusement enough if taken in small doses, and as a mere relief from more serious and exhausting

interests; it becomes ignoble when such reading excludes all other; and becomes mischievous and degrading when it leads to a love of hearing the worst of other people instead of the best, and to a taste for tracking out all the sordid and impure details of a corrupt society. But there is an important difference among so-called society journals. I mention, of course, no names, either for praise or blame, but I know of society journals where I have often read to my profit valuable and thoughtful literary and dramatic criticism, and very little of any element that is noxious; whereas, on the other hand, I have in my eye some of these journals whose habitual policy is to publish injurious paragraphs about public men, while necessarily knowing nothing of the facts of the case, apparently trusting to the chance that the paragraph may never be contradicted. Such things would not be published if there were not a considerable public who enjoy the disparagement of other people, especially if the persons attacked are of any good name and reputation, and the demoralizing effect of such reading needs no words of mine to enforce. As to reports of the social proceedings of great persons, what dinners they give, and what their *menus*, where they spend their holidays, and so forth, there is nothing immoral in this, save as it tends to enfeeble still further the feeble minds which take pleasure in it; it appeals to the idle and it encourages idleness; it appeals to the frivolous, and makes them more and more frivolous. It is the old and irreversible law, that from him that hath little, even what he hath shall be taken from him. It is of course idleness—the absence, that is to say, of any wholesome and worthy interest from the lives of such readers—that accounts for the whole thing. People with healthy interests have not the time for such reading, and therefore also have not the taste. Jeremy Taylor was enunciating a profound truth when he began his great work on “Holy Living” with a chapter on the right allotment and employment of one’s time.

Is it any use our preaching against such periodicals? I think not. To begin with, the chief devourers of such literature are not in general much of Church-goers. They have for some time past discovered that the modern pulpit is not intellectual enough for them. And, in the next place, in the physician’s treatment of the soul, as in that of the body, it is of little use to attack symptoms. The disease we would combat has its roots far deeper. The young people who grow up with these tastes have been brought up probably among surroundings and influences that, humanly speaking, have given them no chance. The evil, that is to say, has been wrought, the unworthy seed sown, long before the taste for unwholesome literature is developed. It is not only to the “earliest books” that children read that “for much good or much bad they are debtors.” That wise and Christian humorist, Thomas Hood, pointed out long ago that—

“ Before with their A B C they start,
There are things in morals as well as art
That play a very important part,
Impressions before the Letters.”

Early surroundings, early examples, the spirit of the Christian home—it is to these and these alone, constituting “education” in its only worthy sense, that we must look to counteract the natural bias towards what is

inferior in literature, or in morals ; ignoble tastes can only be expelled by the presence of the higher.

And if this be true of literature that is simply frivolous, how much more is it not applicable to the unwholesome novel, of which again it may be said that there is nothing new in it, but that only the form varies from one generation to another. The danger of most of the present race of unwholesome novels is not in their grossness, or their deliberately making the worse appear the better reason. Often it lies in a quite other direction—of being ostentatiously moral in its pretensions—only that it sets itself to teach a new morality of the authors' own invention, an advance and a refinement upon the ethics of the Gospel. Sometimes indeed such novels bring their fallen heroines to condign grief (though it may be doubted whether that grief is akin to the "godly sorrow" spoken of by S. Paul), but only too often it must be said that after a short half-mourning for their evil behaviour they take in their meekness a "house in Belgravia," and, as far as we are told to the contrary, are happy ever afterwards.

But there is yet another class of novel, not so directly mischievous, but indirectly quite as much so—the novel which parades itself as the champion of religion and morality against a godless age, and trades upon this to attract its readers by spurious sentiment, spurious eloquence, spurious philosophy, together with a total absence of any sense of humour, everything in the book being second-rate and cheap. This is the kind of book which sells by the hundred thousand, and generally appears to have sold out a second and third edition even before a first is published. In such a case as this, the book would never deceive any but the half-educated classes ; and the only conceivable remedy for the thing is the improvement of education. It is of no use insisting to our hearers that books are second or third rate, and quite unsafe guides as to Christian philosophy and ethics, when they seem to the readers first-rate. I, at least, am aware of no remedy save the old-fashioned one of the cultivation of the true religious sense. "Great thoughts come from the heart," and it is amazing how the true cultivation of the heart, quite apart from book learning, will teach men to distinguish the real from the spurious, even in the domain of literature. Meantime, I would only venture to counsel my clerical brethren never to recommend "shoddy" romances such as I have referred to, because they are ostensibly on the side of the faith and of morals. "*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis egemus.*" I confess I am often tempted to reply to some female champion of our Creed, as Sir Peter Teazle replied to Mrs. Candour : "Madam, when I tell you that the lady they are attacking is a particular friend of mine, I hope you will not take her part."

The title of the subject assigned to me this evening speaks of "tendencies" in modern society which these things indicate. In one respect, they indicate (no doubt) one phase of the decay of the religious sense. The old domestic purities, charities, reverences, are relaxed, and so a demand is created for printed matter that answers to and reflects such decadence. It is hard to say which is cause and which effect ; whether the supply causes the demand, or *vice versa*. What is the best course for the Church to adopt towards the evil I would not presume to say ; but I am sure as to the worst course : for that would be to take the Puritanic line of disparaging fiction and journalism in a lump as

beneath a Christian's attention. The twenty minutes we most of us allot to our daily newspaper is one of the most important parts of our education. I am sure there are weekly periodicals—noble both in aim and in spirit—that may be among our best teachers; and as I had to cross swords at starting with *The Spectator*, let me boldly place that journal in the forefront of such literature. And as for novels, I do not envy the men or women who do not owe to these many of their happiest and most profitable hours. I know full well that we cannot directly change or modify a person's taste for the inferior in literature, but we can do much indirectly. Let us keep religion ever in closest touch with morals. Let us never allow the frivolous in our congregations to indulge the fond dream that orthodoxy, or a correct taste in ritual, can in some way atone for continuing in their frivolity. I will not preach, "Take care of the heart, and the head will take care of itself"—for that would be but a half-truth; but I am certain that there is truth in it, and that in the leavening of society with that only true moral culture, the source and spring of which is in true Christian doctrine, is the only hope of improvement for this, as for any other of the maladies and corruptions of the age.

(c) AMUSEMENTS AND RECREATION.

The Right Hon. the EARL of DARTMOUTH, Patshull House,
Staffordshire.

I SHOULD, in the first place, be inclined to draw a distinction between recreation and amusement. As I understand it, recreation in its literal sense means the refreshment of the human system, the stoking of the human engine, by which a man can secure that "sound mind in the sound body" which will enable him to carry on the ordinary business of his life. Thus, if I am right in my contention, while recreation may be amusement, and amusement may be recreation, recreation, taking it in this strictly literal sense, must always be valuable and beneficial, while amusement may be something very much the reverse.

One of the tendencies of modern times is to overdo everything; we live in a record breaking age, and unless some record is continually broken, some previous best exceeded, the results, however good in themselves, never seem to be entirely satisfactory.

Recreation proper is, in my opinion, a part, and a very important part, of the education of the young. The idea that education consists in a certain number of facts, more or less useful, is exploded, and considerable attention is paid, and rightly paid, to the intervals that are allotted to recreation. And if, as I suppose will be generally admitted, the object of education is to train up a child to enable him to do his duty conscientiously and honourably, in whatever position he may be placed, to equip him at all points successfully to fight the battle of life; he must be taught, not merely the ordinary school work, but how to employ his leisure moments to the best possible advantage.

No one realizes more fully than I do the enormous value of our national sports and games to the manhood of the country, and the excellent influence, both physical and moral, they exercise on the national character, when indulged in in moderation; but no one, on the

other hand, is more conscious than I am of the danger we run of giving them undue importance, by which their value will be diminished, if not altogether destroyed. The amusements of an idle man are not recreation—they soon cease to amuse, and in time they become the business of life, and a very exacting and unprofitable business into the bargain.

There is another tendency of the day that is well worthy of our consideration—the tendency to make things too easy for the rising generation. We rightly take much care and thought for them and their occupations, but this very anxiety for their welfare, if carried to excess, will foster and encourage not unnatural inclination to do nothing for themselves that they can get someone else to do for them. Take as an illustration the most popular form of modern literature—the short story system which threatens to supersede the more sustained reading that a novel by a standard author requires. To get at the root of a thing you must dig deep, and the deeper you dig, and the harder you work, the more valuable the result. Nowadays all the digging is done by someone else, the lessons learnt proportionately less useful, the general results proportionately less satisfactory.

Undoubtedly national pastimes have a marked effect on the moral character of the people of a country. Dean Farrar, in his "Darkness and Dawn," throws a lurid light on the brutalizing effect the gladiatorial exhibitions had on the citizens of imperial and luxurious Rome; and the history of the world teems with object lessons that show how the decadence of the countries that have risen to the highest pinnacle of human greatness, most surely commences when the temptations to sensual pleasure, to self-indulgence, and too luxurious habits are generally yielded to.

Manly sports are the surest corrective of indulgence, and against this evil in our great national games we have a great national safeguard, and if we are to maintain the stamina and pluck for which England has always been famous, we must depend largely on our outdoor games for the means of doing so. Take cricket and football. Played as they ought to be, they constitute as good a training for fighting the battles of life as it is possible to conceive; they exercise an influence for good on our moral natures, as well as on our national characters; they encourage the better qualities, and discourage the worse: in them we learn self-denial, discipline, and unselfishness. We learn, moreover, to play for the success of our side, and not for our individual glory; but there is a growing tendency to turn what ought to be only a healthy recreation into a mercenary transaction, the tendency to take advantage for your own profit of those who may not be quite so sharp in a worldly sense as you are yourself.

With how much greater satisfaction should we contemplate the skill, the pluck, the endurance, of which we have such brilliant evidence in our great football contests, did we not know that after every match many a hard-earned shilling would find its way into the wrong pocket, and many a sorrowing wife and hungry child would have reason to curse that love for a bit of sport on which in our wisdom we are apt to pride ourselves. There are two forms of recreation that I will select as illustrating the changes that come over Christian opinion from time to time, viz., the theatre and dancing. It is interesting to remember the view that was taken of the theatre by the Church in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. Mr. Lecky, in his "Rationalism in Europe," tells us that "the doctrine of the Church on this subject was clear and decisive," the theatre was unequivocally condemned, and all professional actors were pronounced to be in a condition of mortal sin, and were therefore doomed, if they died in their profession, to eternal perdition. The Ritual of Paris, with several others, distinctly pronounced that actors were by their very employment necessarily excommunicate. As a consequence of this teaching, the sacraments were denied to actors who refused to repudiate their profession, and in France at least their burial was as the burial of a dog. This was at that time the sentence of the Church upon those whose lives were spent in adding to the sum of human enjoyment, in scattering the clouds of despondency, and charming away the weariness of the jaded mind. And now, after years of struggle for recognition, sometimes even for actual existence, we find the position of the actor is assured, and the stage is a power in the land. If there is much to regret in connection with stage-life, there is also much to admire; the leaders of the profession have set us a splendid example of charity in its noblest form.

Here ready to hand is an amusement at once intellectual, instructive, and amusing. Are we to avail ourselves of it, or are we not? That is a question that each must answer for himself; but let us be careful that we do not stamp as wrong what in itself is not wrong; and while we lay down our own rules for our own guidance, let us give to others the same freedom in this respect we demand for ourselves. Then as with the theatre, so with dancing. Dancing in times that are past has been very roundly condemned, and if there are any at the present day still inclined to look askance at what ought to be, and generally is, an innocent and exhilarating amusement, let him learn from the author of "Ten years in a Portsmouth Slum" how valuable an assistant dancing was to him in the noble work to which he devoted so many years of his life. He shall tell his own story in his own words. He says, "We had excellent clubs for boys, excellent clubs for girls, and then just when you thought you had got hold of them, your influence weakened; soon they disappeared, and the reason was perfectly natural—they had begun to walk out. At last the suggestion was made, why should they not dance? The girls had already learnt in their own clubs; but, excellent and good-natured as our girls are, we feared it would be putting their kindness to a hard test to ask them to become instructors, especially as all our men could not bring dancing-pumps. And though a hobnailed boot is very useful for most men's daily work, it was not a pleasant reminder to a partner that she was good-natured enough to be dancing for the purpose of teaching someone else to dance; so I cleared out my dining-room one or two nights a week, and we taught the men, as my sisters had taught the girls, and now for the last five years our dancing class has been one of the most valuable of our parish institutions. It is extraordinary the difference which this has effected in the manners of our people. It has given one the most happy opportunity of enabling boys and girls to meet naturally together; and I am more and more convinced by experience that one of the greatest causes of sin in places like ours is this want."

In conclusion, if there is cause for deep anxiety in some of the tendencies of modern times, is there not cause for congratulation

in others? The wealthy and leisured classes have more time on their hands, and it is only by early training and example that those who come after us can be led to take a wise view of their duties and their responsibilities in the employment of their leisure hours. But we have awoke to the fact that space and opportunity for recreation and improvement is a vital necessity for the welfare of the toiling masses of the people. Public bodies and private individuals vie with each other to promote the interests of the people in this respect. Open spaces, public parks, and free libraries mark the advance that has been made—here is a tendency to be fostered and encouraged—the foundation for sound recreation and healthy amusement, which must prove of inestimable value to the generations that are yet to come.

"Ideal parks, ideal shade,
Lay out with lavish hand,
And teach the souls you strive to aid
To live and understand."

G. ROWLAND HILL, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Rugby
Football Union, Greenwich.

I VENTURE to-day to trouble you with only a few remarks with reference to athletics, because it has fallen to my fortunate lot to have had the honour to be identified, for a great number of years now, with one of the great branches of our national sports. I naturally feel a little nervous in speaking of athletics before a body of people so largely composed of ladies; but I am encouraged in doing so by the fact that I observe that year after year women are themselves taking a great deal more interest in athletics. I notice now that they are becoming wonderful bicyclers and wonderful golf-players, and so I hope that they will be as willing to listen as men to some remarks upon athletics generally.

I would like in the first place to carry your minds back a few years. It is quite within my memory that athletics were taken part in only by the middle and upper classes. But gradually a new movement has developed, and I am delighted to see that the great mass of the working classes now take a part in or an interest in our different outdoor sports. Anyone who now reads the reports in the press of these sports must be surprised at the marvellous amount of time and space that the press now gives to the consideration of athletics. Anyone who notices the tremendous crowds that turn up to watch our matches cannot help realizing that here there is one of the most powerful social factors of the present day. Only last Saturday at Liverpool forty-six thousand people paid for admission to watch a football match. This shows the love and affection there is among the people for the game.

Now, in my humble judgment, this is a factor for good or evil. It never entered into my head that I should have to speak of some of the evils that arise from this intense interest in our games, but I am bitterly disappointed with a certain movement of the present day. I hate with an undying hatred the movement for professionalism in the game. Let me analyze what it means at the present day. In many districts it makes the game purely a matter of commercial speculation. A body of men are managing them who have never taken part in our great sports themselves,

and who know little at all about them or about the great traditions of our games, and who are utterly unfitted to guide the destinies of our great sports. What is the outcome of this? It is this, that if you go to some of our great grounds, where you have enormous "gates," you see the lookers-on misbehaving themselves, and referees and umpires hooted for the decisions given. All that arose from the impure and unholy practice of professionalism in playing our games. There is no doubt about it that to-day a warning note is wanted to be given that the position of athletic sports in this country is not so perfect as it might be. How does this system of professionalism act upon the individual player, for it is he who has my particular sympathy? I am no enemy to the working classes, and I am not attacking them, but the abuse of the thing is apparent. What, then, is the position? Many a young working-lad, earning a few shillings a week, is induced to leave his employment to go to some town to play football with a promise that not only will he get employment, but that he will be given good payment for playing football. He is taken away from his genuine work, and is only kept at football as long as he can play the game well; and then he is told to go back to Scotland or wherever he may have come from and find employment as best he can. What is his condition? He has wasted the best years of his life; he has learned habits utterly opposed to industry; and I believe that those who have taken the trouble to watch the future of the professional football player will most heartily endorse what I have said to-day, that this is one of the evils of professional football playing.

There are one or two other points which I would like to attack, on which, however, some people may not agree with me. I will refer to them if it is only with the desire to induce the working classes to see that it is harmful to receive money for play in these popular sports. We must be logical throughout in this matter: and therefore I attack two great events of the present day—the testimonial to Dr. Grace, and the payment of the Australian cricketers. Why was Dr. Grace given £10,000? I ask you to look at the example thus set. The testimonial was got up and promoted by the greatest cricketing authority of the world. But why was Dr. Grace given £10,000? Was it because he was an amateur cricketer? You cannot give a man £10,000 and call him an amateur cricketer. I do not attack Dr. Grace for receiving it. It would be against human nature if he had not received it, but I do attack the system which permitted it. As to the Australian cricketers, we, of course, all swarmed to see them, and we were very much annoyed when we heard that some of our professional cricketers practically struck. I will not enter into the merits of the case, but the men had this one good point in their favour, that if the Australian cricketers were to be permitted to come over here to practically divide the gates, how could the professional cricketers help saying to themselves, "This is a commercial speculation, we must have a proper share." I would particularly commend these remarks to the clergy present. Many of you have been brought up at the great public schools, where you played our games according to our best and grandest traditions; and what I say to you is this, if you would enter into the sports of your working class people, I believe that you should help them to keep the sports of the nation pure,

and add to your own power and influence over all classes in the country.

DISCUSSION.

W. P. FULLAGAR, Esq., Bolton.

I SHOULD not have ventured to address a meeting like the present had I not felt very strongly that there is one side of this subject of recreation which I think in a meeting of Churchmen should not be lost sight of, and it is this, that I fear there is growing up an undue exaltation of recreation. It is seen in the increased holidays given to our boys and girls at schools. We see it in the fact that our young men seem to have but one thought in life, namely, the love of cricket, of golf, of tennis, or of football. We see it in our working classes, who are willing to be coerced by Act of Parliament into more limited time for work ; and I think that this exaltation of recreation is attended by serious and sad evils, which we, as Churchpeople and as Christians, ought to look into and set our faces against as strongly as possible. The true idea of recreation is, of course, a refreshment which comes to us after the strain of work. Work is our first duty in life. We are not put into the world to play, but to work ; and just in the same sense as children who indulge too largely in sweet things upset their digestion and cannot enjoy the wholesome things that strengthen the physical system, so is it, I think, with too much recreation and play. That "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy" is true ; but too much play upsets the mental system, and makes those who indulge in it too much lose their appetite for the higher employments and more important business of life, and for those more healthful and soul-strengthening obligations and enjoyments which we all desire that they should follow out and enjoy. I take it that the true idea of recreation is that shadowed forth by the words of the Psalmist, when he said, "He shall drink of the brook by the way : *therefore* shall he lift up his head." It is not the long draughts of recreation that refresh, but it is the sips of it after work—the half-holidays at the end of the week, and the rest of the Sunday after the week's toil is over. Let us bear in mind more and more that recreation is not the main purpose of life. I believe that the neglect of Sunday at the present time arises from the too great love of pleasure. People are not content with the old half-holiday at the end of the week, but must have a full holiday, and also turn the Sunday into a day for playing golf, tennis, and other games. Therefore I say to all, and especially to the clergy, that it is our duty to point out to the people that the same commandment which gives us a day of rest and worship also enjoins that six days we shall labour, and that the only true way of living our life and the life God has given us is by doing the work which He has appointed us to do, making it our first object, and then, and then only, when life is ended, we shall be able to look forward in the confident hope of enjoying that only true and everlasting rest which remaineth for the people of God.

The Right Rev. W. WALSHAM HOW, D.D., Lord Bishop
of Wakefield.

I DESIRE to say a few words with regard to the great question of the purifying of literature. We have been for a very long time aware of a terribly foul stream of debasing and demoralizing literature which has been finding its way, generally secretly, into almost all the parishes in our land. I can remember that when I was quite a young clergyman this fact impressed itself upon my notice with the greatest force, and made me feel that it was necessary that the Church should do all in its power to counteract the evil amongst our working classes. But is this question one only for the working classes and the poor ? What shall we say about the literature in the drawing-rooms of the wealthy, and about the literature that falls, almost without our knowledge, into the hands of our boys and girls ? I am only going to touch upon one point, but I do want to speak very seriously upon it. The simple foulness of some of our best advertised and most largely read novels is notorious. I am not going to mention names ; it would not be at all wise to do so ; but it is simply terrible to find some of our ablest men—but is it only men ?—with splendid talents, degrading their gifts by the production of books which are an offence and

disgust to every moral and modest and religious feeling. I should not have risen to say this—which I fear is too obvious to need saying—were it not that I have a suggestion to make in regard to it. We are now-a-days becoming more and more dependent for our reading upon our lending libraries. My experience is that our lending libraries to a great extent regulate the reading of a vast number of our people. In many cases the people—nay, we ourselves, very often—do not know what to ask for or order, and those who do know what to ask for do not always get it, and the lending libraries then send us just what they please. There came into my house in this way a volume with which my son was so hurt and offended on account of its monstrous impurity, that he wrote to Messrs. Smith, from whose library it came, telling them what sort of book it was. He was informed in answer that the book had been put on their shelves without any actual knowledge of its contents, and that it would be immediately withdrawn. Then there was another case. One of our most popular illustrated papers had not very long ago a serial tale which no modest girl ought to have read without blushes; a tale so horribly offensive that I myself wrote to the same publishers about it. I asked whether it was possible for them to withdraw such a book from their library; but I am sorry to say that the answer in this case was different, and was in effect that the book was far too popular and too well-known to be withdrawn. Now, my suggestion is this. Could not there be a high class lending library in our land over which a true and careful censorship should be exercised? I know it would be very difficult to do. Mr. Smith himself told me it would be a very difficult task. But if we knew that we could trust a certain library, and could rely upon it that from that library there would never be sent a book which we should be sorry to put into the hands of our boys and girls, then—although I dare say there would be some who might curl a scornful lip—I believe there are thousands of heads of families who would welcome such a library, and who would always support it.

Lieut.-Col. W. L. B. COULSON, Newbrough Park,
Northumberland.

I HAVE great pleasure, as a member of the Humanitarian League, to appear at this meeting to put before you one phase of the recreations and amusements question that I do not think has been touched upon here at all, and that is, that I think there are too many mean and cowardly amusements indulged in at the expense of animals. I know very well the many reasons and arguments urged in extenuation of that lust for taking life which we all of us, more or less, appear to possess. I have myself been always a straight and, I trust, a thoughtful sportsman; but there has come into our midst a degraded form of recreation that I think this great meeting of Churchmen ought to be the first and foremost to condemn. We are told that these sorts of amusements make us manly; but I have ever failed to see how the strong pitted against the weak, how the armed pitted against the unarmed, or how numbers pitted against one, can ever bring out any real manly characteristic. I know how strong is the fascination. A salmon fisher, whenever he sees a river where he knows that salmon dwell, becomes in an instant an altered character. His nerves twitch, he loses his speech, he becomes utterly indifferent to what you are saying. So with hunting. A gentleman rode up to a great friend of mine in the hunting field, just when the wretched fox—the one against the hundred—was nearing its end, and he said: "How glorious this is; I believe this is the sort of life we shall be living in heaven." I think it would be much more honest if we were to say that we like those recreations, which we do, than to pretend that we like them because they do for us great things, which I myself think is more than doubtful. I have seen a whole number of men, players and spectators alike, deserting a football match to chase a poor wretched rabbit which for the moment had eluded its vicious, cruel, half-tipsy tormentors. Now there are few things more manly than football and cricket, and I think we ought to try and bring ourselves more into taking part in that sort of pastime than in those which consist in torturing creatures that cannot protect themselves. I know that creatures that run and fly and swim must be obtained, and the question in my mind is not so much that they are obtained, but how they are obtained. But how is it possible that a tinge of manliness can be produced by those miserable battues where hundreds of pheasants are shot down day after day, and left in scores wounded in the woods until the keepers have time to go round and pick them up. Where is the

manliness of pigeon-shooting, of closed rabbit-coursing, or of tame stag-hunting, when the poor creature's horns, its only means of defence, have been shorn off. Ladies, too, are to blame in this. Will the ladies let me say a word to them without offence? I am not ashamed to confess that I am an admirer of the ladies, and that I would turn back from the gates of paradise itself if I were told that women were not within, because I know that they are the backbone, the mainstay, of most that is noble and good in the land. But there are exceptions. A picture lately appeared in the *London Weekly Graphic* that I think ought to have brought a blush of shame over every right thinking person's face. It showed a number of men, women, and children, the ladies with their petticoats above their knees, watching the torture and the drowning agonies of an otter. If sports make us so manly, how is it that so many ladies, I will not call them gentlewomen, take part in such exhibitions? I believe myself that some of our sports are becoming degraded, and are proving the ruin of those who engage in them. They may be interesting and exciting—but are we never, in connection with them, to think of what is right? Do let us all try to put all our force into the manly sports and recreations to which two of the speakers have alluded this afternoon. We may all do something.

“ Do what we can,
Being what we are,
See we are the glow-worm
If we can't be the star.

“ Try to be the pulley
If we can't be the crane,
And be the wheel greaser
If we can't be the train.”

STEPHEN BOURNE, Esq., 5, Lansdown Road, Lec, S.E.

I SHOULD not have had the temerity to place myself before you if it had not been for a motive of which I am sure you will all approve, and a fact to which many on this platform can bear testimony. That motive is a desire to endorse to the full extent almost all that has been said by the preceding speakers. The fact is that I have had long experience with circumstances favourable to the acquisition of much knowledge on the subjects now under consideration. There are evils hidden under the extravagance of the present age to which no attention has been drawn by the speakers; and one of the greatest evils resulting from the present day extravagance is the deferring of matrimony beyond the age at which matrimony ought to be entered upon. The young men of the present day—and the ladies are not free from their share of the blame—do not like to start married life in an inferior position, or upon a lower scale than that which their parents are occupying. If I could assemble in a room as large as this a meeting as great, but composed only of matrons of mature age from all classes of society, to discuss this point, to whom I could reveal facts which I cannot refer to in a meeting of this kind, I think I could convince them of the untold evils that result from the habits that young men form, the company they seek, and the extravagance they incur by deferring marriage. I by no means say that it is the destiny of all to marry; but I do say that the highest and noblest object that could be presented for a young man's ambition is to become the father of a family with a partner of the joys and the sorrows of his life. Another evil of the extravagance of the present day is that it diverts money from its proper employment. I noticed only to-day a statement in a newspaper that the carpet in one room of a house now being furnished by a modern millionaire was to cost £10,000. When I think of the history of how the money for that carpet was acquired, when I cast my eyes over the country and see, for instance, how many a clergyman's income has been stinted to assist in paying for that carpet, and how many other people's means have been sunk in the speculations which have formed the fortune of the gentleman of whom I speak, I cannot but think that there is something wrong in such extravagance. It also diverts money from lawful trade, it encourages intoxication, it promotes dissoluteness to an enormous extent, it tends to the corruption of the best portion of our young people, and even the young women are demoralized by it. The prevailing tendency of this age with all classes of society appears to me to be the crave for amusement. Too much time, too much money, and too much strength are being squandered upon amusements. I happen to know a great deal about the worst side of London, and I know that much

of the entertainment provided in the music halls is of a most debasing kind ; not only so, but in many cases they are so absolutely foolish that one can only wonder at the absence or the degradation of intellect which enables people to find amusement in such places and in such ways. Our novels also are full of the seeds of evil. Many of the novels that find their way into the drawing-rooms of our higher classes, but which are read as largely by seamstresses and shop girls, import knowledge which is not desirable, and such works ought to be expelled from our homes. It was my pleasure to know the late Mr. W. H. Smith, and I can say that a man more desirous of carrying on his trade upon right principles I never found. But I regret to say that even in the case of his firm the popularity of a work (to which one of the speakers has referred) has its influence, and that such is the exigency of trade requirements that even on a Sunday morning you can buy at the station bookstalls in London some of the worst periodicals published in that city. That shows how great is the difficulty of carrying on trade upon entirely honest or conscientious principles. I would in conclusion implore this audience, clerical and lay, male and female, to realize and believe that this is one of the most important subjects which can engage our attention.

MUSIC HALL.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD in the Chair.

1. THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE CLERGY :

THE CENTRAL SUSTENTATION FUND.

2. THE STATUS OF THE UNBENEFICED CLERGY.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

ACCORDING to the programme, the first paper was to have been by Lord Egerton of Tatton, to whom we owe so much as the chairman of this new Sustentation Fund, to say nothing of other debts to him. I am sorry to have to announce that owing to an accident—an accident from which we trust he will very soon recover—he is not able to be present, but he has sent his paper to Mr. Blakiston, who will be good enough to read it.

PAPERS.

The Right Hon. the LORD EGERTON OF TATTON,
Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire.

(Read by the Rev. R. M. Blakiston.)

AT the Leicester Congress in 1880, I endeavoured to deal with the existing state of Church Finance. Since that time much has been done to extend the Diocesan Finance Associations which were started in Chester diocese by the late Mr. Banner and myself, but the diocesan associations for raising funds on behalf of inadequately endowed incumbencies have not extended so rapidly as to make my present appeal to you unnecessary.

At the last Congress at Norwich, the Dean of Norwich promulgated a

scheme for the sustentation of the clergy, and went fully into the statistics of the poor livings. I need only say that the present condition of a large number of the clergy is a disgrace to the parochial system, admirable though it be, and has been aggravated by the large depreciation of tithes and the decreasing value of the glebes; besides, owing to agricultural depression, the burden of rates and taxes fall in undue proportion upon their diminished incomes. The agricultural interest, which has hitherto supported all the local claims of the Church, has suffered in many parts as much as the clergy, and is unable to give further assistance. The clergy, who have hitherto given largely of their private incomes to support the schools and assist the poor, in many cases cannot support their own families, or give their children an education suitable to their position. The alternative is one which we must all deprecate. We neither desire our clergy to be of a lower social standing, nor to avoid improvident marriages by an enforced celibacy. Various remedies have lately been advocated in the Press to palliate this distress—the re-arrangement of clerical revenues, or "*robbing Peter to pay Paul*"; the amalgamation of livings; the transfer of public patronage to private patrons; but all are inadequate to go to the root of the evil, even if some of them could be carried out. The legislation of the past Session, while affording some relief by the postponement of charges due to Queen Anne's Bounty, and by reducing the land tax on glebes, has not dealt with the reduction of rates on clerical incomes.

The Church has been accustomed to rely too much on the liberality of past generations, and has not hitherto paid sufficient attention to the duty of systematic offerings for Church purposes. The endowments of the past have been drawn mainly from real property; in the future they must largely depend on the personal property or accumulated wealth which has now largely been distributed through all classes of the community, especially in our large towns. Millions have been spent since the beginning of the century in building churches and schools—all honour to those who have thus emulated the piety of their forefathers—but comparatively little has been done beyond the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Queen Anne's Bounty Board, and some private societies, to stimulate the endowment of the living agents of the Church. It will not bear comparison with what has been done by other religious bodies who have no ancient endowments, such as the Free Kirk in Scotland, which, from its published balance sheet of subscriptions for all Church purposes, has raised nearly a million annually, amounting to nearly thirteen shillings per head of its professed members. Nor has it attempted to emulate the machinery of the Church of Rome for raising large sums by the small contributions of the faithful; or of the Wesleyans, who from the commencement of the movement advocated the collection of small sums by contributions of one penny per week from its members.

One of the causes of our livings being inadequately endowed dates as far back as the Reformation, when the tithes, which had been in the hands of the Religious Houses, were confiscated by the Crown, and given either to laymen, colleges, or ecclesiastical appropriators; so that at least a million and a half of tithes have been diverted from their original purposes. It has been estimated that through the action of Parliament and the

Ecclesiastical Commissioners about £130,000 a year has been restored, and it is to be hoped that lay impropiators may do more than they have hitherto done; but that would not meet the case of many of the small livings created since the Reformation.

It has been calculated that an annual income of about a million a year would be required to raise all our poor benefices to £250 a year, and that four millions of persons giving five shillings a year would produce that sum. It is not unreasonable to suppose that with a complete organization in every parish such a sum could be raised among Churchmen, especially as I am credibly informed that it is not unusual for a Scotch shepherd to give as much as four shillings a quarter towards his Free Kirk.

This parochial organization must be part of a large diocesan scheme, working by rural deaneries and archdeaconries. Such a scheme has been drawn up by the Norwich Diocesan Sustentation Fund, and should be adopted by every diocese which is affiliated to the new body. The central body, to which I would specially call your attention, is the outcome of a committee appointed by the two archbishops. It has drawn up a scheme which has been approved by them and issued to the public by a commendatory letter addressed to the Church and people of England, as one likely to "elicit from loyal laymen the support required for the promotion of the Church's efficiency."

The governing body will be a Board of laymen, under the patronage of the archbishops and bishops. They will be elected three from each diocese. Subject to the control of this Board, the fund will be managed by an executive committee of forty-two laymen. Of these, six will be nominated by each of the two archbishops, and the remaining thirty will be elected by the Board. As it is impossible to start at once with a complete elected body, thirty original members, approved by the two archbishops, together with the twelve nominees of the archbishops, will act as the first executive committee, and of these latter one-third will retire annually the first three years, but will be eligible for re-election.

The fund will work in this way. Appeals will be made to bring home to every Churchman and Churchwoman the duty of contributing to the support of those whose spiritual ministrations they enjoy, and each diocese will be moved to affiliate itself by a diocesan branch to the central body. This has already been done in several dioceses. The money collected will be distributed according to the needs of the various dioceses, which will be brought before it by those affiliated to it, and who will have representatives on the Board. The affiliated dioceses will contribute their quota to the fund, which has been fixed as one-fifth of the annual disposable income of the diocese for that purpose. It has been thought desirable that the grant should be given *en bloc* to the affiliated dioceses, rather than the committee should take the responsibility of allocating the grants to individual cases, as greater local knowledge would be required than they could well obtain. Any sum, however, especially handed over to them for distribution for any kindred purpose would be administered by them. The grant would otherwise be allocated annually according to the funds at their disposal. No money would be given for permanent endowment of benefices unless specially devoted by the donors for that purpose.

It has long been felt that the sustentation of the clergy is a work

which the Church should undertake in her corporate capacity, and not hand over to a purely voluntary society. It is to be hoped that this Lay Representative body will supply this want, and be able to act as a treasurer for the financial needs of the clergy of whatever character.

The advantages of such a scheme are :—

(1) It will not disturb any existing organizations which are doing their work. The Additional Curates and Pastoral Aid Societies, as well as all diocesan organizations, will be supplemented and partakers of its benefits.

(2) It will be comprehensive in its nature, and will look after the pennies as well as the pounds. It will endeavour to bring this home to the working man, as one who has an equal share in the benefits of the National Church, and whose right to a seat in his parish church cannot be disputed.

(3) It will cover the whole field of the labourers in Christ's vineyard : though it commences with an appeal for the beneficed clergy, the unbeneficed are not excluded from its care.

The recommendations requisite to complete the machinery for the proper working of this fund are : (1) As the endowment of poor livings must be largely dependent on the support of the parishioners, and as the incumbent cannot himself beg for an increase of his own endowment, the Churchwardens should take the initiative, and form a Church finance committee in every parish to collect funds in small sums by personal canvass, either for the Church purposes of the parish, or for the general Church purposes of home or foreign missions, according to the wishes of the donors. (2) The revival of Easter offerings, which has already been largely successful, should be made universal. (3) Under the auspices of the new body, a "*National Queen Victoria Fund*," beginning with subscriptions of one shilling upwards, should be inaugurated as a lasting monument of her Majesty's long and prosperous reign. This will keep alive the remembrance of our beloved sovereign Queen Victoria, even more vividly than that of good Queen Anne by her Bounty to the Church, which has been the nucleus of a larger and much more important fund.

I have endeavoured to give a forecast of the work of the Clergy Sustentation Fund, and it only remains to me to urge all Churchmen to respond to the appeal which will shortly be made, by forming in every diocese, in every rural deanery, in every parish, such organizations as will produce a substantial support to this much needed scheme, and rescue the Church of England from the charge of neglecting to make proper provision for the temporal wants of her clergy.

ATHELSTAN RILEY, Esq., Member of the Executive Committee
of the Clergy Sustentation Fund ; M. L. S. B.

THE impoverishment of the clergy was discussed at the late Congress held in Norwich, and it would be idle to enlarge upon facts which are well known to all. If matters were bad in 1895, they are worse in 1896 : the tithe has fallen still further, and with the tithe the fortunes of the country clergy. To put the position plainly, an incumbent in 1895 could only claim £73 13s. 0½d. for every £100 of nominal income ;

this year the amount will be but £71 9s. 6¼d. I say advisedly, *claim*, for what he will receive from hardly-pressed and bankrupt tithe-payers is quite another matter. The special distress fund administered by the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, which was opened in 1887 (when tithes had depreciated only 13½ per cent.), exhausted in 1891 and re-opened in 1893, is again spent, and a permanent Clergy Sustentation Fund has now been organized, under the chairmanship of Lord Egerton of Tatton, upon a plan approved by the archbishops of both provinces. Its object is not only to supplement and extend the existing diocesan organizations, but, what is more important, to impress upon the laity the absolute duty of contributing towards the support of those set over them in the Lord, and of seeing that the dispensers of the mysteries of God are not involved in temporal want.

This fund has been founded by a committee of laymen, and it is well that in matters of this sort the laity should be addressed by those of their own order. Laymen who talk pompously about the rights of those who hold the purse-strings may be recommended by their brother laymen to satisfy themselves by an examination of any charity list that those strings are very cautiously unloosed; that out of their poverty the clergy not only contribute individually beyond all comparison with the individual laymen, but that the disproportion is so great that it has been recently computed that half our charitable funds are provided by the limited body of the clergy. Be this as it may, it is certain that in appealing for assistance for the English clergy we are appealing on behalf of the most generous of men.

The income of the central fund will be devoted to annual grants in sustentation of the clergy; the permanent endowment of benefices being subsidiary to the main scope of the institution. Whilst it is undeniable that there are benefices which are permanently inadequate, and which have a claim upon private and local effort for their augmentation, yet there are good reasons, I venture to think, against any central effort being made to increase the value of English livings.

In spite of agricultural depression, the English priesthood is still by far the richest in the world; it is at least unlikely, except in the case of predatory legislation, that ecclesiastical property will fall in value until the average income of an English incumbent is as low as that of a parish priest in any other country.

Why, then, are so many of our clergy in financial difficulties? We all know the answer. In the first place they are, as a rule, married men, often by mere pressure of artificial circumstances. If all the English clergy were celibate, clerical poverty would be simply non-existent. Go through the lists of grants made by the different societies, the proportion of unmarried clergy in distress is infinitesimal, and in these cases it will generally be found that the unfortunate single men are burdened with the maintenance or dilapidations of a large and expensive house, if not of mortgages on the benefice to build stables or nurseries for which they have no use. Secondly, the clergy are attached to the upper ranks of society, and are compelled to maintain their families and educate their children accordingly. In country districts, especially during the present century, they have become a kind of ecclesiastical squirearchy; the prosperous times have receded,

and they are left high and dry in big parsonages and amidst biting cares.

Now in what I am about to say I am anxious not to be misunderstood. It would be an evil day for England when her nobility and gentry ceased to furnish recruits for her ministry; nobody, again, who has any regard for what is practicable in this country would suggest as a remedy for our present ills a return to an universal and compulsory celibacy. But new conditions of work demand changes in organization; and in relieving the existing necessities of the clergy we must be careful not to perpetuate any conditions which will hinder the Church's growth or the adaptation of her resources to her needs.

The population of England is multiplying at a rate which is unhappily far beyond the present increase of the means of evangelization. Only a few weeks ago one of our Church papers published an appalling description of the spiritual condition of a great northern town,—a population of 90,000 with but eighteen clergy in all to minister to it. Go to the centres of our mining industries; go to the metropolitan dioceses of London, Rochester, S. Albans; go where you will amongst our great towns, and the cry is the same—more money; but, above all, and it is to this I want to draw your attention—*more men*. How are we to get them? The vocations amongst the upper classes of society are limited. Are there no men from the lower classes who have received the call from God? The need is imperative. No plea of social custom or convenience can weigh with us for an instant. Again, is there no special advantage in clergy recruited from the masses and specially trained—and such men would need a special training—to fit them for their calling? What is the reproach of the Church of England? That she alone amongst the Churches of Christendom is not the Church of the poor. How are we to regain the poor? There is another pressing question—how are we to maintain the Christian character of the nation in her institutions and laws, now that political power has been transferred to a democracy out of touch with the Church, and largely indifferent, if not hostile, to revealed religion? Much has been done by the devotion of our existing clergy; men of gentle birth have turned aside in hundreds from preferment and the paths of pleasantness to live simply, even hardly, amidst the squalor of their poor flocks. But what power for good would men have who, sprung from the people, and entering the priesthood with no intention of forgetting their humble origin, should go amongst working men and women with no other distinction than that stamped upon them by the Holy Ghost! Ah, it will be said, you advocate a peasant clergy. Not at all. The Catholic Church, it is true, is the Church of the fishermen, of the tent-makers, of the Carpenter, but there is a place for all in her service, and no particular branch of the Church can be in a normal state, or thoroughly in touch with the nation to which she ministers, if she does not draw her priesthood from every rank.

And so with marriage. May not the difficulties into which license has led us cause us to take a calm and unprejudiced view of the situation? We have confessedly departed from the primitive traditions of the English Church: for whether we ascribe our origin to the Roman missionaries on the one hand, or to the British missionaries on the other, these traditions cannot be twisted by any possibility into

acquiescence in clerical matrimony, and are probably wholly on the side of absolute celibacy. But do we realize that in leaving bishops, priests, and deacons free to marry at pleasure after Ordination, and that even twice or thrice, we have produced a condition of things in the Anglican Communion for which we can find no parallel in the annals of that Christian antiquity to which we professedly appeal—a condition of things which would cause Epiphanius, and Chrysostom, and Basil, and Jerome, and every great saint in primitive Christendom, if they were with us now, to start with horror?

Are we aware that at the present day we may search in vain throughout Christendom for another Church which, having the three-fold ministry, is destitute of all restrictions upon the marriage of persons in Holy Orders? and that in the Eastern Communion, justly quoted as an instance of a Church which has never enforced celibacy except upon her bishops, the discipline which was stated in the year 325, at the great Council of Nicæa, to have existed in the Christian Church from the beginning, is still strictly maintained? Is it possible to go beyond this? We have reached even stranger depths. Whilst in theory each Anglican ecclesiastic is left free to marry or not as he “shall judge the same to serve better to godliness,” we have surrounded the clergy with conditions that frequently leave them no option. Many a poor incumbent who might have lived comfortably and usefully amongst his parishioners in a cottage in his village street has been forced into matrimony, not by any considerations of godliness, but by the insupportable dreariness of a great and empty house; with the result that he has dragged out the rest of his existence in penury, the pensioner of some clerical benevolent society, to whose care he is forced to leave his widow and his children; a burden to himself and to the Church while he lives, a burden still to the Church after his decease. It is as much an insult to the English laity to insinuate that they as a body desire such a state of things as it is to the English clergy to suggest that thus alone can their moral condition be maintained.

The problem before us is two-fold. We have to provide a remedy for present ills, and such is the aim of the new Sustentation Fund. Before our eyes are the suffering clergy and their suffering families; their necessities *must* be relieved, without hesitation and without delay. Secondly, in the application of this remedy we must not allow it to be suspected that by our methods we are developing, or even perpetuating the causes of those ills we seek to relieve, or that we are hindering the adaptation of the Church's machinery to modern needs. We must not deprive the Church of the services of those who desire to undertake the sacred duties of her ministry, but who feel that they have not been called to celibacy. On the other hand, we may well place before candidates for Holy Orders the vast opportunities for good to be found in the life of the unmarried clergy. Many a great town can exhibit the missionary power of groups of priests and deacons living together in clergy house or settlement, harassed by no family cares, able to devote their whole thought and energy to the task of saving souls. “A single life,” says Lord Bacon in his *Essays*, “doth well with Churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool.” And whilst colleges of clergy will not be found so useful in the country—though even here something of the kind may be found advantageous,

when circumstances admit of the grouping of poor benefices, or other concentration of the Church's resources—we may at least see that no insuperable obstacle is placed in the way of those clergy who are anxious to live with only their parish for their family, who are ready and able, in the words of our blessed Lord, to “make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.” One word of caution in conclusion. No sudden and violent changes in the Church's system will be productive of good. Revolution is rarely justified in temporal affairs; its consequences in spiritual are always disastrous.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I ought to have mentioned that Mr. Athelstan Riley is a member of the Executive Committee of the Clergy Sustentation Fund, and I have now to call upon one of the treasurers, Mr. W. S. de Winton.

WILFRID S. DE WINTON, Esq., of Haverfordwest, a Member of the Canterbury House of Laymen:

A LETTER signed “Perplexed,” which appeared in the *Times* of 1st September last, runs thus: “I have lately had occasion to advertise for some servants, and was advised to do so in the *Church Times*. The answers I received have been a revelation to me, for most of them were from clergymen's daughters, and all more or less in the same style.—‘My father is the vicar of this parish.’ ‘I am a rector's daughter,’ etc. And then, ‘My father can no longer afford to keep us at home.’ ‘I have had no education, as my father could not afford it, and so can only hope to get a place as a servant.’”

Let us remember that this refers to the clergy of the Church of England, whose laity are the richest in Christendom, but who in no less than 4,173 cases allow their beneficed clergy to live or starve—they do not enquire which—on an official income of less than £200 a year.

I am glad to notice that the first of the objects of the new clergy sustentation movement is not to raise a central fund, but “to impress upon all the members of the Church of England the clearly defined Christian duty of contributing to the support of the clergy.” To elicit contributions directly towards the new sustentation fund is only a secondary, and, in my judgment, a much less important duty.

The sad truth remains that it has never occurred to 999 out of every 1,000 laymen that they are in the last degree responsible for the sustentation of their clergy. I was scarcely surprised to read the following answer from a layman—a barrister, a man well connected, and on most subjects well informed—to whose notice this subject was brought. It was to the following effect: “It is absurd to argue from Dissenters to Churchmen in this matter—we belong to a State Church—if the State pays the clergy insufficiently, it is the State's duty, not ours, to supplement the support they gave.”! Faultless logic, indeed, but somewhat faulty premises! We used to think and say the same about our Churches (on Church rates and pew rents we used to rely), and fifty years ago it was thought a novel and Quixotic idea to build or restore a

Church by voluntary contributions. But we have been taught better, largely owing to the beneficent, if not always benevolent, attacks of our Liberationist opponents. May their efforts continue, provided they just stop short of the success they desire.

It has often been said of the clergy that they are the only class who work, although they know they are paid the same whether they work or not; but I do not know whether the still more striking fact has ever been commented on that they continue to work although they are aware that the better they work the less they are paid: for during the last twenty years, concurrently with the continually improving volume and quality of their service, their incomes have been steadily and systematically diminishing, owing to the fall in the value of tithe and glebe. It is not so long ago—most of those here can remember it—that it was not one black-sheep, or rather shepherd, that disgraced the country side, but one bright example rather of pastoral life and energy that shone out as a contrast to the slovenliness and worldliness of the ministerial standard of the neighbourhood. Even within my own memory, when the subject of clerical unworthiness was under discussion, each person present thought of one of his own neighbours, and each of a different one, but to-day, although we all talk of such scandals when we meet, it is usually the same isolated case that is in the minds of all who join in the discussion.

But what recognition of this have we laymen shown? We have sat tamely by and allowed our clergy to receive £72 for each £112 they received twenty years ago, and have not raised a finger to help them!

But what can we do? We can do what the Free Kirk of Scotland has done, which provides an average income of £300 a year and a house for its ministers. We can do what the Diocese of Liverpool has done in raising up a sustentation fund which will bring up all their benefices to £300 a year—and may I remark, in passing, that our premier diocese in this respect is small, compact, and recently formed, and shows that the surest road to clergy sustentation, as to every form of Church extension, is by the division of unwieldy dioceses, which are incapable of diffusing a diocesan spirit, as an antidote to parochial selfishness and exclusiveness. Without something like county dioceses it is almost impossible to persuade parishes to take a fitting interest in each other. May I thank our President for the expression of his hope that Shropshire may ere long form a county diocese?

Then we laymen can see that no parish is without its annual Easter-offering for its clergyman, which he can, when he does not require it for his own use, forward to the diocesan or Central Clergy Sustentation Fund.

In the Diocese of Chichester, one of our few ancient county dioceses, Easter-offerings are the rule in nearly one-third of its 383 parishes. At Easter in the present year these realized £5,500, averaging about £60 for town, and £20 for country, churches. In its rural parishes the system has been only recently started, but in one such the sum contributed has steadily increased from £14 to £60 in four years.

To me the indirect advantage of this seems almost more important than the immediate one of increasing the incumbent's income. I mean that it will tend so much to the creation of sympathy between the clergy and their people. We laymen hitherto have not shown our best side to the clergy. Where rights and privileges are concerned, we insist quite

truly that the clergy and the Church are not synonymous terms, and say unpleasant things about the way we are not consulted; but when duties and responsibilities have to be considered we suddenly become models of modesty, and are unwilling even to appear to meddle in what is, we say, the parson's concern, not ours. Only thirty years ago, a wealthy layman on being asked by a newly-appointed vicar to help him to pay off a debt of some hundreds of pounds incurred by his predecessor for the restoration of the Church which the layman attended, said, "Why don't you pay it yourself?" Yet the benefice was worth about £300 a year, and the vicar had but slender private means. This was thirty years ago. We do not say this sort of thing now, we have learned better; but we think it, or, anyhow, act as if we thought it.

If a new church has to be built in a populous district, it is the clergyman who has to beg personally for contributions, and often to guarantee the unpaid balance. With our Nonconformist neighbours this is fitly done by the deacons, who do not expect their minister to serve tables. When a debt is incurred, even for an urgent work, we throw stones at our clergyman for being unbusiness-like, and expecting us to pay for what he has, against our better judgment, found it necessary to order.

We forget that the only cure for systematic begging, which we all naturally dislike, is systematic and proportionate giving, which few except the clergy practise, and even they do not preach. Would that they taught us this by precept, and not only by their example. Do not let us forget that it is these efforts on the part of the clergy (which laymen often think so rash and so unnecessary) to bring up the machinery and equipment of the Church to meet the requirements of the people, and that alone, which has saved us from what is euphemistically termed the Disestablishment of the Church, but what in plain English is the Disendowment of the laity. And nothing would, I think, more effectually solve that most important point of Church reform, viz., the transformation of the despotism of the parson, benevolent though it almost always is, into a really constitutional monarchy, than that the laity should, as they do in Ireland, take their proper share in Church finance, both in raising and dispensing it.

There is one most important and much neglected way in which the distress of the clergy should be relieved. In many counties their poverty is caused by sudden and unusual causes, which bring a living of £1,000 a year down to perhaps £100 or £150, or one of £500 sometimes to *nil*, the income being derived from the rent of farms which are tenantless; but in others, and especially in Wales, the distress is not spasmodic, it is chronic. In S. David's diocese, for instance, even taking tithe at its commuted value, considerably more than half the livings (226 out of 414) are under £200 a year, and of these 226, 59 are under £100 a year, and 119 have no clergyman's residence. How can this best be dealt with?

I think the present distress in East Anglia and Northamptonshire must be met by income grants, but the normal insufficiency of other cases is best dealt with by a well-sustained effort to raise the minimum endowment to £200 a year and a house. Of the sums given to the Central Clergy Sustentation Fund, only those that are specially earmarked for this purpose are available for permanent augmentation, but

I hope such will not be forgotten by its supporters. S. David's diocese has done much in this way, and with most admirable results.

We have a Diocesan Fund which gives, as far as it can, £100 to meet £100 raised locally, and then the two sums are again met by £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty. Thus the £100 raised locally for a poor living under £200 a year (taking tithe at its commuted value) results in a permanent augmentation of £12 per annum (viz., three per cent. on £400), which can either go towards building a house of residence, or be a permanent addition to the income of the benefice. In ten years S. David's diocese has thus permanently increased the income of its poor livings by £1,353 per annum, distributed among some sixty recipients.

2 livings have thus been permanently increased by £72 per annum

1	"	"	"	"	£60	"
7	"	"	"	"	£48	"
2	"	"	"	"	£36	"
13	"	"	"	"	£24	"
33	"	"	"	"	£12	"

One feature ought not to be forgotten. Supposing the Welsh Disestablishment Bill of last year had become law, or even the more stringent provisions sketched by the "Radical Programme" some years ago, the diocesan £100 and local £100 would have in every case remained to form the nucleus of an endowment, only the Queen Anne's Bounty of £200 grant being lost; so the two livings which head my list would have begun their disestablished existence as the proud possessors of an endowment of £36 per annum, and would have found themselves, to their surprise, the two best, instead of almost the two worst, endowed benefices in the diocese of S. David's.

It is supposed, and often asserted, that permanent augmentation is an unpopular measure to advocate—we have not found it so. At first the local £100 was hard to raise. In the first five years of the existence of our Diocesan Fund we were able to make a grant to every applicant, and many of our grants could not be claimed by the livings to which they were made. No less than twenty lapsed thus of those made in our first and second years; but our methods soon became so popular, that in our seventh year the Diocesan Fund was exhausted, and we had to refuse thirty-nine applications, and in our eighth year thirty-two applications. And now scarcely any grant that we are able to make falls through owing to the parish's inability to raise its local £100.

In the case of one of these poor livings, twenty men and women in a humble position—one was a carpenter, another a blacksmith—gave sixpence or a shilling a month towards raising the local £100, so the charge of unpopularity is not easily sustained.

Canon George Venables has often advocated the formation of an augmentation fund for every poor benefice, even if its only support should be an annual offertory. Let this be put by, and as it mounts up be invested. It will often be the recipient of stray benefactions; and now that Diocesan Trustees are becoming universal, there will be no difficulty in ensuring that such funds, however small, will not be lost sight of or misappropriated, and when they reach £200 they might be offered to Queen Anne's Bounty, who would probably meet like with like. We must not despise the day of small things.

But remiss as I admit we laymen are as to making ourselves responsible for the sustentation of the clergy, I must add that I do not think it has ever been brought home to us what either the poverty of the clergy or what our duty as to giving is. Of the three thousand sermons I have heard since I first went to school, not one has taught me that God claims a tenth of my money as well as a seventh of my time. At Exeter I advocated, and I do so again, that incumbents should present to their Easter Vestry a statement of the gross value of their benefice, and of the net actually remaining, and showing the various items of deduction which produce that result. Then let it be posted up in the church porch. When this is done we laymen shall no longer be able to claim ignorance as our excuse. If a collection is to be made for the Clergy Sustentation or Augmentation Fund, let a full, clear statement be made, not at the end of a long "Gospel" sermon, but at the beginning of a short one: what it means, what is wanted, and how it is proposed to supply the need. Let the chief laymen of the parish personally interest themselves in raising the Easter offerings. Let even the poorest parish make it a point of honour that the result be not less than what the poorest Nonconformist congregation raise for the support of their minister. Let the clergy teach by precept, and not only by example (the latter they already do), the privilege of proportionate giving, and we shall soon see an unaugmented benefice become as great a rarity as an unrestored church.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. W. MARTIN, Vicar of Bromyard.

I TAKE exception to any restriction as to the marriage of the clergy to accommodate present exigencies. Where would England have been, asked the American ambassador lately in a telling speech, but for the families of the clergy? A Nelson, a Wesley, a Tennyson, and numberless others, added lustre to the fame of England. But why should this distress be allowed to fall only on one section of the clergy, the country clergy? The town clergy, where all the wealth of the country is centring, feel it not at all; their incomes, if paid by the Commissioners, though derived mainly from the same source—tithes and land—remain undiminished, which, on the face of it, is unjust, and will and must produce a lack of sympathy between the town and country clergy. Every hundred pounds apportioned tithe rent-charge is now only worth net £58, when commission and rates and taxes have been paid. Let it be borne in mind that every local rate, as well as Imperial, is an income tax on the clergy; that, whereas a tradesman pays 8d. in the pound, the clergyman, deriving his income from tithe rent-charge, pays on the average 3s. 4d. A former head-master of Hereford Cathedral School once said, if any considerable number of Her Majesty's subjects were taxed in the same proportion as the country clergy, the foundation of a revolution would be laid within twenty-four hours. But the clergy are long-suffering. Again, the late Lord Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Philpott, once said, that the Church had done wrongly in time past "in putting all her eggs in one basket," that is, placing all her endowments and making them dependent on the land, which now, more or less, failed her. Tithe rent-charge is detested, and its capitalization and reinvestment at all, or any cost, is most desirable for the safety and security of the Church. As a remedy for the present distress, I advocate the support of the Clergy Sustentation Fund by the free-will offerings of the people; a further restriction of grants by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners till what is called "a living standard" has been reached in parishes already existing; a consolidation of county benefices on avoidance where population and area are small, and, in some instances, where the income is large; an equitable adjustment and payment of the surplus into

the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; the gradual abolition of mere sinecures—for there are such. I am against the diminution of episcopal incomes—for their position the bishops are poor enough. The care of all the Churches was the climax of S. Paul's troubles ; and it is no use enjoining "hospitality" without the means to "use" it. So far as the country clergy with families are concerned, facilities should be afforded for them to come in or near towns, by exchange or otherwise, for the education of their children, seeing that now, under recent legislation, through county council subsidies, the highest education, classical, mathematical and commercial, can be obtained at a very trifling cost. Thus the education difficulty could readily be solved.

The Rev. W. A. EDWARDS, Vicar of Bunbury.

THE question of finance is a sober, severely practical side of Church Reform, which, though it may not appeal to our enthusiasm as much as other features of the problem, is yet most important and extremely necessary to handle. There is one great principle which should underlie the practical management of Church and all other finance, and it is embodied in the obvious truth that money should be made to give money's worth, and every penny used to the best advantage. This is especially true with regard to property which is a trust. In a very real and important sense all property is a trust, but in an exceptional and special sense all Church property is a trust for God. We are dealing now with that special portion of the funds of the Church which is devoted to the maintenance of the ministry. We may say without fear of contradiction from fair-minded and well-informed persons, both concerning the property of the Church as a whole, and with reference to this particular part of it, that the amount so far from being excessive is inadequate, and a much larger sum could find useful employment. Now this renders it most necessary that two things should be done. First, that the very best possible use should be made of the funds we have, by their just and fair apportionment. Do not misunderstand me for a moment. I do not advocate, nor do those who think with me, that a dead level, or anything like it, should be aimed at in the incomes of benefices and other Church offices. Variety is the spice of life in income and other things, and is just and useful ; but what is wanted is that the difference of payment should bear a right relation as far as practicable to difference of merit and of work. Will anyone say that it does so now ? No, the situation is chaotic. By the caprice of patronage the lazy man may enjoy a large income, while the endowment often bears no proportion to the requirements of the different parishes. You have large towns with next to no income, and small villages with excessive endowment. How is this to be remedied ? It can only be done by the application of the fifth principle advocated by the Church Reform League, viz., that diocesan trusts be formed for financial purposes, and that these trusts should rectify the anomalies of parochial endowment in a moderate and careful way, on principles analogous to those governing the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in their dealings with caputal revenues. So much for the better handling of what we have ; but we also want to increase the amount so as to make up for the loss caused by the depreciation of incomes, and also to provide the sinews of war for fresh work. That is one of the objects of the Sustentation Fund, as well as the alleviation of temporary distress. It can only be carried out by the wide-spread and generous support of the laity. This you will never get until patronage is put on a better footing, and the faithful laity have a voice in the appointment of the clergy for whom they are called to pay. So you must reform patronage to reform finance, which illustrates the fact that these questions of Church reform run into each other, and must be dealt with in their right relations and proportions. A wealthy and zealous Churchman in the north of England told me that while ready to give largely to good work going on in parishes where he had an interest, he had resolved not to devote a penny to the increase of Church endowments until there were better safeguards for the proper exercise of patronage.

The Rev. LUCIUS G. FRY, Vicar of S. James's, Upper Edmonton.

As a beneficed clergyman in a poor parish, with a population of eight thousand, and an endowment of £106 a year, I should like to say two words ; one about the duty of

patrons, and the other about the duty of archdeacons with regard to finance. I agree with what the last speaker has said, and I desire to emphasize this fact, that the one who has the privilege of appointing the pastor is the one whose duty it is to provide a proper maintenance for the man appointed. This is the point that public opinion ought to press home upon the hearts and consciences of patrons; and unless patrons guarantee such provision as the diocesan authorities deem sufficient, the bishops ought to refuse their nominations, and let the patronage lapse to the diocese. The modern patron, whether a clergyman or a lay-patron, represents the feudal lord, who obtained the right to elect the pastor who should minister to himself and his dependents in holy things because he made provision for his support; and until we can get patrons to realize their responsibilities in this respect the impoverishment of the clergy will still continue. If the modern patron fails to provide an adequate "living" for a clergyman, he has no moral right to exercise his patronage. If Churchmen would only press home this truth to the hearts and consciences of patrons, both clerical and lay, many thousands of these privileged individuals—practically all the patrons of poor livings—would gladly surrender their right of patronage and place it in the hands of the diocese, where it should be. When the diocese becomes vested in its corporate capacity with the right of appointing, and when the faithful laity, within the fixed limits of Church order, are allowed a real control in the appointing of their pastors, the diocese in its corporate capacity will feel its obligation to provide a "living wage" for its ministers, and the laity will then do their duty in giving to the support of the clergy, which they never will to any adequate extent under present conditions. Secondly, as to archdeacons. Where are our archdeacons? How is it that archdeacons in these days are not performing their proper archidiaconal functions? They are all, no doubt, most estimable men, leading useful lives and busily engaged, some as a sort of free lance ready for anything, others with a large portion of their time and strength devoted to the duties of a parish priest. But how is it they do not devote themselves to their proper business, which is to look after the temporalities of the Church, to act (as they were called in olden days) as the bishops' stewards, and thereby save the bishops the labour and worry of serving tables, just as the first seven "archdeacons" did the twelve Apostles? There is no need in the Church for the invention of new machinery, or the multiplying of societies or charities for gathering in the dues of the laity and for paying the clergy. With the ancient system of archdeacons, in touch with churchwardens and sidesmen in every parish, who themselves are supposed to be representatives of and to be in touch with every Churchman in the place, we have already got all necessary machinery in hand, and have had it for years, if we would but use it. One great need of the present day, then, in order to remedy the impoverishment of the clergy, is for a new type of archdeacon to arise, who will perform the archidiaconal functions, and be in very truth the Diocesan Chancellor of the Exchequer. At present the archdeacon comes and perfunctorily inducts us clergy into the temporalities, and then leaves us to get on as best we can, and he calls together his churchwardens and sidesmen and delivers to them a more or less interesting charge; but he fails to make use of their agency as he should for collecting from every Churchman in the parish his dues to the ministerial fund of the diocese. Half-a-century ago the great Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford created the modern type of bishop; the great want of these days is for an archdeacon to arise and revive the true conception of the archidiaconate. Instead, however, of archdeacons looking after the temporalities and finances of the Church, the bishops, to a large extent, have to do it themselves; whereas, their business, as the Ordination Service shows, is to deal with spiritual and moral matters rather than with financial worries of this kind. Look, for instance, at the Ecclesiastical Commission, and you find it composed mainly of bishops; and last year, as I know upon good authority, the Bishop of London, who is the busiest man in the whole of London, was called upon to spend no less than two hundred hours in attending to the finances of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Such an anomalous state of things ought not to exist, and if bishops are to have the choosing of the archdeacons, they ought to appoint fit and proper men—"men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom"—who will devote themselves to the business over which they are appointed; and you may rest assured of this, that, if the archdeacons will only do their proper work and perform their true archidiaconal functions, we clergy shall be all the better, and the bishops will be saved much serving of tables, and will for it have accordingly more time and strength to devote to the spiritual and moral needs of their dioceses.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I HAVE three more cards, but I am sorry to say our time is nearly exhausted, as we have to begin the discussion of the very important subject of the status of unbeneficed clergymen; and therefore, with one or two words, I propose to close the discussion. There is one word which all who are here will feel ought to be spoken on this occasion, and that is a word expressing the deep gratitude of all of us, bishops and clergy, to those generous laymen who have founded the Clergy Sustentation Fund, and who have not only founded it, but have done something better than that—have resolved to give their own personal services to launching and starting it. Some of these we have had the advantage of listening to this afternoon, and we are grateful for their coming amongst us; but I may add that there is one member of the committee who is one of the treasurers of the fund who has not spoken to-day. He has done even better; he has printed a paper on the subject of this fund. Mr. Richard Foster, of Chislehurst, one of the treasurers, is the gentleman to whom I refer, and the paper can be had gratis by anyone who desires to possess it on application to him at the Church House. I may add, by way of supplement to that, that Mr. Blakiston has a few copies to spare for those who apply to him on the spot. If I may venture to add one or two words, they shall be words taken in the main from this excellent paper of Mr. Richard Foster. We are all agreed as to the impoverishment of a great many of the clergy. When we are told that the £100 per annum—the nominal £100—only produces £72, without taking into consideration the reductions to which Mr. Martin referred, and so many clergy have only one or two or three hundred pounds to begin upon, there can be no doubt about the impoverishment of our clergy. How is this to be met? There are certain charges upon these clergy which a great many of them think might very reasonably be diminished, and some of these are enumerated on the first page of this pamphlet. There are, first, the excessive rates to which tithes rent-charge is liable. We hope—how long shall we hope?—that that may be remedied. Then, again, there are the heavy expenses the clergyman has to pay on his preferment to the benefice; would it be possible to persuade the lawyers to pass a self-denying ordinance? Then, again, there are high fees demanded in connection with ecclesiastical dilapidations, and certainly they are a very heavy burden on the clergy. There are various other points with which I have not time to trouble you at this moment. Then, again, if we look, what other means are there? Those who were in S. Chad's at the opening of this Congress were reminded by the Archbishop of York that some readjustment of ecclesiastical income must be made, and, although I do not see how any such re-adjustment could be made without a possible reduction of archbishops' and bishops' incomes, I am not one of those who would object to such a readjustment. In an historic Church like ours, in course of time, with changing circumstances, there must grow up certain anachronisms, and I cannot but think that our large incomes do constitute, to some extent, anachronisms. I believe it is the rule of bishops, having provided for their necessary expenses in the position in which they are placed, to spend the rest upon good works; and, for my own part, I sometimes feel that I would rather have less money, and be saved the trouble of the distribution of what I am able to give when I have provided for my own personal wants. Then we come, further, to the assistance to be obtained, and when we turn to this point I think we ought not to pass on without a word of gratitude to the existing societies which do so much for us now, like the Sons of the Clergy Corporation, and the Poor Clergy Relief Society, and the Marquis of Lorne's Society, and others. We ought not to pass them over without a word of gratitude to their founders, and to those men who are now working for them. Besides this, I wish God-speed to those who are engaged on this excellent Clergy Sustentation Fund, and trust they may meet with all the success their work deserves; but I think we ought to bear in mind in regard to the laity, as has been expressed once or twice in the excellent Papers which have been read to us, that lay Church people are in a peculiarly favoured position. The members of our Church at large are—as is said in this pamphlet—living on their ancestors. They enjoy the benefit of all the endowments and privileges which our Church possesses for their good, and they have not got to make the sacrifices which members of other denominations must make, and therefore it is very appropriate that those who are founding this fund should draw our attention to this fact; and still more is it proper that it should be emphasized, by iteration and reiteration, that the claims of personal property in this matter, as compared to real property, are far greater than have ever yet been met.

PAPERS.

(2) THE STATUS OF THE UNBENEFICED CLERGY.

The Ven. W. MACDONALD SINCLAIR, D.D., Archdeacon of London, Canon of S. Paul's, etc.

THIS is not perhaps the subject which I should have chosen for myself at a Church Congress. I think it should be dealt with by someone of greater authority. But as I have been specially asked to take it up, and as the position of the middle-aged and discounted assistant-curate is one for which I have the greatest possible sympathy, I could not refuse.

In the primitive Church the assistant-curate was unknown. Each town had a bishop with a college of presbyters and a staff of permanent deacons; and this body served the country district which lay in the jurisdiction of the town. For instance, Asia Minor is six hundred and thirty miles long by two hundred and ten in breadth, and it had about four hundred dioceses. The little district of Palestine again had no less than forty-seven dioceses.

The word curate properly means a clergyman who is instituted by a bishop to a cure or care of souls. It is still employed in its accurate meaning in the French word *curé*. But it is by modern custom in England appropriated for the designation of clergymen acting as deputies for rectors and vicars, or as their assistants. The full name is assistant-curates, but the first part has been dropped.

The following account of the growth of this system is taken from a high authority, my learned friend Dr. Cutts's "Dictionary of the Church of England." Before the Conquest the periodical organization was complete, and every parish had its resident rector, with his duties defined and his rights secured to him by law. As the population in the towns increased, and outgrew the periodical arrangements for their cure, the friars came in to minister to the poorer classes, while the middle classes in the towns gradually multiplied guilds and fraternities, which founded chantry chapels, and maintained chaplains for their own spiritual needs. In many towns colleges of priests, consisting of a warden and several presbyters, were founded, either with a new collegiate church, or in connection with the existing parish church, for the better supply of the opportunities of worship and means of grace to the residents of the town. Throughout the Middle Ages the evils of pluralities had left a large number of parishes without a resident incumbent, and most of these were served by a stipendiary-priest. The resident incumbents of large parishes sometimes, but not often, engaged for themselves the services of assistant-priests. Country parishes were often served by priests from the neighbouring priory or abbey.

At the Reformation, abbeys, priories, colleges, guilds, chantries, and friars were all swept away together, and there was difficulty for a long time after in barely providing each parish with a sufficient incumbent. In order to make up a competent income, the evil of pluralities was still continued, one man being allowed to hold several benefices, he residing on one, and serving the others by means of an assistant-curate. Sometimes one assistant-curate served several neighbouring parishes;

and until the present century the stipendiary-curates were generally in place of absentees. The foundation of lectureships in many cases made up for deficient ministrations; but the lecturer was not expected to do ordinary parish work.

The abolition of pluralities reduced the number of curates-in-charge to very few; but, on the other hand, with the great increase of population at the end of the last century, the custom rapidly grew of the employment of assistant-curates by resident incumbents. The Act 58 George III., c. 45, enabled the bishops to require a third service on Sundays and Holy Days, to meet the wants of the growing population, and to nominate and license an assistant-curate; the churchwardens to provide a stipend by pew-letting, unless the parishioners should voluntarily subscribe. The assistants were to be under the same regulation as the stipendiaries, appointment and dismissal under the bishop's license, the stipend fixed with the bishop's cognizance, and not to be diminished without the bishop's concurrence.

The number of these assistant-clergymen at work now in England is between five thousand and six thousand. According to our present system, even more are greatly needed for the larger parishes in towns, and wide country districts with outlying hamlets and scattered populations. "The condition of this large body of men," says Dr. Cutts, "needs careful consideration."

The stipends are paid mostly by the incumbents. In about one thousand of the poorer parishes, part of the money is supplied by the Pastoral Aid and the Additional Curates' Societies. The Curates' Augmentation Fund gives a bonus to a certain number of curates of long standing and high character. The general feeling of those who are foremost in Church extension is that much further sub-division into independent parishes is undesirable, and that it is better, as in primitive days, to work most of the existing parishes with a strong staff at the mother church.

This involves, says Dr. Cutts, in the larger parishes the permanent existence of a staff of several assistant-curates; and though some of these may be young men serving their apprenticeship to the cure of souls, it is desirable that some of them, the majority of them, should be men of experience and ability. But it seems scant justice to such men to offer them only the precarious tenure, and especially the small income, of a stipendiary-curate. The ancient system of collegiate churches, in which each member of the staff has his stall and his definite work, may afford suggestions for the better organization of the clerical staff of our large parishes.

In 1801 the number of clergymen in England and Wales was about 10,307, of whom perhaps 2,000 were dignitaries, tutors, and school-masters. In 1841 the total number was 14,613; in 1878 over 23,000; and by the census of 1881 there were 21,663 engaged in clerical work; the addition of the class of tutors made it not far short of 24,000.

The number of benefices, on the other hand, is 13,771; so that, roughly speaking, there are 10,000 more clergymen in the Church than there are benefices.

The 10,000, however, is not all composed of assistants. About 4,000 must be dignitaries, tutors, chaplains, and men retired. A Parliamentary return of February, 1882, says:—

The number of assistant-curates at present is 5,640.

	£	s.	d.
The average stipend of a curate in 1843 was	82	2	10
" " " " 1853 "	79	0	0
" " " " 1863 "	97	10	0
" " " " 1873 "	129	5	8

The number of Ordinations show a steady increase, so that the number of assistant-curates shows a regular tendency to enlargement:—

In 1872 the number of deacons ordained was	582
" 1880 " " "	679
" 1890 " " "	746

We must all sympathize with the remark of Dr. Cutts that the condition of this large body of 5,640 assistant-curates needs careful consideration; still more does that of those who can obtain no employment; while it is scant justice to men of experience and ability to offer them only the precarious tenure and small income of a stipendiary-curate.

Here we shall, of course, be told that we are allowing worldly considerations to be mingled with spiritual. But we have the best authority for saying that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that those who serve the altar should be partakers of the altar. Prudence is a virtue not to be discarded by the clergy more than by any other class of men. As to celibacy, the unreformed Catholic Church tried the experiment, and it was found wanting. It was felt at the Reformation that the restoration of the primitive right to marry and bring up a family was wholesome and necessary; and if that ideal is to be properly carried out, there must be a stipend proportional to the standard of life, however simple, which has necessarily become associated with that of an educated Christian teacher.

I would remind you at the same time that in a very large number of cases an assistant-curate would gain nothing except in independence by becoming an incumbent. I believe that more than half the benefices in England are now under £200 a year, a very large number under £150, and many under £100. And the demands on the stipend of an assistant-curate are nothing compared to those on an incumbent. I only say this in order to show that we must look things in the face, and provide a remedy for the actual condition. Promotion to a benefice, however estimable for many reasons in its higher aspects, is, in a very large number of cases, no financial alleviation whatever.

The novelty of this excessive proportion of unbeneficed clergymen is illustrated by the facts of the Diocese of London. An examination of the Bishops' Visitation Register shows that two hundred and thirty years ago, in 1666, only twelve per cent. of the clergy were unbeneficed. A century later, in 1745, the proportion had grown to a little under forty-five per cent. In another century, 1846, it was just over sixty per cent. During the last fifty years the number has swelled to two hundred per cent. During the first twelve or fifteen years of an assistant-curate's life, if his heart is in his work, and if he has good health, and a friendly vicar, I do not think that he needs commiseration. But, alas, after such a time, his value and estimation in ecclesiastical life diminishes steadily. Tables have been drawn out from accurate data which show the scale in which his stipend decreases every five years. Instead of receiving

more as his experience grows, and as the wants of his possible family increase, he receives less. At last there comes a day when it is difficult for him to find a regular engagement. He is regarded as worn out before his time. The incumbents need fresh blood and younger men. The absence of promotion may have been purely accidental, and no slur at all on his abilities and character, but it is considered to be a presumption against his usefulness. The proportion of curates who do not become beneficed is considerable, and provision should be made to meet it. It differs greatly in different dioceses. Mainly rural dioceses have no excess. Where the population is numerous and chiefly urban, that excess becomes a matter for reform.

No serious person can blame the assistant-curates for bringing these things into notice. It is not necessary to suppose that those who look at the facts carefully are themselves either worldly or unfit to receive benefices, like the man of whom Bishop Magee said that if it were raining rectories and vicarages he would give him an umbrella to keep them off. Our brothers may be credited with an honest desire to cure a difficulty which must affect a certain number of their body. And wherever a grievance exists it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to find a remedy.

First there is the restoration of the College of Presbyters. Not against the wish of patron or parishioners; but the experiment might be tried on both sides of the Church in new parishes, which are being created every month. The plan would be simple. The stipend for an incumbent and the salaries for assistants would be thrown into one fund; the provost, or senior minister, would receive two shares, the others one each. Each would have as much right to remain as the canon of a cathedral. The provost would have the same kind of right of initiation as a dean.

Secondly, as things are, I think there would be no headship, and it would greatly equalize promotion, if it were not permissible to enter on a benefice before the age of thirty-three, or after ten years' service. A different limit might perhaps be fixed, but some, I think, there should be. Young men would be better for additional experience; and the limit would also abolish one of the greatest scandals of the present time—the appointment to parishes of young and inexperienced men.

Thirdly, far from the assistant's salary decreasing with age, it ought obviously to be enlarged. It has been suggested that from 23 years to 28 years it should be, as now, by agreement; from 28 years to 35 years not less than £150; from 35 years to 45 years not less than £200; from 45 years onwards not less than £250.

The increase would of course have to be provided by societies, and by the Church of England Sustentation Fund now being raised; for no incumbent could be expected to pay a higher salary for an older man when he could have a younger assistant at a less rate.

There is a fourth remedy on which I am inclined personally to lay a very strong stress. About fifty years ago Dr. Longley, then Bishop of Ripon, asked my father, then Vicar of S. George's, Leeds, and one or two other clergymen of his diocese, to report on increasing its spiritual resources. They unanimously recommended the revival of the diaconate. It is not too much to say that at present we have no diaconate in the Church of England. What is called the diaconate bears no relation

to the ancient office, and is merely an apprenticeship to the presbyterate. The so-called deacon is merely for a year a sub-presbyter. A permanent diaconate would not exclude in certain exceptional cases elevation to the presbyterate; but it would be freed from the restriction against trading. We have discovered at the present day that a large proportion of clerical duty can be performed even by religious laymen; much more would this be the case with ordained deacons. The Bishop of London has authorized certain laymen to preach in churches at times other than the canonical services. Laymen may read the lessons. Laymen in some cathedrals sing the Litany. There are few places where a religious and educated layman might not be found who might be ordained to the permanent diaconate, might continue to support himself by his business, and might read the prayers, visit the sick, preach on occasions, and assist the presbyter in every part of his duties except the celebration of the Eucharist.

Look into the history of the diaconate. Stephen and Philip preached, baptized, and worked miracles. Ignatius calls them "Ministers of the mysteries of Christ"; Cyprian, "Ministers of episcopacy and of the Church"; Jerome, "Guides of the people." Their duties were: helping the bishop and presbyters in the service of the sanctuary, handing the elements to the people, baptizing, instructing and catechizing, receiving the offerings of the people and handing them to the bishop and presbyters, sometimes reconciling penitents by laying on of hands, suspending inferior clergy in the absence of bishop and presbyters in cases of urgent necessity, acting as scribes and disputants at General Councils under the direction of the bishop, providing places for worshippers in church and checking conversation, and the care of the necessitous. Their number varied with the wants of the local church, their marriage was not forbidden till the end of the third century, and they could not be ordained before the age of twenty-five. These were some of the duties of a distinct and permanent order.

It only remains to complete my argument that I should give authority for the permission that these permanent deacons should be allowed, like S. Paul, to support themselves by their own business. "In some times and places," says Bingham, "where the resources of the Church were very small, and not a competent maintenance for all the clergy, some of them, especially among the inferior orders, were obliged to divide themselves between the Church and some secular calling. Others, who found they had time enough to spare, traded out of charity, to bestow their gains on the relief of the poor, and other pious uses; and some who, before their entrance into orders, had been brought up to an ascetic and philosophic life, wherein they wrought at some honest manual calling with their own hands, continued to work in the same manner, though not in the same measure, even after they were made bishops and presbyters in the Church, for the exercise of their humility, or to answer some other end of a Christian life. Now in all these cases, the vices complained of in the laws against trading, as the reasons of the prohibition, had no share or concern, for such men's negotiations were neither the effects of covetousness nor attended properly with any neglect of Divine service, and consequently not within the censure and prohibition of the laws; for first, both the laws of Church and State allowed the inferior clergy to work at an honest

calling, in necessity, to provide themselves of a liberal maintenance where the revenues of the Church could not do it."

He quotes three canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage directly to this effect ; shows that the trading clergy were freed by law from the *chrysargurum*, or lustral tax, exacted from all other tradesmen ; quotes Zeno, Bishop of Maima, in Palestine, who lived to be one hundred, and was all that time a linen-weaver ; and Spiridion, Bishop of Trimithus, in Cyprus, one of the most eminent fathers in the Council of Nicæa, a man famous for the gift of prophecy and miracles, who continued all his life a shepherd. Epiphanius urges against the idleness of the Marsalian heretics, that many even of God's presbyters, imitating the example of S. Paul, wrought with their own hands. The author of the Apostolic Constitutions urges also the example of S. Paul.

So much for the usefulness and sanctions of a permanent self-supporting diaconate. My brothers, I think I have shown that our present system of assistant-curates has grown up at haphazard, and is certainly susceptible of careful revision. I believe those are right and wise who ventilate these subjects, as long as they do it in the spirit of self-denial, humility, and regard for the interests of others rather than of themselves individually ; and I earnestly pray that the Holy Spirit of God may give wisdom, effectiveness, and acceptance to their deliberations.

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IN dealing with this subject within the narrow limits of the time allotted, I propose first to consider what is the present status of the unbeneficed clergy, then to examine what it formerly was, and finally to consider how now to put it on a proper basis.

I.—Let us first ascertain approximately the *number* of the unbeneficed clergy. From the census returns, and from the Official Year Book of the Church of England, we gather that there are in all between 26,000 and 27,000 clergy. These are divided into two classes nearly equal in number. There are 13,802 beneficed clergy, leaving from 12,000 to 13,000 unbeneficed. The number of assistant curates is only 6,631, so that there are about 6,000 experienced priests unaccounted for ; and who, as far as ministerial work is concerned, may be rightly regarded as unemployed. At any rate they are no longer doing the work for which they were specially ordained, and therefore we may assert that whatever status they may have once possessed is now lost. They retain the title of Reverend, but except very occasionally they neither officiate on Sundays nor take part in parochial work during the week. They are now therefore priests in little more than in name. The effective force of the parochial clergy consists of 13,802 incumbents and 6,631 assistant curates, making a total of 20,433.

Now I wish to call attention to the fact that the number of clergy in 1871 was 20,694, and they were nearly all fully employed. There was then no unemployed class such as now exists. We have therefore the startling fact that although during the last quarter of a century the number of the clergy has been increased by fully 6,000, the *effective* force of the clergy has not been increased at all thereby. It has either

remained stationary, or possibly even has diminished. Some inquiry into the causes of this phenomenon is surely needful.

To proceed to the case of the assistant-curates: what is their status? A curate has now degenerated into a mere employee of his fellow-priest, the incumbent. Let us examine what privileges (if any) belong to him more than to other employees, which we can regard as giving him a status. We must refer to the Act 1 & 2 Victoria c. 106 (A.D. 1838). In sections 95 and 97 it is enacted that while the curate must give three months' notice, the incumbent is required to give six. When, however, the curate remembers that he must be dependent on his incumbent for a testimonial or reference when he applies for another curacy, he will rarely feel it prudent to insist on his six months' notice against the wish of the incumbent. This privilege is therefore illusory. Again, in section 98, the bishop is empowered "after having given to the curate sufficient opportunity of showing reason to the contrary" to revoke the curate's license, "for any cause which shall appear to such bishop to be good and reasonable," provided always that the curate shall have the right within one month to appeal to the archbishop. Now this clause is evidently intended to be a valuable protection to the curate against arbitrary and capricious dismissal by an incumbent, and yet in practice it is as illusory as the former section. The bishops habitually give the requisite consent to incumbents as a mere matter of form, often without even communicating with the curate, much less giving him a fair hearing. The settled policy of the bishops is that the harmony of the parish must be preserved at all cost, and as the incumbent cannot be removed, the curate must go. By this specious plea the plain intention of the Act is rendered nugatory. Every case is pre-judged in the mind of the bishop against the curate before the latter even ventures to appeal. The knowledge of this is in itself sufficient to deter him from making an appeal; while on other grounds he is very loth to do so, because if he be troublesome or obstinate, he knows he will prejudice his chances of receiving preferment in that diocese. There is consequently no real court of appeal for curates. He has no advantage over an employee in any secular calling. He has no status worth speaking of. He can be dismissed by his incumbent without assigning any cause, or without any cause that could before an impartial tribunal be established as a sufficient cause, just as in the case of any other employee.

But that is not the worst of it. There are some serious disadvantages in his position which do not belong to other employees. However well qualified and desirous he may be, he is not allowed to set up in clerical business for himself; every foot of the ground is already pre-empted by the incumbents. His employers are irremovable, and have tenure for life, and they can introduce as many new recruits into the profession as they please, practically without restriction, nay, even with some ill-judged commendation.

However keenly he may suffer from the competition thus artificially created, having once entered into this profession he is practically debarred from ever leaving it to make trial of any other. His character and reputation are always at the mercy of his employer, and it is useless for him to seek employment in any diocese without being able to produce satisfactory testimonials from all his previous employers. However unreasonable may be the conditions imposed on him, he

has no choice but to submit, or else be driven from the exercise of his profession into the ranks of the unemployed, and thereby forfeit all his chances of receiving preferment. And while he may be compelled to remain in this dependent condition during the greater part of his ministerial career, he is absolutely helpless either to get out of it or abridge it in any legitimate way. He must wait, and live in hopes as long as he possibly can, until some patron of more than ordinary conscientiousness and unselfishness will search him out and be moved to promote him to the rank of an employer. Meanwhile, if he be of a sufficiently philosophical turn of mind, he may be encouraged to wait in patience by seeing numbers of his fellow-curates, gifted with youth and inexperience as well as with wealth or influential friends, promoted over his head into the positions to which he had fondly hoped by his long service and successful work to have established some claim. And when he has thus seen them elevated to the rank of his employers by influences which very often would not bear the light of an impartial examination, he will be expected to recognize them as possessors of superior merit, and must not be hurt or offended when it is implicitly assumed that the reason why he has been passed over is the lack of sufficient merit, or perhaps some stain upon his reputation. And finally, if he should too placidly and contentedly allow himself to be absorbed in doing his spiritual work until he has unwittingly passed the age of thirty or thirty-five, or if he should have the hardihood to get married, why then he has, by his own involuntary act, excommunicated himself from continuing in his profession, and enrolled himself with the 6,000 of the ministerially unemployed.

Hence we may say that the assistant-curate while he is in the first few years of what may be called his apprenticeship has the same or an equal status with any employee in a secular calling, yet as soon as he has passed the age of thirty, and become an experienced priest, he has lost it, and now begins to be subject to numerous disabilities which would not be incurred by an employee in any other calling in life. He not merely has no status, but his position is full of grievances from which there is practically no escape.

We may now therefore present the following summary as a description of the comparative status of the clergy at the present time. There are within the Second Order of the Ministry three classes of priests, whose status is very widely different one from the other. They correspond to what in secular business would be called employers, employees, and unemployed.

(1) The beneficed clergy, who occupy an autocratic position and have tenure for life.

(2) The assistant-curates under thirty, who are in the apprenticeship stage, and are the employees of the incumbents, and whose status is the same or similar to that of secular employees.

(3) The unbeneficed priests over thirty, who have completed an apprenticeship, and are therefore as experienced and well-qualified as the incumbents, but not having received preferment have either already been driven into the ranks of the unemployed, or are living in continual fear of it. These have no longer any status, and are generally in a state of very pitiable dependence and poverty. By far the larger half of the unbeneficed clergy are to be reckoned in this class.

Such, then, is the status of the unbeneficed clergy at the present time.

II.—Let us now consider, in the second place, what it was formerly. Most of those present in this Congress will remember how, about the middle of this century, there arose a great cry for more churches to meet the spiritual destitution in our large towns, and when the churches had been greatly increased in number, there arose subsequently the cry for more “living agents” to fill the churches. Up to that time, then, the ideal of the Church was that there should be just as many priests as parishes, with a sufficient number of clergy in training to supply vacancies in the ranks of the incumbents. Hence the ordinary career of a priest consisted of a period of apprenticeship, varying from five to ten years, after which every priest was promoted to a benefice. Thus the period in which one priest was the mere employee of his fellow-priest, the incumbent, was but temporary, and no longer perhaps than was needful for the purpose of his acquiring the necessary experience. There was therefore a practical equality of all priests, and every priest in due course acquired such a position of independence with power of initiative as was needful to enable him adequately to fulfil his priestly ordination vows.

This, be it observed, was in accordance with the manifest intention both of the Church and State. The Church, as set forth in the Prayer-book, knows of no such distinction between priests as incumbents and assistant-curates; they are one and all “curates.” She has imposed on them all the same ordination vows, and given to them all alike “the cure of souls.” Neither did the State ever intend to make such a distinction. The division of the country into parishes showed a beneficent intention to give every priest that independent sphere of labour and the sufficient authority to enable him the better to discharge his priestly functions and obligations. When, however, in the hasty endeavour to obtain more living agents the bishops began to ordain all and sundry as many as were presented to them, without any regard to whether they would be able ultimately to find suitable positions for them, the State was compelled to acknowledge that it could not provide new parishes as fast as the bishops could ordain more priests, and the result has been to divert the parochial system from its original intention, and convert it into a monopoly which serves to aggrandize one-half of the clergy and degrade the other. Thus, neither the Church in her Liturgy nor the State has given any sanction to the differentiation of priests into three widely differing classes such as exists in the present day. It is merely the result of the policy of our bishops in ordaining an unlimited number of priests without taking any measures to secure for them the position of equality and independence which both Church and State intended them to have, and which they formerly actually enjoyed. And the distinction of being beneficed or unbeneficed, however important it has now grown to be as regards difference of status, tenure, and worldly position, is seen to be based on no matter of principle whatever. It is in no degree, as is sometimes absurdly supposed, a distinction of superior and inferior merit; but is in its origin nothing more than a mere trumpery legal accident.

This disastrous policy of our bishops is, then, the cause of the degradation and demoralization of the priesthood, and has given rise to

the grievances and disabilities of the unbeneficed clergy. They have added 6,000 to the number of the clergy in the last quarter of a century without in any material degree adding to their effective force in the ministry. They have yielded to the importunity of incumbents and introduced large accessions of young and inexperienced ordinands, only to displace an equal number of experienced and well-qualified priests of mature age. Their policy has resulted in forming a demoralized army of 6,000 unemployed clergy, many of whom have been driven into compulsory retirement while still in their prime, and some of whom are now left to face the prospect of ending their days in a workhouse. Surely if it were in olden time a grievous fault to have made of the lowest of the people priests, it is still worse that our bishops and incumbents have combined to degrade a large body of faithful priests to be the lowest of the people.

III.—We are now in a position to proceed to our third heading, and to consider how to put the status of the unbeneficed clergy on its proper basis. It may be briefly summed up by saying that we should endeavour to restore as soon as possible the equality and independence of all priests which formerly existed prior to the last quarter of a century.

The relationship of employer to employee may perhaps be acquiesced in as between an incumbent and one, presumably a deacon, who is undergoing his clerical training; but it can no longer be tolerated between two fellow-priests, equal in dignity, responsibility, experience, and capacity for work; and equally entitled also, by the manifest intention both of Church and State, to the same measure of independence and initiative. A priest is required by the Church to acknowledge the authority of his bishop; no one has a right to subject him to the domination of his fellow-priest.

Further, it is needful to rescue the unbeneficed clergy from the eccentricities and caprices which are incident to the system of patronage. Formerly the effect of the system of patronage on the unbeneficed was merely to determine the order of priority in which they should receive the promotion which, a little earlier or later, was attained by all. It determined whether the training of a priest should be for a period of say five years, or be prolonged to ten years. That often gave rise to complaints and disappointment, but comparatively it was a small matter. The case is far otherwise now. When the result of being overlooked by patrons is to drive a man out of his profession almost as soon as he has completed his apprenticeship, and to start him on the road that may lead him ultimately to the workhouse, it is evidently no longer a trivial matter, which can be patiently borne, or regarded with indifference.

In conclusion, then, What changes are needful in order to give the unbeneficed clergy the status which is their due? I will enumerate three.

(1) We have made many efforts to teach patrons that patronage is a sacred trust and not a property. I am sorry to say we have met with but indifferent success. Let us hope that we shall succeed better in an attempt to teach our incumbents a similar truth. There are now twice as many priests as benefices; I think, therefore, the time has come when the income of a benefice should no longer be regarded as the official income of the incumbent only, but of all the priests who are fellow-labourers in the work of the parish. It should be regarded as a

trust fund, of which the incumbent and the churchwardens might be the legal trustees, and it should be called the Parochial Clergy Maintenance Fund. If the parsonage, rent free, be reserved to the incumbent, it would be but just that the pecuniary income of the benefice should be divided equally between the two priests who do the work. The average nett income of the benefices of the Church of England, after all the usual deductions have been made, exceeds £270, besides the free parsonage. Add to this the grants at present given by the various Curates' aid societies (the Additional Curates' Society, Pastoral Aid Society, the Diocesan Societies, and Curates' Augmentation Fund) and also what may be hoped for from the newly-established Clergy Sustentation Fund, and it might then be found that the adequate maintenance of the clergy, both beneficed and unbeneficed, need not be regarded as an altogether insoluble problem.

(2) We need, further, to put an end to the unsatisfactory relationship between priests of employer and employee. When a vacancy occurs in the parochial staff of a parish, the Parochial Church Council should send one or more names as recommendations to the bishop, and the bishop, after conferring with the Council, should appoint a clergyman as coadjutor to the incumbent. By the law of the Church the bishop, and not the incumbent, is to act as patron to the unbeneficed clergy. It is provided in Canon 33 that if a bishop ordain anyone without a satisfactory title, then "he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary till he do prefer him to some ecclesiastical living," or else the archbishop shall suspend the bishop from giving of orders by the space of one year. And the canon law holds good also if the priest is transferred to another diocese. It is therefore clear that the Church intends that every priest should be entitled to look to his bishop for permanent work and maintenance. As there are now several thousands of unemployed priests, no new titles can be regarded as satisfactory until the bishops have found places for the unemployed. By this arrangement the clergy of a parish would form a parochial college of presbyters, dividing the work, responsibility, and income equally between them, the incumbent being simply *primus inter pares*, as the archbishop is in the college of bishops, and the dean in a cathedral college, or as the provost in relation to the fellows of a university college.

(3) The last point is in reference to the *representation* of the unbeneficed clergy. The degradation of the priesthood in the unbeneficed could never have proceeded so far as it has, had it not been for their exclusion from all the Church's Councils, and their consequent inability even to give utterance to the grievances which have weighed them down. And I desire in passing to tender the thanks of many among the unbeneficed clergy to the Bishop of Shrewsbury and the Congress Committee for having secured to us the present opportunity. Priests should be represented in Convocation, in diocesan and ruridecanal conferences, in the Church Congress, and in the committees of all Church societies, quite irrespective of their being beneficed or unbeneficed, and in something like proportion to their respective numbers. These reforms would, I believe, give a proper status to the unbeneficed clergy, and would speedily restore a large proportion of the 6,000 unemployed to their effective work in the ministry.

My last word is one of personal explanation. Some of us have been

much blamed for our endeavours to call attention to the grievances of the unbeneficed clergy. After waiting patiently for twenty-five years or more for our rulers in the Church to do their obvious duty towards us, and finding that every year our position grew worse and our rulers more oblivious, we have been compelled to cry out. We trust that now our incumbents and bishops will seriously endeavour to give us the relief we ask for, as being both just and necessary to our position as priests in the Church of God. The rehabilitation of the priesthood is not a work to be left to the feeble efforts of a few poor, helpless, and dependent curates. It is the bounden duty of every Churchman, high and low, to use his best efforts to rescue the priesthood from the degradation which has befallen it.

HARRY PHILLIPS, Esq., Alderman of West Ham.

I AM not here to elaborate a scheme by which every unbeneficed clergyman shall have a good living, or every curate receive a minimum wage of £5 per week, but simply here as a layman to speak on the present position of unbeneficed clergy as it affects us laymen. I am voicing the opinion of thousands of Churchmen when I say that the position of the unbeneficed priest of to-day is a scandal and stumbling-block to our Church; and that if the Church is to be the real force for religion in the State that it should be, we laity must have a direct voice in the appointment and dismissal of the officials of our Church. You may play with words and juggle with phrases, but you cannot manipulate principles. In a time of crisis, at the election of a new Government, we are told it is our National Church, our parish church, our parish priest, and we are called upon for moral, financial, and political support. We have a voice in the control of the structural part of the church, of the schools—sometimes of the services; but in the appointment of the living agents, which is the real influencing force of the Church—there we have no voice, there we cannot be trusted. Think of the satire of the thing. Nationally, municipally, locally, we have the largest share of democratic government. We are trusted; we have responsibility (in proportion as we are trusted, so do we interest ourselves); but here in our own Church, the society of Jesus, the truest conception of brotherhood and equality ever witnessed, an organization in whose success or failure we, as enrolled members, are deeply concerned, in this society we have no voice or influence. We see the work of the Church in some places hindered and damned by the unfitness of the priest in charge; or a good work absolutely smashed up by the intolerant and antagonistic action of the bishop or new vicar. These are not wild, whirling words. They are ugly facts.

I am not condemning the bishops or the vicars individually, but the principle of absolutely ignoring the wishes of the laity in reference to the unbeneficed clergy is producing apathy and indifference. What guarantee have we of any continuity of work when curates come and go at vicars' will? This is why it is that young Churchmen are throwing their enthusiasm and splendid young energy into social questions, University Settlements and College Missions, and merely worship at the parish church. We never know when we can rely on the continuity of

the work we are asked to help ; and sometimes success and attractive influence in a curate provokes petty jealousy instead of grateful acknowledgment on the part of his vicar. Now here is a system at work that is a source of weakness to our Church, hindering and hampering her development, and, as Church members, it is our duty to share in its removal.

You may say these cases are exceptional. That may or may not be. But if so, then the easier should be the remedy. Nor is it any answer to say the injured curate can go somewhere else—that is no answer. His work for God seems to be there. Some clergy have to be strongly reminded that the parish church is not a commercial establishment run by the vicar, and the curates are his clerks or salesmen, to be taken in or dismissed at his will. Surely the church is the place of worship for all members of God's Holy Catholic Church in that parish. The curates are the vicar's fellow-priests, his equals before God and man in every respect, and he is the senior partner in that particular church. If this ideal were to be more realized it would be a good thing.

I would suggest, as one remedy, a council of bishop, clergy, and laity for each diocese, before which every curate who desired it should have the right of appeal against dismissal. This would not set up a dual authority, it would simply act as a deterrent against intolerance and oppression. This council might also become a source of information and influence for new appointments in the diocese. It would also be useful for the beneficed clergy, who I know have grievances on their side. But above and beyond all, it would give the laity a real interest in their Church, and I would limit its composition to communicants, because it is to her communicants, not to Conservative Governments, the Church must look for support.

One other point. The increasing advertising for young and celibate curates is another scandal needing correction. If it is cruel in commercial life to shut out the workman at forty years of age, what of the vicars who shut out men who are married and over thirty in order that they may obtain younger and more pliable men. What is the effect upon the congregations? Why, middle-aged men, fathers of families, men who have borne the heat and burden of the day, will not go to church to be taught their duty by a beardless boy, no older than their second son. You seldom find a family church—I mean a church where father, mother, and children worship together—where the clergy are all young and celibate men.

The sermon is of infinite importance in the service. You cannot over-estimate it, and it is little use us laity trying to bring our fellow-men to church unless you bishops and clergy will put an all round man in the pulpit—one with all the experience and attributes of manhood, not a youth fresh from college, knowing but little of human life, with all its joys and sorrows. Ah! this employment of young and single men is very costly. It is driving many a father and many a workman out of the Church. I am not saying this in any dictatorial spirit, I am not under-estimating the glorious work for God our Church is doing, but she is doing it in spite of, not because of, this system.

Believe me, the position of the unbeneficed clergy is a source of weakness—is a stain upon the Church's fair reputation. The stain need not be permanent. It is capable of easy removal, by pleasant and

constitutional methods, in which we laity will willingly take our share.

(1) By more co-operative action between the vicar and the communicants upon the appointment or resignation of the curate.

(2) By the spirit of co-operation between the bishop and the parishioners of the diocese in reference to appointments to vacant livings in the diocese.

It is not Acts of Parliament we need, but a fair and courteous recognition of our rights as laymen in this question of unbeneficed clergy. Trust us more, consult us more; remember we have rights as well as duties. And in return we will give you large enthusiasm, increased support, moral, financial, and political, in the removal of all that hinders and hampers the development of our Holy Catholic Church.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. F. H. REICHARDT, Secretary of the Curates' Union.

I AM glad to have an opportunity of contradicting a statement which has been made in regard to the Curates' Union. We were told that we were not spiritual in the Curates' Union. You cannot bring everything in in any one sermon; you have got to divide your subject. But I want to deal with this matter of spirituality. In the early Church the first charge on the alms of the faithful was the maintenance of the clergy, and the task of providing for the clergy was not archidiaconal, but episcopal. Many of our greatest councillors have dealt with this matter, and in the thirtieth Canon it is written, "Since it has come to our knowledge that in certain parts those who minister at the altar are provided by the bishops and patrons with not sufficient to keep body and soul together, and since we read in the Holy Scripture 'those who minister at the altar are partakers with the altar,' in spite of bishops and patrons, we declare that every clergyman standing at the altar shall have a stipend provided for him." That is a Canon which four hundred and fifty bishops of the Catholic Church did not disdain to spend their time in passing. It is a most important matter that the clergy should have a proper maintenance provided for them. It all depends upon whom you wish for your clergy. Of course you can always get some men who are very indifferent and very poorly equipped to take Holy Orders, who will find in those orders an elevation from what they must have expected; but I ask you, in looking around—and I speak as a London clergyman who has lived in the very midst of working men—if it is not the quality, and not the quantity of your clergy which will decide the point whether the Church of England is laying hold of them? I appeal to those whose judgment is the greatest in the Church, and I quote the name of Bishop Lightfoot, who now, though dead, yet speaketh to show that if you wish capable men to take Holy Orders, you must provide that curacies or subordinate positions in the Church shall bear such a proportion to these independent positions in the Church that a man with a stewardship in the Church shall be able to look forward, not to the money—it is not the question of money—but to being able to use those powers with which God has endowed him in an adequate manner. What is it we curates want? We are divided as to what we want. I do not believe in the proposal of a college of priests at all. I am thoroughly conservative, and I would like to see the matter solved in a different way. What we do want is that no man should be appointed to a benefice until he has served ten years. In any other profession that is the case. Take the army, you cannot get a captaincy until you have served ten years as lieutenant. Take the law, you cannot be made Q.C. until you have been called ten years, however clever a man you are, for there are other men before you. In the Church a man becomes a full-fledged rector in the first year of his appointment.

The Rev. S. HOBSON, Vicar of Uppington, Wellington, Salop ;
Diocesan Inspector of Schools.

I MUST make one personal statement before I go any further. I am not one of the unbeneficed clergy, but have been beneficed for some sixteen years. I make this statement because, perhaps, the unbeneficed clergy think we settled clergy are not interested in their difficulties. The reason why some men are beneficed at a certain age, and others are unbeneficed, may be divided, perhaps, into three categories, each of which begins with a big I. The first, and I suppose the most important of all, is Interest. That is what helps many a man forward. I do not mean any wrong use of interest in favour of the unworthy, but we have all had experience of the same thing ; we know one man and do not know another, and when we get hold of a man, and know of him and know of his merits ; another, perhaps, the merits of his father or uncle as well, he comes out first. Then there is the advertisement which appears in *The Guardian* and other papers as to some living too poor in value to go by interest, and the man who is wanted to take such a living must be a man with another I—Income. And then there is a third thing that helps men forward, and which enables men with no income, and no interest, and not much of anything else to get on, and that is Impudence. Well, I suppose every one of us beneficed clergymen has to say in his heart of hearts, "I am where I am because I had money or interest, or because some kind friend pushed me forward, while another man quite as good had nobody to help him." I do remember one excellent friend of mine who became the incumbent of a valuable benefice and rural dean, and had a seat on platforms at all meetings, and so on, and he always publicly declared that nothing but sheer merit had had anything to do with his promotion ; but in that case I think that the merit chiefly consisted of the third I—Impudence. We ought to listen with the utmost attention to any suggestion as to anything that could be done to help our unbeneficed brethren, even if it be only to remedy what is called a sentimental grievance. In my unbeneficed days I left a curacy of £150 and took one of £125 by the wish of the bishop, and I was still charged income-tax. I went to explain that I had not the money and ought not to have to pay. I interviewed a very nice bright Irish official, and I remember well his sympathetic words, "Why did you come down to £125 ? What had you been up to ?" I know one man who for seventeen years has been the mainstay of a parish ; that man has done work which ought to be a rural dean's work ; he has been the moving spirit, not only in that parish, but in the whole district to which he belongs. He is greatly respected, and looked up to and honoured by all who know him, and yet he is getting on in life, and is only a curate, and strangers say, "What has he been up to ?" There should be some honourable distinction for such curates. I venture a suggestion. Why should not a curate who has served a long time, who is too poor to be able to accept a poor living, and has not friends to push him into a rich one, be made an honorary canon ? Why should not some one of our best curates who is getting on in years be even made an archdeacon ? I believe if we can do nothing else it would be a very great thing if we could show in this way that long service as a curate does not always mean that he has been "up to anything" very bad.

The Rev. BROOKE LAMBERT, Vicar of Greenwich.

I FEEL very deeply on the question of the unbeneficed clergy, but when one is facing a great difficulty it is very necessary to say plainly what is possible to be done, and not deal with theories, however ably they may be put forward. In subjects of this kind there is always an exaggeration of facts, and a putting forward of "remedies" which are not practical. Archdeacon Sinclair's paper will have rather shaken your ideas as to the condition of the clergy in times past, and also in regard to the actual number of the unemployed. What I specially want to say is do let us look on Orders as a profession, and not as an occupation. Now it belongs to every profession that there shall be certain inequalities, that some members of it shall be better off than others, and there is a tendency in Dr. Thackeray's paper to try and bring them all on a level, with the idea of giving the unbeneficed clergy a living wage. Let us do all we can to make their living better, but a profession, if it is to be a profession, must have its variations, and must have its inequalities. I have of myself never been in a living where I obtained enough to live upon from the Church without

help from outside. The suggestion is that the whole of the livings should be thrust into a hotchpot, and that colleges of clergy should be created who should have as priests an equal status. Anyone who has looked at the facts of the case knows that some of the most desirable livings are saddled with expenses which would leave nothing for the company to divide. Then the great advantage which it would be to take the laity into council on these matters has been dwelt upon, and I must say that I think this suggestion is a very good one, but whether it would result in getting the elderly priests the money that is required I very much doubt. I took especial care when I was in Canada to make particular inquiries on the point as to how a free disestablished Church managed matters, and I find that there is no promotion, and hardly any assistance, for many years. The lay mind is exceedingly practical, and the lay mind will require that the priest shall be not only a worker, but that he shall produce visible results in keeping the congregation together, and raising offertories, and I am afraid that would rather act in a fatal way. Then as to the nation's recognition of the clergy; Convocation is, as far as I know, the only body in which the unbeneficed clergy cannot be represented. Numbers of unbeneficed clergy have been admitted to our diocesan councils, and it only requires efforts on the part of our unbeneficed clergy to get recognition, whatever good that may be to them. Dr. Thackeray has pointed to one very strong fact—the multiplication of clergy, possibly beyond the needs of the Church. I feel, if Archdeacon Sinclair had not said it, I should have had a good deal to say about the lay diaconate of which he has spoken. I believe it is the solution of that very great difficulty; and in regard to the fact that the bishop always ignores the claims of the assistant clergy, that, from my own personal experience, I can say is not consistent with facts such as I have found them. Bishop Selwyn said to me once that he would never sign the enforced resignation of a curate till the man was provided with a new sphere of work, unless it were a case of immorality. I do not wish to say that the unbeneficed clergy have no disadvantages. I claim that these are remarkable, and I hope that the Curates' Union will help to remedy them.

The Rev. J. W. WYCLIFFE GEDGE, Rector of S. Anthony's,
Stepney.

I STAND before you to-day, not as a fat rector, but because, having had an experience for twenty years as Diocesan Inspector and Secretary to a Clerical Charity, I have been in touch with hundreds of curates, and been consequently somewhat behind the scenes. The curates doubtless have grievances—sometimes connected with the incumbent, sometimes with the incumbent's wife, sometimes with his family. They have their grievances; but at the same time let them remember that they can, if they find the position becomes untenable, find pastures further afield, at home or abroad; whereas incumbents in large towns find great difficulties in filling up vacancies, although offering full stipends. We do not object to married curates, and we do all we can to make them comfortable; but they are slow to come and quick to go. I have lost three curates out of four in six years by promotion. It does not seem to me that curates have such bad times after all. I should like to correct one statement of Dr. Thackeray. He spoke of our being able to dismiss a curate with six months' notice. We cannot do anything of the kind. We can only dismiss a curate by going to the bishop and asking him to allow us to give the curate leave to go at six months, and the only time I have been obliged to do that the bishop first sent for me; the next day he sent for the curate, had a long interview with him, and before another twenty-four hours was over I received the curate's resignation. As to decreasing incomes of curates on account of age, I suppose one must accept that as facts, but it doesn't come within my experience, because some of us in the East End of London are only too glad to get these gentlemen from forty to fifty years of age with their ripe experience. Where the incumbent is young, it naturally would be a disadvantage to have a very elderly curate, but if the very sensible advice of Archdeacon Sinclair is acted upon, of no one's being appointed to a benefice under ten years' service, we should not have these very young incumbents. May I remind my younger brethren of the unbeneficed clergy that there are in these days most wonderful openings for increases of income besides that offered by their curacies. There are openings in the scholastic line, by tutoring the gentlemen's sons or daughters in the country; while in towns, the ladies who keep large schools tell me it is almost impossible to find a married man, a gentleman with a degree, to come and give lectures or take occasional classes in the

religious and other subjects in higher grade schools. Furthermore, the literature of the present day affords abundant openings for the increase of income.

(*Stopped by bell.*)

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

WE are close upon the time at which our discussion ought to come to an end. I do not propose to ask anyone else to address us, nor do I propose to go into the merits of the question myself. I would rather confine myself to a single word or two. I think it behoves us to remember that this is a very serious and important question. It is a question which deserves the best consideration of the authorities of the Church. It is a very important part of Church reform with which we have been dealing this afternoon, and therefore I trust that among the many movements for Church reform which no doubt we shall have in the immediate future, this one will not be overlooked, and it will not be left to those who are curates to be the chief agitators in this matter. We have only to consider for a single moment to confess, every one of us, that the case of the unbeneficed clergy is a somewhat hard one, when we think of all they have had to spend on their education, the time and money, the long preparation of work, the high qualifications which we have the right to expect for the serious and solemn work which they are called upon to perform; when we think of all this, I say, we cannot any of us feel satisfied that there is not need for some reform. Think of the scanty reward sometimes; of the inadequate prospects of middle life and old age. When we think of all these things, we ought, I say, to be thankful that there is a movement of this kind, because the more we think of it—at any rate the more I think of it, the more I feel convinced that it is not only desirable, but in a certain sense imperative in the best interests of our Church, that we should go forward with this question and endeavour to work out a really rational system of reform.

WOMEN'S MEETINGS.

WORKING MEN'S HALL.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 6TH, 1896.

The Hon. MRS. A. LEGGE in the Chair.

YOUNG WOMEN'S MEETING.

PAPERS.

WORK AND RECREATION.

The Hon. MRS. MACLAGAN, Bishopthorpe, York.

I HAVE coupled these two together, because I think many people make a grave mistake in separating them. The alliance is necessary for the perfection of both. I am always grieved when I hear good people say, "The work increases so much I have not had a holiday for years." In the long run the work must suffer by this tension. Even in the strictest orders of cloistered monks and nuns there is always, so far as I know, a fixed time set apart weekly, if not daily, for what they call recreation. It might not seem so to you or me, but it is at least a change of occupation, a relaxation of the excessive strain.

I am not going to waste your time by discussing amusements, for what amuses one person would be intolerable boredom to another, and, if we analyze our word, it has no reference to amusements, which might

rather be defined as "pastimes." I wish to consider recreation as refreshing, restoring, and invigorating, and I should like every girl who takes a serious view of life to have a recreation that she can take up at any time, which will be of use to herself or to others. In these days there are many such occupations, which are not only interesting, but to some extent remunerative.

I have in my mind three classes of girls—(1) working girls, (2) leisured girls, (3) girls for whom it is not so easy to find a name, and yet this betwixt and between is the class in which I am just now most interested, whose difficulties have been most strongly brought before me. They are the daughters of clergymen, professional men, and officials of every kind; their childhood is carefully guarded, their homes are fairly comfortable, and, when they live in or near a town, they have excellent opportunities for education. But illness or accident unexpectedly cuts short the life of the father, and the family is suddenly reduced to poverty, sometimes to beggary. All at once it dawns upon the girls that they must do something for themselves, and they can do nothing.

The old fallacy still holds good—"I can be a governess or a companion." These employments are supposed to need no previous training; but for one lady who requires a companion, I am sure I have known fifty who want such a situation, and a very thankless one it is in most instances.

And as for governesses. The advertisement sheets of our papers tell a pitiful tale of a market overstocked with inferior goods. A clever girl, who bravely makes up her mind to be a teacher, with all its trials and disappointments, and prepares herself accordingly, may earn a good salary for about twenty or thirty years, and if she is healthy and sensible, so as to keep clear of doctors' and dressmakers' bills, she may save a good round sum, though after forty or fifty it becomes very difficult.

Mothers want cheerful, bright companions for their girls. We cannot blame them, yet our hearts ache for the poor governess, who sees every road gradually closing against her.

But how about the hundreds who have slipped through their early girlhood, without a thought of the future beyond the hope of marriage, who have no talents, no accomplishments, and cannot even write a good hand or spell correctly?

This subject is to be discussed again at the coming Conference of Women Workers at Manchester, when I hope to hear many valuable suggestions; but since my name was published in connection with it, I have been deluged with letters from necessitous ladies or their friends, who seem to think, alas! that their sorrowful state can be remedied, like a disease, by some universal panacea.

Only Christian love and charitable institutions can alleviate the hard lot of the present generation of helpless, friendless, impecunious women. But surely something may be done to stop or at least diminish their numbers in the future.

Let me put before you some practical thoughts:—Class I.—*Working Girls*—who know that they have to work for their living. Here the question is simple enough. To earn what is now called a "living wage" is a necessity, and a girl who is industrious, and not an absolute fool, is certain to find employment and get on in the world.

May I here be permitted to express my deep regret that the tendency

of working mothers and their daughters is so much against domestic service? Of course I cannot deny the restrictions it imposes on the liberty of the individual, but as a rule, I believe employers are increasingly anxious to promote the happiness and provide for the reasonable amusement of their servants; and no class of human beings is so exempt from the fluctuations of trade and agriculture.

No doubt many establishments have been reduced, but the servants, be they many or few, are always sure of food, shelter, and regular wages; and those who willingly conform to reasonable rules, and respond, by loyal and faithful service, to the friendly interest taken in their welfare, are certain to obtain what I may call "the plums of their profession."

How about their recreation? I think they have a fair share of it; books and games are now frequently provided in large houses, and, in large and small, girls may employ their leisure in learning many things to help them when they have homes of their own.

A kindly lady's-maid will assist the housemaids in their dressmaking; and in the kitchen, the laundry, and the bakehouse, a willing learner may pick up many a useful hint; and outside the house many mistresses are thankful for help from their maids in visiting the sick, changing the flowers, or teaching in the Sunday school.

I have little experience of the recreations of working girls in shops and factories. They are exposed to many and great temptations, and for them beyond all others the growth of clubs, evening classes, and technical schools must be an untold benefit.

Class II.—Leisured Girls. My difficulty here is to draw the line between work and recreation. All work that is not compulsory may be recreative, and all recreation that is not simply amusement may partake of the nature of work. The rock ahead for girls when first released from the schoolroom is the absence of all regular discipline. It has often pained me, when visiting in country houses, to see the young ladies of the house conspicuous by their absence from family prayers, late for every meal, and reading books that, well, I hope they did not understand, and not doing very much to help their mothers with the dull routine business of daily life. I dare say this is largely the fault of the mothers; they long to see their girls happy, and cheerfully do all the dull work for themselves. But will these girls be as ready to sacrifice themselves in the future for their daughters?

Wifehood and motherhood work wonderful changes sometimes, but it is scarcely fair to handicap a girl's future by allowing—nay, by teaching—her to think that self-denial is only for the old. Much is in the girl's own power, especially with the very careful teaching now given in Confirmation, and I am sure that the girl who lays down a few simple rules for herself and keeps them will enjoy her horse or bicycle ride, her lawn-tennis or croquet, far more after a well-spent morning than her companion who has vexed the servants by keeping the breakfast waiting indefinitely, and lolled through the morning in an armchair with a trashy novel.

One of the rules that the present Archbishop of York used to give to his numerous Confirmation candidates in Kensington was never to read a novel before twelve o'clock in the day, or in their bedroom at night; and I know many women, now between thirty and forty, who have steadily kept this rule all their subsequent lives. Dare I hope that any

one in this hall will care for an old woman's motherly advice? Let me urge you to take up some definite pursuit, whether literary or scientific, in addition to the usual music or drawing. History, poetry, or languages, astronomy, geology, or botany, each of these will open out endless ramifications, and fill the mind with interesting matter. And many whose pocket-money is inadequate can add to their little store if they will take the trouble to study embroidery. A lady cannot earn a living by such work, except in a few very rare instances, but I am assured on good authority that at present it is quite possible to supplement a small income with embroidery; indeed, I know some young ladies who do it.

No doubt there are many places where they can learn; one I may mention, that offers rather special advantages, is under the direction of the Sisters at S. Mary's, Wantage, particularly suitable for orphans or girls whose parents are abroad for a time. I have a prospectus about this which I can show if desired.

Class III.—We come now to the real difficulty—the pretty, light-hearted, charming girls, or the unattractive, dowdy girls, who have all the necessaries and many of the pleasures of life at home, but no provision for the future, who, unless they marry, must earn their livelihood when the home is broken up.

Thanks to high schools and University examinations, they are generally far better educated than they used to be, but, without superior music or “languages acquired abroad,” it is almost hopeless for them to become really well-paid governesses, and I have already pointed out the many disadvantages of that noble, but thankless profession. I cannot think why more young ladies do not become teachers in National schools. They have to work very hard, no doubt, and pass very stiff examinations, but a Church training college will compare favourably with many a young ladies' school, if the one I know best may be taken as a fair sample. The expense is moderate, there are scholarships offered for competition, and the demand is so great that a girl is almost certain to get a situation at the end of her two years' course. Beginning with £30 or £40 a year, there is the possibility of rising to £200 or £300 in large Board schools, where the influence of a refined lady might be of untold value.

Many objections are raised of which I will only consider three—(1) isolation; (2) monotony; (3) loss of caste. It must be rather lonely at first, but where a house is provided, a young teacher often has a widowed mother or relation to live with her; and if the employment were once generally recognized as suitable, young ladies would have little difficulty in boarding in respectable families. (2) Monotony. Well, is the work so much more monotonous than grinding through the ordinary schoolroom curriculum? There is plenty of variety in the subjects, as set forth by “My lords,” and the children are very responsive and interesting. I know a young lady who at seventeen found herself once staying in a quiet agricultural village in the Midlands for her summer holidays. The school was on the point of being closed for want of a mistress. She obtained permission to fill the gap, and for four weeks never missed a day. It is nineteen years ago, and she still speaks with warm affection of that happy summer, and still keeps up an occasional correspondence with some of her scholars, who write most

lovingly to her. She herself describes that time as her "delightful holiday." Yet she was fresh from school, and had had no special training for the work, though I must admit she has since developed a marvellous gift for dealing with girls.

The school hours are very moderate, the holidays are regular, if not very long, and the life is extremely independent, with long free evenings for reading and working in the winter and walking in the summer.

Finally, there is the crucial point of "loss of caste." The experiment has been so rarely tried that it is perhaps rash to offer an opinion; nevertheless, I say, unhesitatingly, that I believe this bugbear to be an utter fallacy.

If I had an intelligent and refined lady acting as school-mistress in my village, I should treat her exactly like my own governess, and I am convinced that all good clergymen and their wives would do the same.

Domestic service has been spoken of lately in the newspapers for "destitute gentlewomen." In large establishments I think this would be well-nigh intolerable, because of the inevitable association with the other servants; but there is one exception, the nursery. A girl really fond of children might do worse than spend a year or two in a children's hospital to obtain the necessary experience, besides studying at home nursery needlework and elementary cooking. A nurse lives entirely in her nursery, receives good wages and many presents, has no rough work to do, and is often on terms of real friendship with the mother of her charges. It is a beautiful and very important position, but she must be a true lover of children.

On the other hand, I can see no reason why millinery and dressmaking should be scouted. They require either a decided genius, or an irksome training, but the last must be faced bravely, just as numbers of gentlemen's sons nowadays, who are bent on soldiering and cannot pass examinations, cheerfully undergo the purgatory of two or three years in the ranks, and only those who have gone through this know what it means. I know of several ladies in London who have opened shops as milliners and dressmakers to repair their fallen fortunes, and all their friends respect them for their courage, and in spite of the miserable credit system they keep their heads above water.

But, above all things, I would recommend girls who can spell and write legibly, to study shorthand and type-writing. I may almost affirm that a thorough knowledge of these two will ensure a livelihood, with possibilities of much interesting work, as a secretary or a journalist.

Journalism has of late made great strides as a profession for women. The rage for publicity has to be satisfied by the biographical and society sketches with which the periodicals are crammed. These are largely written and illustrated by women. Those who have facility with their pens can earn a guinea a week with comparative ease; and a reporter who can take shorthand notes at a meeting and rapidly transfer them into type-written articles is tolerably certain of employment and a comfortable competence.

There is a society of women journalists which is of great value to those who are ambitious of reaching the top of the profession. Fortunes are not made in this way, but the profession is, as yet, not over-crowded;

it requires no exceptional talents, it is suitable for women of all ages, and it is fairly remunerative.

I am afraid you will think that the close of my paper is all work and no recreation. But all the remunerative occupations that I have ventured to suggest, with the exception of the nurse, are combined with a good deal of leisure and independence available for art, literature, and science.

Should it be suggested that I am advising encroachment on ground hitherto occupied by what are called the "working classes," I answer that in these days of eager competition there can be no restrictions. Intelligent working men and women can reach (and have reached) the top of the tree in every profession, and brave women, however gently nurtured, have a right to claim their independence and earn their livelihood in any way that is open to them in which they can serve their God; and God's blessing will rest on their labours, for whatever the work may be, it is work for Him, provided it is done as in His sight, for His glory, and for the good of mankind.

Lady LAURA RIDDING, Thurgarton Priory, Southwell.

It is delightful to have been given this opportunity of speaking to such a great body of teachers as we see gathered here to-day. It is about your work and calling as Teachers that I want to say a few words to you. Is it possible that some of you do not know that you are teachers? Then let me enlighten your ignorance on that score at once. There are some facts about which it is monstrous for people to be ignorant. "Aunt Mary, tell me the history of Tiny Pig!" demanded a very small nephew of mine one day. His Aunt Mary replied that she wished she could, but she unfortunately did not know that story. On which the answer came in indignant astonishment: "What! not know the history of Tiny Pig! Everybody what lives in London knows the history of Tiny Pig!"

So I tell you a fact that you, all of you, ought to know, viz., that you are all teachers here, whether you realize it or not. Where do you teach? In certain continuation classes. You have heard of continuation classes, have you not, to which those who have left school can go if they like? indeed, I hope some of you go yourselves. The classes, however, in which you are teaching are not modern continuation classes like these. Your classes were going on in the time of Methuselah, and have been going on ever since. Unlike our modern continuation classes, they are compulsory. Everybody is obliged to pass through them when they leave school and go out into life. There they learn about a number of subjects: how to get on in the world, how to get rich, how to get happiness, how to win other people's respect, love, admiration; also, how to fail, how to lose their money, how to sink lower and lower into contempt and shame, how to wreck their lives.

The school in which these classes are held is called The School of Life, and is kept by that formidable person, Experience. (You have heard about one school of his which is very expensive, but I am not

going to speak about that one now.) Whom does he employ as his teachers? In most cases the women are taught by men, and the men by women. That is Experience's plan; he finds it answers best. Whom does he select as teachers to the lads? Not middle-aged, old women, but girls with young eyes, young smiles, young hearts, to attract the scholars. It is you whom he chooses; you who are beginning life with them to whom is given this work of teaching some very special lessons to the young men who have to be scholars in Experience's school.

What lessons are you specially set to teach? Lessons of purity, modesty, refinement; of temperance, patience, and courage; of pity, tender kindness, and holiness—all these beautiful lessons men learn from good girls.

Have you ever thought what a wonderful trust is this placed in your hands? What a great responsibility before God? No one else can do this work as you can. Think how important it makes your lives seem when you consider them in this light; lives meant by God to be spent in service to Him and to your fellow-creatures, whatever your work, or interests, or amusements may be. Your religion should be so entirely a part of you as to permeate everything you do—like hay, or apples, or lavender, whose scent hangs about any box, or drawer, or loft, or room, where they have been stored, letting everyone know their presence has been there. It is when girls forget that their lives are meant to be used thus that they feel them restless, empty, unhappy. The Bible tells us that: "None of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself" (Rom. xiv. 7). And this text is so literally true that we can do nothing without it in someway or another (ways we may never know or see) affecting other people's lives. We think: "May I not do what I will with my own?" But some little act or word may have tremendous consequences. You know the proverb: "For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost." That shows how unforeseen consequences may hang on our smallest doings of carelessness, or sloth, affecting many people's happiness, bringing sorrow and ruin perhaps to many. We cannot live to ourselves.

How, then, can you make your lives good—useful to others? How can you teach those holy lessons of temperance, kindness, and purity to your scholars? You know very well that is not done by preaching—they will think you a prig if you do, and I never yet heard of anyone learning any lesson from a prig!—no: by living your lessons; and so can you make this text true of your own lives in a noble sense.

Temperance, now. What sort of lesson does the girl give who, in company, civilly, pleasantly, but quite firmly, refuses to let herself be "treated," or to touch any alcohol? She teaches courage as well as temperance; and by her brave example she may help some silly or weak friend, to whom a taste of drink means terrible mischief, to be firm and resist too.

Holiness, modesty. Sometimes when many people are together—people who have not anything very interesting to talk about—some spiteful, coarse gossip, or low joke, or dirty story will come up. A girl who remembers that our Blessed Lord is there listening is made miserable by such talk. If she cannot stop it by saying her mind about

it, her grave look, or her saying quietly, "This sort of talk is not kind, or nice," or her leaving the room, will teach a lesson to many if she does it wisely. Her friends will know that their character is safe in her hands, that she does not tear it to pieces when their backs are turned ; her enemies will respect her, even if they sneer at her as a mar-sport. So much of these things is done in thoughtlessness. Young people think there is no harm in taking just a little poison in the shape of a few nips, or of a few funny stories about wrong things, or in having dangerous larks with one another. They think they can always stop in time ; but stopping is too often like trying to step off a quicksand, and that means, that by the time people are alarmed at their danger, they have sank so deep that their plunging only sends them in deeper.

But the girl who stands safe on the Rock of Salvation, whose whole life is full of self-restraint, loving-kindness, and patience, she, and those who follow her example, are not only living their lives as God meant them to do, but they are teaching these lessons to others in the most forcible way possible.

They are Experience's most perfect teachers. Like Mrs. Browning's beautiful portrait of a good girl :

"She never found fault with you, never implied
You wrong, by her right ; and yet men at her side
Grew nobler, girls purer, as through the whole town
The children were gladder that pulled at her gown."—*My Kate*.

And of all such scholars, who will be the one most ready to learn of you, most ready to own all the good which he owes to you ? Your lover. Yes. If you can influence and help anyone, your brothers and friends, you have over your lover the greatest influence of all. And he has also over you. As I reminded you, men teach and influence women as much as women influence and teach men in the school of life. And that influence is a great trust. Many of you here are, I am sure, trusted with it. You have lovers, or will have them some day. May I say just a few last words about them.

I want you to think of this matter as what it is—a very important matter in your lives. And I want you to take trouble about it.

Of course a nice girl would never take the first person who came, anyone, as her lover ; but still a girl is often curiously ignorant, till she finds herself his wedded wife, about the sort of man into whose keeping she has given her life's happiness.

(1) In taking a lover use judgment. Know his home-life ; find out what sort of a son, or brother, or friend he is. Know his character. Do not expect to work a miracle with your teaching. If he has been under bad teachers, you cannot undo their lessons ; only God's grace can do that for the unsteady man, the drunkard, and the gambler. Before you have let your heart out of your keeping, find out all this.

(2) Use preparation. Talk it over with your mother ; make her your friend. Prepare with thrift. Do you remember the picture in *Punch* of two little mites talking of setting up house together, and the little girl solemnly saying to the boy, "I've got a doll and a picture book. What have you got, Charlie ?" "I've got a cricket bat, Rosie. It isn't quite new, but I think it will do." "But, Charlie, I'm afraid we can't housekeep with only that !" Many older Charlies and Rosies do

unfortunately start housekeeping with only that, and when the rainy day comes they learn how stupid they have been. Learn housewifery, cooking, mending, cleaning, and shopping. Swift said: "What a pity it is that so many young ladies spend all their time in making nets to catch birds, instead of cages to keep them in." If the cage is all dirty and foodless and miserable, can we wonder if the bird flies off and leaves it deserted.

And self-control; pretty, pleasant ways; and cheerfully giving up one's own will; not getting peevish, fretty, nagging, sulky; all these things are part of housewifery. Prepare with all these. Don't dress well for your lover, and as a slattern for your husband; it is such a bad compliment to your own choice.

(3) Use prayer. Ask for God's guidance before you let your heart quite out of your own keeping. Think of the importance of this step. Before your death you would prepare and pray, and, next to death, this is the most important step in your life, as all your future and your husband's future hang on it.

People do not always realize what the man's trust in his future wife means. What a surpassingly wonderful thing his trust in his wife is. He puts all his whole life, all its happiness, all its possibilities, into her hands; he trusts her with the future of his life.

When we think of the number of miserable homes, of wife desertions, of divorces, we cannot help feeling the great need there is for bringing home this duty of prayer to English people. Half these unhappy marriages would never have taken place had either the man or the woman prayed over them—had they asked and accepted God's guidance about them. But the married life entered upon with judgment, preparation, and prayer for God's blessing, is a most beautiful holy state. Such marriage is blessed of God, Who is the Builder of His children's homes. He will make your homes, if you ask His blessing on them, bright and beautiful with the reflected light of the holy homes of Nazareth and Bethlehem. The home is "God's nursery of saints, the sanctuary of chastity and love, the school of sweet and valuable discipline." * There, side by side, you and your husband will learn the lessons of life—lessons of duty, patience, faith, submission, love. And the wife who is true to her home, to her husband and children, her kinsfolk, her friends, and her neighbours, will win God's smile and her husband's trust. "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life" (Prov. xxxi. 11 and 12).

Miss CLIFFORD, Guardian of the Barton Regis Union.

THE addresses you have heard from Mrs. Maclagan and Lady Laura Ridding have made you ready to think about "How to make the world better," which is the subject I want to lay before you for a few minutes. Think—to begin at the bottom—of the animals and all their needless sufferings. Think of the cruelly-used little children—of all the misery we see resulting from drink. Think of the overworked, underpaid people. How sad the world looks. Go farther afield. Think of the long aching pain of the slave trade; and think of those Armenian

* Morgan Dix: "Calling of a Christian Woman."

fellow-Christians of ours, whose awful sufferings are going on and on at this very time.

Why are these things continuing? Can we in any way mend them or end them? In some ways they are harder to bear than our own private trials. In the first place, let us remember that our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world when it was just as bad, or even worse, than it is now. He came to save us from misery as well as from sin. The worst misery is always mixed with sin. He is against it, remember that. His miracles were signs of His power and of His intention to set us free. When He healed the sick, and raised the dead, and calmed storms, and conquered devils, it was just to show that He meant to set all these things right.

Why, then, does all the misery go on? Why, when Christ showed that it could be conquered, does so much wretchedness, mixed with sin, continue? Is it not because Christians have sat still and attended to their own ease and their own affairs, and have let the world so much go its own way?

Yes, it is the slackness of those who profess and call themselves Christians. They have forgotten that our Lord said, "Go out and make disciples." Go out and do your duty and try to make the world better. There was an engine-driver who lived in a lodging with other people. For several days he heard crying and moaning in the room above his head. After three days that room was broken open, and three children were found, one dead, and two very ill. When he was asked why he did not get something done before, he said he "did not think it was his business." Let us act on the principle that when something is going wrong that we can put right it is our business, and let us go forth in heart and do it.

There are two kinds of people—the people who always think they can, and the people who always think they can't. The first are those who help the world. "A pound of pluck is worth a ton of luck."

So let us take our stand with our Lord Jesus Christ and begin. Yes, begin low if you like, with the animals. The cats that thoughtless people leave to take care of themselves when they themselves go for a holiday; the robins that boys snare and keep in cages; the many creatures we can save from suffering or make happy. What feathers do you wear in your hats? Every one who buys one of those pretty egret sprays must answer for a little brood of nestlings being starved to death. The mother only has those plumes in the season of nests and young ones. Then remember the children. Don't be too shy to speak if you see a cruel or wrong thing. And will you not whisper kindly to an elder child who is teasing a little one, and try to keep that small child good, and sweet, and unspoiled?

Think, too, of household cleanliness. Don't allow dirt and neglect to go on unchecked. Don't let a bad book lie about. Think about the lives of other girls—the lives, for instance, of shop assistants. It is the thoughtless, late shopping of working people that keeps those girls on their feet on some days till ten and eleven o'clock at night. Contrive to do your shopping early.

Look farther afield. Why does the slave trade go on? Why do the Turks persecute and try to exterminate the Armenians? If the Christian Church had gone on doing what Christ commanded, the

Mohammedans would have come into the light of the Gospel long ago, and these miserable, shameful things would not be disgracing us now.

When our Lord was only a little boy He said, "I must be about My Father's business." Let us see what God's business is and do it. It is quite possible that there may be girls in this room who may be called to go out into heathen lands as missionaries, but whether we do that or no, let us go forth in heart—let us care, let us pray, let us feel our own share in things that are beyond our personal interests and our own affairs.

WORKING MEN'S HALL,

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Hon. Mrs. A. LEGGE in the Chair.

- (1) WOMEN AS POOR LAW GUARDIANS.
- (2) THE WORK OF A CLERGYMAN'S WIFE.
 - (a) IN TOWNS.
 - (b) IN THE COUNTRY.

Hon. Mrs. A. LEGGE.

WE must do our best this afternoon to justify the existence of our Women's meeting. This is chiefly owing to the disappointment expressed by the President and many others at their exclusion from our Conference, and many of you heard the gentle drops of cold water poured on it in the inaugural address. But when I look at our list of readers, I have every confidence that we shall be able to convince all that the Congress, nay, the Church at large, would have been the poorer if this meeting had not taken place. We have but two subjects before us—one philanthropic, the other personal.

The great value of women as Poor Law Guardians is now very generally recognised. Twenty-one years ago, through the efforts of the Charity Organization Society, the first woman was elected on the Kensington Board—to-day they number nearly one thousand. Yet some Unions, chiefly rural ones, are yet without their help; four counties, viz., Cambridge, Rutland, Huntingdon, and Radnor, have none—this County of Shropshire *but* one. Probably the papers to-day will open our eyes to the vast possibilities of usefulness that are open to the tactful and painstaking Woman Guardian, and will induce some ladies to offer themselves for the work.

Here may I just mention that, of all the difficult problems facing us, one of the most difficult is that of the feeble-minded, and what to do with them. We all know into what condition they may drift. Do we know what with care and teaching they can learn? Let me advise you all to visit the stall at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, presided over by Miss Stacey, who does so much work in Birmingham. Let me also call your attention to our second subject, treated as it will be by those

who have had varied and wide experience, which has already evoked much interest, and will, I hope, be followed by some discussion. We, the wives of the clergy, count it an honour to be allowed to share parochial anxieties which often can be told to no other. We deem it a pleasure so to arrange our household affairs as to avert all minor worries, that no unnecessary irritation shall hinder the work of the pastor and priest. This is surely our first duty—this is possible to all.

But we live in days when with this primary duty of oiling the machinery of family-life must be combined manifold calls to outside work—the demands on our time, our purse, our sympathy, seem unending; to some of us they become a real burden.

It is given to some of our highly-gifted sisters to combine the two—the home life and the outside life—in a wonderful and enviable manner. Some of us, again, must be content to sit on the back bench, following—not leading—ready to use our *one* talent, whatever it be, and to make of it the very best we can. Great are the opportunities and the possibilities of our life; great too our need, first, of the Divine help, but also of the human sympathy, the friendly grasp, the word of counsel and encouragement, from those fitted to give it. I augur from this large gathering that we are eager to hear, and ready, not to criticise, but to learn.

PAPERS.

(I) WOMEN AS POOR LAW GUARDIANS.

Miss SOPHIA LONSDALE, The Close, Lichfield; Poor Law Guardian of the Lichfield Union.

It is hardly necessary to defend the position of women as poor law guardians; the time for that has gone by, and those who were pioneers in the movement can look back with almost unmixed satisfaction on what has been accomplished. The first women guardians were elected in 1871, and for some years they were few in number, and had to combat some conventional prejudices. They were strong, wise, far-seeing, and withal benevolent, tender-hearted women, whose actions were guided by principles which experience taught them were sound, and whose knowledge of their business gave them real, well-earned, though unsought influence. Let us never forget that it was their qualifications and the good work that they did which made it easy for other women to be elected in large numbers as soon as the legal disabilities were removed by the Local Government Act of 1894. This Act made it possible for almost any man or woman to be elected. There are, I believe, about nine hundred women guardians in England and Wales, and it seems likely that at the next election the number will be still further increased.

While we should probably all agree that from one point of view the increase in the number of women guardians is a very good thing, some among us have felt that mere numbers are a doubtful advantage, that quantity, irrespective of quality, may even be dangerous, and we are not without anxiety as to the future, for we are uneasy lest with the legal qualifications, other more important things, which I can only describe as moral qualifications, should also disappear. Women guardians have

been so successful in the past that some people appear to think the work is easy, and that almost any woman can safely undertake it.

As I am a guardian myself, I hope I shall not be thought a traitor to the cause if I spend some of the few minutes at my disposal in delivering two messages of warning entrusted to me by women guardians who have borne the burden and heat of the day, and are beyond question able to speak with authority on this subject. I hope we shall not be misunderstood, and that what we say will not make any woman who feels she has a vocation for it shrink from undertaking this work. We know well enough how valuable the work of a good woman guardian can be, and how much women are needed on Boards.

The first message with which I am entrusted is this : Women should not seek to become guardians of the poor unless they understand the chief principles of the law which they propose to administer.

"Surely," you may say, "such a warning as this is wholly unnecessary ; no woman would presume to become a guardian unless she knew something of the poor law." I am sorry to say there are plenty of guardians, both men and women, whose knowledge of the poor law is quite superficial, since they are absolutely ignorant of its history, its principles, and its possibilities.

What my friends wish me to emphasize is this : The women who became poor law guardians before December, 1894, were, generally speaking, well qualified by education and ability to hold the position ; they had taken pains to study the poor law as a whole, and they knew that though they were, in the first place, bound to devote themselves to the welfare of the pauper women and children in their Unions and the inmates of the infirmaries, they ought also to be a help and not a hindrance to their Boards when questions of principle arose. For instance, it used to be said, and I believe with truth, "If you want to diminish out-door relief, get a woman on to your Board ; women are always opposed to out-door relief." The sole reason for this was, not that women are by nature harder-hearted than men, certainly not that they are harder-headed, but simply that the women guardians of those days had taken pains to study poor law history and principles, and had come to logical conclusions. I fear, however, from what I have heard and read, that the modern women guardians are not always so well equipped and capable as those who preceded them. In some instances women have been elected who act on impulse, and are guided solely by what is called a kind heart. Do not mistake me : the kind heart is not hardened, but its kindness becomes useful only when controlled by a strong, clear head.

Guardians of the poor ! The very name suggests kindness, sympathy, watchfulness, and care. How very poor most of the people are who enter our workhouses, Miss Clifford can tell you better than I can ; and the pauper outside the workhouse is often even poorer. Poor in mind and body, the failures of life, they appeal in the strongest way to Christian men and women for help ; and the only effectual help is that which takes them out of their poverty. How difficult, often impossible, it is to find a remedy, the woman of resource and experience realizes only too well ; but it is she who knows, in the first place, if anything can be done, and, in the second place, how to set about it in the right way. She has learnt the great lesson that human ingenuity and care

have their limitations, and that it is mere folly to attempt the impossible.

If fundamental principles are grasped, there will be little danger of the woman guardian mistaking reaction for reform, or of pledging herself to support changes which may seem to be improvements, but are really nothing but dangerous relapses into ancient abuses. Many of the proposed alterations we hear so much about are resuscitated from dishonourable graves by political agitators who have no practical knowledge of the poor law. The newspapers publish flaming articles about them; they have a kind of fictitious philanthropic glamour, and finally, by being called "reforms," they attain to social beatification. Some of them are thoroughly discredited plans, which have failed ignominiously, perhaps more than once; but the failures are forgotten, the experiments are tried again, and, of course, fail again. For instance, I would suggest to women who are taking up poor law work to refrain from promising support to projects for making the workhouse thoroughly attractive to the poor, for providing work for the unemployed, or for setting up farm colonies, until they have carefully studied the history of such experiments in the past.

My second message of warning is this: Women guardians should beware lest their interest in individuals, or even in certain classes, should make them forgetful of their wider and more important duties to the community at large.

There is a grave danger of women undertaking poor law work in what has been called the "Lady Bountiful" spirit. I have heard of extreme instances where women have given themselves up to popularity-hunting, have positively captured their Board, appealing to the charitable feelings of their male colleagues, and have finally succeeded in deluging their union with relief. I do not want to call anyone bad names, but surely this is very like a serious breach of public trust. Short of this, have we never heard of the pet old woman who is such a remarkable specimen that it seems like a positive duty to upset the sound practice of years on her behalf. That dear old woman, whose real character is often shrewdly concealed from her lady friends, is a very dangerous person, and we guardians know her well; she is the cause of much benevolent jobbery, and, I may add, of grave injustice. A woman would not lend herself to this kind of thing if she were able to take a broad view of the duties of a guardian and had really grasped this principle, among others, "that kindness to the individual may be cruelty to the class," and had realized that the poor law should be used for the ultimate good of the whole nation, and not for the very doubtful benefit of individuals. Disregard of this principle has wrought such terrible mischief in the past that it cannot be necessary to say more on this point.

I have not forgotten that there are things which are quite as essential to successful poor law work as sound principles; for instance, tact, courtesy, and self-restraint; but these I should think would be recognized by everyone as indispensable, and I have an idea that others may be going to say something about them. At any rate, it is impossible to compress the whole duty of women guardians into fifteen minutes.

There are two practical matters in connection with this subject about which I should like to say a few words before I end.

How can women who wish to become useful guardians fit themselves for the work? I take it for granted that the women who wish to be guardians for political reasons, or for the sake of notoriety, are not here to-day—they would probably not see the need of any special training. Perhaps the first thing is to read at least one or two good, practical books on the subject of the poor law. May I venture to suggest that, as the next general election of guardians will not take place for fourteen months, it would be possible to read two useful little books before December, 1897? For history and principles I would recommend Mr. Fowle's "*Poor Law*," published in the English Citizen Series; and for practice, "*The Better Administration of the Poor Law*," by Mr. William Chance. Of course there are many other books which might be read with great advantage, and perhaps I may be forgiven if I say that time ought to be found for reading. But though a great deal may be read up, there remains much that can only be learnt by actual experience. This, one would think, could be gained as a Workhouse Associate of the Girls' Friendly Society, as a member of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, or of a Workhouse Visiting Committee. Another good school is a London Committee of the Charity Organization Society. There you will come across cases of distress of every kind, and you will learn the difference between facts and theories. Training of some kind a woman surely ought to have before she can hope to be of use on a Board of Guardians. But the woman who is in earnest will be always learning; and the longer she studies the problems of the poor law and pauperism, the greater will seem, not only the responsibilities of the office she has undertaken, but also the wonderful opportunities it presents of doing good Christian work.

The other practical matter is this. We are all of us in a sense guardians of the poor, and my friends have asked me to suggest to you that the poor law and its officials should be used and recognized more than they are by the clergy and Church workers in general. It has often seemed strange to us that two sets of persons who have really more intercourse with the poor than anyone else should apparently understand or care to know so little of each other's doings. Of course, there are exceptions; but, as a rule, the clergy and their workers seem hardly conscious of the powers of guardians and their relieving officers. Surely both sides would benefit by the interchange of information and ideas. A clergyman made an excellent speech at the Conference of the Charity Organization Society at Leicester in May last, and while applauding its methods, he asked how he was to deal with drunken and immoral persons whom the Society would not relieve, "for," as he justly observed, "however bad they may be, I can't let them starve." The obvious answer surely was, "Why not leave them to the law that for hundreds of years has existed on purpose to deal with such cases?"

Rightly used, the poor law is an admirable machine, protecting the vicious from starvation, and acting as an incentive to thrift and prudence among those who shrink from becoming paupers. But where private or Church charity usurps the place of the poor law, certain results inevitably follow. The vicious make a profit of their vice, and the

respectable poor and the artisan alike grow bitter at the sight of the encouragement given to those whose lives are evil. Surely, if there seems to be a hope of spiritual improvement in one of these poor souls, it is no bad test to let him submit to the cleanliness and discipline of the workhouse, where he is safe from some temptations, and where he can be visited and influenced without the expectation of the shilling or the ticket that helps to keep him poor.

In conclusion, I can hardly venture to hope that any words of mine will lead my hearers to qualify themselves in good earnest for becoming guardians of the poor. If, however, what I have said commends itself to anyone's mind and conscience, let me assure her that she will never regret the labour involved in study and preparation for this very important work. A great door has been opened to women guardians, and every year it is open wider. Let us beware lest our own unfitness should shut it against us. The work is growing in interest and extent, and its importance to the whole nation can hardly be over-estimated.

Miss CLIFFORD, Guardian of the Barton Regis Union.

SUCH an audience as this needs no stirring up to general interest in the poor. Most of you are already spending your lives in their service, and you look, as of late the nation at large has come to look, with earnest attention at the hundred and seventy thousand inmates of workhouses and poor law schools, and at the half million persons receiving out relief from the rates. We are united in the desire to consider this great mass of people, and to help and raise them in such a way that the spirit of hope and of energy and of corporate Christian life may pervade and transform them, so that the causes of pauperism may, in time, cease to exist.

We may, I think, in the short time at our disposal to-day, look at the work of women guardians from three points of view—the personal aspect, the national aspect, and the question of what we can do specially as Church women.

By the personal aspect we mean our dealings, one by one, with those who come within our own sphere of influence. May I say at once, that here, I believe, is the starting place of our power of usefulness. After we have qualified ourselves to begin poor law work, as Miss Lonsdale has pointed out, by learning what the principles of the law we have to administer are, I venture to advise every woman guardian to devote herself chiefly to dealing face to face with the various people who have come for help. Before Darwin wrote his great book on orchids, he used to spend whole long summer days lying on the grass in the fields learning the life of the insects and flowers. We require in the same way to learn what is really wanted. Workhouse inmates are, on the whole, the neediest people in the land. Many of them are those who have sunk to the very bottom. No one is refused, provided he is destitute. Old people so trying that their own daughters cannot do with them, invalids so captious or jealous that even a religious community will not put up with them, babies impudently left with unsuspecting passengers in railway carriages, hopeless drunkards, people rejected by everyone else,

have to be received and dealt with. Others there are who have lost friends, health, and means, more through the fault of others than their own; and some besides, whom we honour and cherish with heartfelt respect, and whom it is a privilege to serve. Besides these there are the children, who, if dealt with one by one, will repay any amount of attention. This personal acquaintance with individuals means the bestowal of a good deal of time. A great many letters have to be written, relieving officers must be enquired of, the master's and the clerk's registers consulted, and a careful note-book of our own kept. Just to give a single instance. Perhaps a family of five little motherless children comes in, deserted by their father; three go to the infant school, one is sent to the infirmary with some chronic disease, and the baby is taken care of in the nursery. No one person in the house remembers and realizes all the five children as belonging to one another. The three in the school may be boarded out a hundred miles away, and sent off without even saying good-bye to the invalid in the infirmary; the baby may die and none of the others ever hear of it. But the personal attention of a woman guardian who loves children, and has leisure of mind to take in such a family, may keep the mutual affection of the children alive, and save them from that sad ache of loneliness which comes in after years. Another direction of personal influence is to be found in intercourse with the officials of the Workhouse. Their duties are depressing and monotonous, and a little sympathy and unhurried attention help to keep up their interest and a high standard of work. It is impossible to exhaust the infinite variety of things to be thought of in these huge households, containing human beings of every age and character.

Let us now turn to the wider aspect of the national point of view, made up of the difficult problems, the legislative remedies, and the philanthropic efforts that affect the general question of relief. No doubt as women we feel more at home in the face to face personal dealings with individuals than in the wider view; but, nevertheless, the big questions must come up; we must learn not to look only just in front, and we must get definite opinions that will work. It seems as if the very flood of interest that is now being poured upon these questions has added to the difficulty. Everyone, for instance, has something to say about boarding-out, even when the speaker has not quite grasped what it is; about cottage homes; about classification; about old age pensions. Theories not always derived from facts, and second-hand opinions not always correctly remembered, are so common, that there is a continual risk of important changes being made on wrong grounds. We are most thankful for the interest, but also most anxious that the public should be accurately informed. Even well-known words are allowed to have a very misleading force. Take such a familiar word as pauperism. Surely its essential meaning is the habit of letting other people do our duty; a habit, we are aware, that is not peculiar to any one class, and certainly not peculiar to persons supported by the poor rate. Nevertheless, many people seem honestly to believe that if the money came from some other rate or tax, people would not be injured by depending on it, and that pauperism would cease to exist. May I say, therefore, that even from this national point of view, I believe the most valuable service women guardians can give, is to acquaint the

public with facts as we find them existing. There is, for example, the present burning question, "How can we so educate the children as to make them good citizens and good Christians? What are the right principles and the best way?" I should say, study your own workhouse school from every point of view, and carefully note the results. You know your parish school, because you have had long intercourse with the teachers, or friendships with the parents; you know the children by name—you have been in the habit of taking classes, watching play, conversing with inspectors, and you have seen how the boys and girls turn out in after life. All this has given you a clear opinion on school questions, an opinion worth hearing. This kind of knowledge, only rather extended, is what we need about our poor law schools. There is more to know, because the whole life of the children for the time being is covered by them; diet, clothing, baths; their whole religious, moral, and physical training. We want an accurate written register of the children under our own care, with plenty of room for notes and expansions. Without a clear understanding of the facts and the proportions of the subject, we cannot hope to devise general schemes that will really touch and move the evils. Our experience of fourteen years in the Barton Regis school amounts very much to this: four things chiefly drag down the children—bad friends, bad health, bad equipment for life, and the absence of after-care for boys and girls when they leave the workhouse for work. I need not say that we have made earnest, and to a great extent successful, efforts to remedy these fatal defects. My own opinion is, that if these four cardinal points are put right, evil heredity will in most cases be vanquished.

Three practical points come to the front. First and foremost we need a Government children's department, to thoroughly consider and do justice to the claims of the children whom we want to bring up free from the taint of pauperism. Such a department must be a branch of the Local Government Board, or endless friction would prevent its efficiency. The children cannot belong both to the guardians, who pay, and to a State department, which does not pay.

Next, we need far more power of legislative control over children brought up at the public expense. It is an infinite regret that poor law orphans are still, as soon as they leave the workhouse for service, absolutely without legal guardianship or protection.

And, thirdly, the training and education of poor law children in institutions require special and peculiar attention of a more comprehensive nature than that at present afforded by the Education Department.

There is not time to enter upon the interesting and important questions connected with the aged and infirm, the young women, the lunatics, and the sane epileptics. Above all, I should like to have spoken of the infirmaries. When it is remembered that in many places there is still no night nursing, and that much of the day nursing is too often left to irresponsible paupers, it is seen what a field is here open for efforts to raise the condition of workhouse infirmaries. I would especially beg that Miss Lonsdale's warning as to the need of knowledge be remembered here. Just as a practical acquaintance with schools is essential to the value of opinions on school questions, so in hospital matters some experience, if only as a visitor of hospitals and a friend of nurses, is required, if we are to have a right judgment as to workhouse infirmaries.

The question now arises, What can we as Churchwomen do for workhouse inmates? We should extremely deprecate anything like a Church party being formed on a board of guardians. We thoroughly value the good work done by Nonconformist guardians. We unite with them in desiring the highest welfare of the people to be of supreme interest; we most heartily desire to steer clear of jealousies and suspicions. We must remember, however, that not only a majority, but a large majority, of inmates, if we exclude Roman Catholics, are professed members of the Church of England, and that the chaplain must by law be a clergyman. Notwithstanding this, Churchmen and women have not, at any rate in towns, come forward as they should have done to take their share in poor law work. Nonconformist women have, it seems to me, been educated to feel a more definite responsibility in social and political subjects, and we Church women, notwithstanding the immense public spirit of the Prayer-book, have failed to take our due share in poor law administration. One result of our slackness is that nearly a quarter of the workhouses in England and Wales are actually or practically without a chaplain. Committees were appointed by both Houses of Convocation, and reported in 1891, upon the spiritual provision in workhouses. They found that out of six hundred workhouses, one hundred and fifty practically had no chaplains, and seventy-two of these actually none. One can realize what this means. The workhouse chaplain's work is chiefly pastoral; the Sunday services are but a small part of it. He spends most of his time in sick wards and infirm wards; most of the communicants are there. The comfort and strength that come through him are chiefly given to the helpless and the dying. Two old people came into our workhouse the other day, they said, "to make their peace with God." "Yes," said the dear old woman, "I thought I'd come in. You see, one was worrying me here, and another was worrying me there, and I thought, well, I'll give it all up and I'll go in there. I shall make my peace with God much better. So I came, and I'm very happy." I never saw, anywhere, such grief over the death of a clergyman as I saw in our workhouse over the sad and sudden death of the chaplain. Few outside the workhouse knew or appreciated him, but in there the people knew that he had spent himself entirely for them, and they believed in him and revered him. Even the able women, rough and bad as many of them were, subscribed of their own accord and gave their poor coppers for a funeral wreath, and the officers put up a coloured window in the chapel in memory of him.

The children, too, depend on the chaplain. It is legally his duty to examine them quarterly in all their school learning, and this gives him special power of becoming acquainted with them. He has the same opportunities, only magnified, that every parish priest has, for a workhouse chapel that attracts the inmates will have a good and regular congregation of the class which it is most difficult to get to Church, out of doors.

The Reports of both the committees of Convocation drew attention to what seemed to them weak places in our spiritual provision. Foremost came the deficiency of chaplains, due, of course, to the majority of a board deciding that a chaplain was an unnecessary expense. If Church people had done their duty, one hundred and fifty chaplaincies would not have lapsed.

Another point in these reports was the condition of the chapels. In most town unions and large country ones, it is either a necessity or advisable that the majority of the people should worship in their own workhouse chapel. We may see, if we have authority as guardians, that the chapel is cared for, that it is comfortable and fit for devotion. If the house is mean and sordid, don't let the chapel be so. If only the board room or the dining hall is used for the service, something may be done to make it more reverent. The singing can perhaps be improved, and large print books provided. If a Guardian will now and then attend the services, it is welcomed as an act of fellowship. Indeed, may I add that, few clergy are more in need of sympathy and consideration than the chaplain of a large workhouse. All the circumstances of his work are so monotonous, and often so depressing, that he ought to be specially remembered.

Another branch of work in which as Church women we can help, is in providing the extremely important aid of the Girls' Friendly Society for the after-care of the school-girls. The reports to Convocation point out the grateful debt owed by the Church to this great society, and its rather older sister, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, which works in the London area. And the report of the province of Canterbury draws attention to the need of a department of the Young Men's Friendly Society, adapted to workhouse boys, who, most of us think, need mothering as much as the girls. A very few homes and organized helpers do exist for the boys, but there is great need of more. Most of the unions of England have availed themselves of the aid of the Girls' Friendly Society. This society works in four hundred and forty-one out of six hundred and forty-eight unions. It does not seek to make Nonconformist girls into Church girls, but it welds them into the rank and company of ordinary respectable young women, and it mothers them just at the critical part of their lives. It encourages them to steady perseverance, and it smiles upon their happy marriage. It helps them to understand that they belong to the family of God.

What a woman guardian can do for the Girls' Friendly Society is three-fold. Of course she can start a branch if there is not one already. The sanction of the board is not required, but we naturally prefer having it, and should always like to have leave for an associate to visit the school and make friends with the girls, and admit them, if they wish it, to be candidates. She can, in the next place, introduce to the notice of the guardians the quarterly report received from the society, of the girls in service. If the guardians can come to understand the urgent and sad need of after-care which this little quarterly report describes, they may become willing, if asked, to subscribe for a lodging to which young girls may go between their places of service. In a village, a room in the house of some motherly woman is all that is necessary; in a town, a house is required, which may, of course, be used for other steady young servants, under the supervision of a lady. There is no legal difficulty in a subscription being given large enough to defray the expense of such lodgings; and guardians *will do it*, if they realize, as we have learnt to do, that the future of these girls depends more on the after-care given to them than on any other element in their training. Most of them have literally no one elder relative whom they can respect; they are painfully and cruelly unprotected, and nearly all of them are touchingly grateful

for a shelter to which they can go on holidays and between their places of service.

And, thirdly, the woman guardian can satisfy herself that the Girls' Friendly Society's work is being done in the way it ought to be done; that it is not a mere matter of reports and festivals, but that the associate has it on her heart to win these girls for Christ—nothing less. The Girls' Friendly Society has in it the elements of real motherhood, and it must be worked for these girls with more authority, more elasticity, and more tenderness than for the ordinary member with a good home, and relations who are a help and an example. We want the associate to be one who will be something of a mother as well as a friend, and who will take the responsibility of protecting and guarding a girl, and helping her to walk well in the difficult path of life.

Much remains to be said for which we, at this moment, have no time. May I hope that some in this room will devote themselves to this work, where thoughtful effort is so much needed, and it seems to us so well rewarded.

DISCUSSION.

The Ven. C. B. MAUDE, Archdeacon of Salop.

THERE are ten minutes before we proceed to the next subject, and the President desires me to ask you to put any questions you may wish to Miss Clifford or Miss Lonsdale.

MISS LONSDALE.

(IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS).

THE initial step to be taken for a woman to become a poor law guardian is to be nominated by two householders. The clerk to the union provides the necessary form. The work of a lady guardian is shared by the lady visitor when the guardians will allow it, but I am sorry to say that on many boards the lady guardians are so hampered by restrictions that their hands are tied to a great extent.

A LADY.

WHAT is your opinion with respect to the boarding-out system as compared with the present system of boarding in cottage homes? In cottage homes of course there are a large number of children placed together. For instance, in the Union with which I am connected we place thirty children in one cottage home, and the foster-father takes charge of the boys, while the foster-mother takes charge of the girls. The personal supervision, which you have so kindly suggested is necessary to child-life, seems to me to be very important where there are such a large number of children to be cared for by one mother, or in the case of boys the father and the mother. I should very much like to have your experience on this point.

MISS CLIFFORD.

THE question of boarding-out is a very large one, but I should like to say that the permanent result of the boarding-out is that it provides—if it is a fortunate instance—future friends for the child, not only in its childhood, but in after-life. This does not always happen, but I have seen many instances where a child has found a home for

life. Therefore I prefer it to any other system where it is conducted under proper supervision.

The Hon. MRS. JOYCE.

THERE is a book brought out by Mrs. Townsend, which can be bought at the Girls' Friendly Society for twopence, which will give all the information you require on the boarding-out question. There is no reason why the Girls' Friendly Society should not take charge of the little girls when they leave the workhouses.

PAPERS.

(2) THE WORK OF A CLERGYMAN'S WIFE—(a) IN TOWNS.

Mrs. LOUISA HERBERT, Malvern Link.

BEFORE going out to battle, one should sum up one's forces, and their powers. Before using a weapon, one should test the fineness of its edge. Before speaking of the work of a clergyman's wife in a large town, one must mentally pass in review what manner of woman she is, or ought to be, with whose work we are about to deal.

It is a matter of common lament that our clergy themselves are woefully deficient in training when they enter upon their sacred office. What must we say, then, of their wives—taken for the most part from homes of ease or luxury, with no grave demands upon their time or energies; having perhaps never faced the deep responsibility of the gift of life at all, but lived on contentedly in a succession of pleasant days, filled by tennis and cycling, light reading, amateur art or music, supervision of their own dress, and social engagements? What an heroic break with all this is needed, if the life before them is to be fully embraced! What brave self-discipline must be endured to bring every half-hour of time into methodical occupation, to establish and keep a rule for prayer and solid reading; for careful government of the household; for personal ministry to others; for social obligations to parishioners (though not necessarily to a large worldly circle); for genial hospitality to Church-workers, of whatever rank in life; for wise care of her own health; for vigilant supervision of her children's training and education; for loving supervision over the health and well-being of her husband; and for diligent care that her own internal life is neither starved nor suffocated by over-occupation.

A "clergy-woman" cannot too soon realize that in becoming the wife of a priest she has indeed been called to great blessing and honour, but that she has taken upon herself a most real yoke, from the pressure of which no part of her life can escape; a yoke of negative as well as of positive obligation; a law of restraint in dress, in amusement, in society, in luxury, in expenditure, in conversation, in criticism.

Then the positive side. She pledges herself morally, by her entering on the position, to put the soul's welfare before that of the body in every arrangement of her family life. The rectory, or vicarage, or parsonage is not hers; it is only a house in which she lives, provided for the better and more convenient ordering of God's work in the parish. This should be realized in every ruling of it, in times of meals and

family visits, and children's education and pleasures. The Church's work always first; the personal and family convenience always second.

Now this yoke must be an almost intolerable bondage if one thing be not clearly and honestly settled from the very beginning, and that is the full, free surrender of her own life—love, powers, and energies—to Jesus Christ, as His slave, to be used how, and where, and when He wills, as a help-meet to a priest in His Church. When the service becomes a service of love, then joy and gladness illumine every restraint and sacrifice, and fill the soul with an overflowing happiness that no self-indulgent luxury could ever win.

To speak of self-imposed restraint in personal expenditure is not unnecessary, because many of the clergy and their wives bring large personal means to supplement the narrow incomes of the Church livings, though of course the contrary is the rule, and these are the exceptions. It is much more frequently the case that the strictest economy is needed to make outgoings and incomings balance each other, so that the terrible incubus of debt may be avoided. Where the strain is very severe, without doubt the domestic claims have the pre-eminence, and the fulfilment of duties to home and children is so paramount, and the attainment of a well-ordered household is of such supreme importance, that it must be the duty of the wife and mother in such cases to give up the thought of all external parish work, and to concentrate her energies on the force of her example as a ruler of her own household, rather than on her activity as a parish worker.

I do not think it is out of place to express here my belief in the entire inexpediency of taking penitents as servants in a parsonage. "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." The constant communication which of necessity goes on between the vicar's household and the parish, is a most dangerous atmosphere for one whose lately healed wounds are tender to every adverse wind that blows on them. And the servants in such a household ought to be above suspicion of failure in the leading moral points of character, and not open to the gossip which unfailingly gathers round a clouded past.

Whatever else be attained by the ruler of the house, this must be her first aim and duty—that the atmosphere of the house be a spiritual one. For if a married clergy is to be a real gain and blessing to the English Church, by providing a centre of kindly ministration to the poor in every parish (which it undoubtedly does), it is not to be at the expense of lowering the spiritual work of the priest as a help and guide of souls, which, alas! is too often the case.

It is a good working rule to fix an hour when the poorer parishioners may freely come to make their needs known, whether these be for hospital letters, some appliances for sick-nursing, food, clothing, or advice in worldly matters. But in the interest of order it is far better that material help should be given through the district visitors, and not doled out at the vicarage door. Their needs should be heard, registered, and passed on to the respective officials.

But while we keep carefully these office hours for material help, there should ever be in our minds the far higher rule, that from this house which the Church provides for the parish good, should be dispensed that meat which endureth to Eternal Life, and that the

spiritual help which should flow from it should be, as far as possible, accessible at any and every time.

May I suggest that it is wise never to enter the priest's study without first knocking at the door? The rule reminds us that he may be praying with a soul in need of guidance, or preparing teaching for his flock on his knees, where a sudden interruption would be unseemly and out of place. And let every clergy-wife remember that each domestic worry she bears silently, and saves her husband from sharing, leaves him with just so much a freer spirit to bear the burden of his people on his heart before God.

Watch, therefore, that as far as in you lies, the atmosphere of your house shall help spiritual work, and not hinder it. We are all familiar with George Eliot's significant description of the young squire, stung in conscience by a deadly sin, going to the vicarage with a heart yearning to unburden itself and to find help and counsel, seeing the late breakfast, the sporting dogs on the rug, and met by the careless, kindly greeting of the vicar, so out of tune with his spiritual needs and longings, that, not daring to pass the barrier which shut the spiritual from the social sphere, he goes away unhelped and unguided, to harden his heart by stifling the pleadings of the Holy Spirit within that had prompted his visit.

A first visit to a parson's family is also impressed on my memory painfully. I only knew the father, and I was launched into a conversation between the young son and his sisters on the rival merits of the actresses of the day, which seemed much out of harmony with the surroundings. I fear we cannot hide from ourselves the painful truth that many souls have been chilled and held back from spiritual help by the worldly tone of the parson's family.

So far we have touched on the surrender of the will, the ruling of the individual life, and the governing of the household. Let us now go on to see the parson's wife in her external work in the parish.

It must be frankly owned that it is very difficult for her to be a popular person. If she is active and capable, with strong governing powers, the curates almost instinctively set themselves against her as an incipient "Mrs. Proudie," and the Church workers dread her criticism and her supervision. Therefore, it is of the first importance to destroy these two conceptions of her character by showing their entire groundlessness. Ecclesiastical susceptibilities ought to be most lovingly respected, and full honour and submission given to all the parish clergy, whatever be their rank in the clerical staff. If sisters are amongst the workers, they, as "Religious," take precedence of every other helper in parish gatherings or meetings; and the ideal parson's wife must make even the humblest of other workers feel that—parson's wife though she be—she is also one of the body, and not a parish inspector.

When these prejudices are disarmed by an unfailing gentleness of bearing, by a careful courtesy and respect for the little failings of temper in the weaker brethren, she will be able to throw her sympathy and helpfulness into all the complicated organization of a well-worked parish without fear of rousing antagonism in anyone. And what a splendid field of work is before her, if she will only rise to its call!

A clever, sarcastic girl once said to a parson's wife whom she had

heard giving a cheery word of encouragement to a desponding worker, a meed of honest praise to another, and a patient listening to the long, drawn-out grievances of a third :

"I think you must feel yourself to be a comforting machine !"

"Yes, I accept the title willingly," was the reply, "and hope I may deserve it."

In a large parish there is, of necessity, a great deal of machinery—mothers' meetings, classes, guilds, clubs, and so on. It would be almost impossible to give constant personal help to all these, but sympathy, and little ways of co-operation and encouragement ought to be sought for and cherished with everyone. If possible, the parson's wife ought to undertake one bit of work herself, because it is so hurtful to her own character to be on committees, advising others, talking about work, and never doing it. The responsibility of one class or guild is a great safeguard against mere theorizing, or hard judgment on the failings of others. It links her to the general staff of parish workers by the best of ties, that of "co-working and army fellowship." But no special prominence must be claimed for her share in parochial work because it is hers, only if it be more thoroughly and efficiently done.

But, in addition to her own special work, and without unduly burdening her life, how much may she not do lovingly to cheer on others who have, perhaps, less of mental culture, or more monotonous surroundings than her own. For instance, that most difficult of undertakings, a girls' club, without patronage or interference, and not coming as of right, how welcome is an occasional visit to see their musical drill, or hear their glees, and end the evening with a few words of practical teaching from her loving woman's heart to theirs, which are quick with feeling, though roughened, it may be, by hard, unsheltered lives.

Then at the Refuge or Home, if there be one, her finer touch perchance may reach the conscience of some penitent just sheltered within its walls from the dark, evil ways of the world, as she offers herself to fill a gap, or give a tired matron an hour's rest from duty. Mrs. Tait's visits to her orphans used to be occasions of glee to the little ones, for she was generally provided with a bright story which kept them entranced during its recital. How well may this example be followed ! It goes without saying that where love and helpful sympathy are known to exist, and to be accessible, there will be no lack of seekers to profit by the presence of a willing dispenser of them.

But these demands on head and heart lead us to some very serious considerations. The Church's work in the world is threefold : Pastoral = Guiding ; Prophetic = Instructing ; Kingly = Ruling. In a lower and lesser measure, all faithful souls have their portion in these three spheres, and are neither to intrude into what is above them, nor to ignore the call of duty to work where the Master has placed them. A large measure of teaching of one kind or other comes into the lot of most women, and especially into that of mothers and parochial workers. In the first capacity we have practically the guiding and forming of the whole nation through our hands during the plastic years of childhood.

What is the result in the matter of religious teaching ? Simply this—that the clergy who prepare our Eton and Harrow, and other public schoolboys for Confirmation, say that their ignorance of holy things is

appalling. One priest, with exceptional means of knowing, has said that he considers the upper, and not the lower, class of society to be the "submerged tenth" in the way of religious knowledge.

Is this the result of women's unwillingness to fulfil so great a duty? Not at all. I believe it to be simply that they are ignorant how to set about it, and, for the most part, substitute affectionate general exhortations to "be good" in the place of definite, dogmatic instruction on the relations of the soul to its God, and to the Church of Jesus Christ, into which He has placed it. A residuum of emotional religion remains from the teaching at a loving mother's knee—let us thank God for so much!—but no clear principles exist to guide the life in the shock of ungodliness and unbelief that awaits the little soldier's entrance into the battle of life.

Now, where does this lead us in picturing the life of an efficient parson's wife who may be called every week of her life to "say a few words" at a gathering of mothers—to speak to a Girls' Friendly Society meeting of young servants—to teach a Bible-class of seekers after the things of God—to prepare a Confirmation class for the priest's special teaching—to break up the "fallow-ground" in the hearts of penitents or rough club girls—but to this: that she will fail, fail utterly, to hit the mark before her, unless she has a sound knowledge of elementary theology.

I believe that every intelligent clergy-woman ought to be able, without special intellectual preparation—only the indispensable preparation of the heart, by prayer, which we never can omit—to give a clear, simple instruction on the leading verities of the faith to simple people, based on a sound study of practical theology; and that, if she has never yet gained this knowledge, she ought, at once, to begin to acquire it. There are many good books, not written for the learned, to help us to do so. Speculative or mystical theology is not our province; but to have clear, definite ideas in our own minds on points of doctrine that meet us in our work every day, and that we cannot avoid touching, is our duty and our privilege.

The MORAL LAW is a protecting boundary line.

SIN is man's will stepping over it.

REPENTANCE is not an emotion or a sentiment, but a threefold act of (1) sorrow for sin; (2) owning our sin; (3) forsaking it.

CONVERSION is the surrender of our will to God in Christ Jesus.

FAITH—which creates nothing—is the approach of the soul to God, not of God to the soul.

SACRAMENTS are the covenanted means of God's approach to the soul.

Such simple apprehensions of great truths bring them within our reach, and enable us to break them up with homely illustrations for the teaching of the ignorant and the sinful.

In special parishes special efforts are needed. Friendly approaches should be made to high school mistresses. The Church should never be dissociated from culture, and if there are many of the leisured classes, especially young people in the parish, a Shakespeare, or Dante, or Browning reading at the vicarage is a means of drawing out their sympathy and kind feeling. But always be jealous of the intellectual over-riding the spiritual in work. Our part is to uphold the things of

God in ordinary and domestic life, and it must always be first, and not second.

"O ye house of Levi, bless ye the Lord,
Praise Him, and magnify Him for ever!"

(b) IN THE COUNTRY.

Mrs. CREIGHTON, The Palace, Peterborough.

PROBABLY one of the chief difficulties in a thoughtful woman's life is to discern correctly what are her most important duties. Her task is not clearly defined. This difficulty is exaggerated in the case of a clergyman's wife by the belief, frequently cherished, that she has a kind of official position. Outsiders are keen in turn to recognize and to deny this official position. They are indignant if the clergyman's wife neglects what they consider to be the duties of her position; they are equally indignant if she assumes that she has any position. It will be well for herself and for others if she act and speak so as to make it clear that she claims no official position. She must even be punctilious in her choice of words. She is the only woman in the place who may not speak of "our curate" or "our parish." Certainly like every other wife she is bound to help her husband in his particular work, and the nature of his work gives a very special importance to the nature of her help; she has a sphere, but it is an entirely subordinate one, more subordinate than that of any other wife, and it calls for an absolute surrender of self. Her first object must be to make the surroundings of her husband's life such that he can do his work easily—to make no claims upon him which will interfere with or hinder his work. If in any way she can be a complement to him, and make up for any of his deficiencies, she must do so in secret, without letting it be known. She may be business-like whilst he is unbusiness-like, she may help him by writing his letters for him at times, but she must not make a boast of her activities. Such help as she is able to give him should be known only to themselves and God. But at best she must recognize that there is a great part of his life into which she cannot hope to enter. There must be much in his life, much of absorbing interest and bitter pain which she cannot share with him. At the outset she is called upon to make a renunciation of that complete sympathy and confidence which is the ideal of a loving wife, and that renunciation should be faced and bravely and completely made. I heard the other day of a young priest saying sadly to his wife on his wedding-day, "I don't know whether you have done right to marry me, but you cannot share my life." Do we priest's wives always recognize what this involves? There must be no curiosity about our husband's intercourse with others; I need not say that there must not be the least suspicion of jealousy. People must be able to get at the priest without going through his wife; nay, more, the wife must not know who goes to her husband, and if she cannot help seeing and knowing (as in the country, at least, would often be difficult), she must act as if she did not know. She must not seek to know either who writes to him or what they write about. She must realize her duty to aid his work by making free access to him without notice or comment possible. She must indulge in no gossip as to who goes to church or to Communion, and when. This is a small matter, but people resent the idea that they are being

watched and noticed, and that their conduct is being commented on at every step—though of course there are exceptions. The regular church-goer amongst the working-classes likes at least to have his absence noticed; in fact, the sensitiveness of one class is different from the sensitiveness of another. Whatever she does, the clergyman's wife is sure to be criticized, and I fancy it is best for her that she should be criticized for doing too little rather than for doing too much. It is the managing wife who tries to rule the parish whom we hear most often spoken of as a stumbling-block in the priest's way.

Yet when we have urged all we can in favour of self-effacement, there remains the fact that the position of the clergyman's wife gives her a peculiar opportunity. Her first, perhaps her chief, opportunity, is as an example, a witness. This comes to her through the prominence of her position, which is naturally specially marked in the country, since she may be the only educated woman in the parish. Everything which she does is sure to be noticed—she will often be misunderstood, always criticized. But it is no use to be conscious that we are being watched—better far to forget it as much as possible. If our motives are pure, the purpose of our life must manifest itself, and the criticism and misunderstanding will not matter. Still the thought of her prominence will make the clergyman's wife realize the importance of the character of her household as a factor for good. No devoted work that she can do for the Girls' Friendly Society will be as important as her management and treatment of her own servants. No wise words that she may speak to other mothers will be as fruitful of good as her training of her own children.

Her first care must be given to her own home life, and probably her own domestic duties will absorb much of her time. But she need not fear that this will prevent her from being useful to others. In the country, the vicarage is as a city set on a hill; and the care of children, servants, household, is for the vicar's wife an important opportunity for witness, whatever her worldly circumstances may be. She can show that true culture, true refinement, does not depend upon money. Through being constrained to simplify life as far as possible, she may show even in such small matters as the decoration of her rooms and the dress of her children the beauty of simplicity, a lesson surely needed in these days of fussy ornamentation and needless elaboration. But we must not forget how often the worry and anxiety attaching to these domestic cares seem to rob life of its sweetness, and make serenity of mind impossible. Each knows the particular bitterness of her own burden, and probably the stumbling-blocks in the way of serenity of mind are pretty much alike in degree, though very different in kind, for all. We always find it hard to believe that our own cross is not just the very one which makes glad and willing service so difficult, and we feel rightly that no one can understand how heavily it weighs us down. But we must ever remember that in no other way can we so clearly let our light shine before men as by showing the brave and cheerful spirit in which we bear whatever trial God has sent us, be it ill-health, poverty, anxiety, or loss. This is very specially true of those whose life is lived so publicly as that of a parish priest and his wife, and the mere fact that so much is expected of them and theirs is a help to brace them for fresh effort.

The first care of the clergyman's wife, then, must be given to her own home, and next in importance will come her anxiety to live in harmonious relations with those in her immediate neighbourhood. She must be very particular as to her relations with the curate, if there is one. Some of you may remember the absurd letter written by a curate to a newspaper last year to complain that his vicar's wife had sent him to fetch a pound of butter. Probably we all know curates who would gladly have done a far meaner task to help any lady in time of need; but no one wishes to ask a favour from one who regards the request as an affront. The important thing is to know if the curate regards his intimacy as personal or purely official—if he be sensitive about his dignity or not. Anyhow, it will be wiser to allow the sense of identification with your family-life to come from his side, rather than to assume it from yours. You can and ought to do your best to make him feel at home in the vicarage, and let him be perfectly free to come there when he likes. I need hardly say that the wife must never try to manage her husband's curate, or give him orders or directions.

Next must be considered the relations with the gentry, if there be any living in the parish. On the whole, the wife will take the social position of her husband, and be the equal of all; but she must be prepared, supposing there be a great magnate in the neighbourhood, for her husband, by virtue of his official position, to be invited to dinner, whilst she is left out. She must not resent if the squire's wife frequently seeks to have a talk over parish matters with him, but does not so much care about consulting his wife. At any price, there must be harmony with the squire's wife. It does not matter if she tries to manage the parish—the vicar's wife should submit as far as possible to being managed, and quietly go her own way all the time. If a stand has to be made, it is the vicar that should make it. The ideal, and one that fortunately is often realized, is that the squire's wife and the vicar's wife should work harmoniously together for the good of the place. If they do not, there are sure to be faults on both sides. The managing ways of the squire's wife may sometimes be to blame; but it would seem, if we listen to the laity, that an even more frequent source of discord may be found in the managing ways of the vicar's wife, who behaves as if the parish belonged to her, and is prepared to teach everyone their duty.

Next, we have to consider the farmers' wives—a difficult class—because even among themselves there are so many grades of social position. Here the danger is lest the vicar's wife should either be patronizing, or, through fear of hurting their feelings, should stand too much aloof. She will avoid this if she is careful to treat them as her equals, and anxious to make them her friends. She must try to get their help, to make them fellow-workers with her in the parish, and so to lead them to feel their responsibilities towards the life and welfare of the neighbourhood. It will be more easy to get their help if she approaches them as an equal, and does not in any way assume a right to direct, to give orders, or to claim assistance.

To the farmers' daughters she may be a real and helpful friend. They, like other girls in the present day, are often unsettled and filled with new aspirations; they are sometimes disturbed through having received a better education than their parents. The clergyman's wife,

by means of her wider knowledge, may be able to help them to carry on their education—may know when to encourage and when to check their aspirations—showing some how it is their duty to be content with the humble round of duties at home, and helping others to seek a wider sphere in the world outside. If by nothing else than by lending them books and talking with them over what they read, or perhaps finding time to read with them, she may show them how education may be carried on whilst they are helping their mothers in the work of the house and the dairy, and need not be laid aside when they leave school. As she wins their confidence and affection, she will find in them a willing and zealous band of Church workers.

If the women of any class in the parish are to help in Church work, their friendship must first be won. Small social duties, calls, and tea-parties, may seem to be waste of time, but only by getting on easy terms with our neighbours and winning their confidence are we enabled to speak words of sympathy and counsel when they are needed, or to ask for help when we want it. From this it follows that the best thing a country clergyman's wife can do for her poorer neighbours is to visit them, get to know them, and make them feel that she is their friend. This is possible for her in a way in which it is not possible for her sisters in towns. In country parishes it is generally easy to know everybody, and this has its advantages and its disadvantages. After a while it seems impossible to do any more for some people; freshness, and with it hope, is often lost. It is difficult to be ready always to try again, difficult not to have one's ardour chilled by what seems hopeless apathy and indifference. On the other hand, the country gives the opportunity of really knowing and grasping one's work. There is not the sense of oppression that comes in a vast town parish from the thought that, do what one may, one can never know everybody.

But the clergyman's wife will generally be able to do rather more than merely visit. I have emphasized the fact that she has no official position, and it certainly is not well for other women that the official position of the priest's wife should be insisted on. We often hear a lady resident in a country parish complain that nothing is done for the girls and women there because the vicar is not married, or because his wife is poor and absorbed with her children, or incapable and indolent. The other lady never seems to realize that she, too, has a call to help her neighbours, and perhaps more leisure and power to do so than the poor vicar's wife, who, no more than she, has been ordained to the ministry. All the same, it cannot be right for the vicar's wife to stand outside any of the definite Church work of the parish; and in all work done for women and children at least she should take a leading part. She knows the needs of the people, and they look to her to do what she can. Her great object should be to raise the tone of home-life and heighten the moral standard in the place. Each day that we live, each added experience, brings more and more home to us the importance of a mother's influence. The clergyman's wife, generally a mother herself, will easily enter into the cares and anxieties of other mothers; common motherhood will form a stronger link between her and other women than anything else can do, and any efforts she may make to work the Mothers' Union well, or to organize useful mothers' meetings, will be of use to herself too in the

most important work of her own life, the training of her children. So I would say to her, Make the mothers your first care, and then, if you have still time, go on to the girls. Those who know the country know that few things are more heart-breaking than the fight against a low standard of morality in a country village. In such a fight we must be glad to use all the help that we can get, and a vigorous branch of the Girls' Friendly Society, working side by side with the Mothers' Union, will do much. It is impossible here to enter into the working of the Girls' Friendly Society in the country; I would only say briefly, that if it is to be a success, it should be an integral part of the parochial organization, and it should be the obvious thing for every girl when she reaches the right age to enter the Girls' Friendly Society. I know that the unfortunate elaboration of the working of the Girls' Friendly Society keeps many from taking it up heartily, but I would only say that a feeble branch gives almost as much trouble as a vigorous one, and that those who refuse to have anything to do with the Girls' Friendly Society should see to it that they provide some other means for guiding and influencing the girls as they grow up.

It is impossible to speak of the other Church organizations, such as the Church of England Temperance Society, the various missionary societies, and many others, which the clergyman's wife may usefully help to work in the parish. What she may be able to do in this direction will depend upon circumstances, tastes, and capacities. Her relationships with others are the most important part of her life. Whatever work she undertakes she should try to get others to help her in it, however inefficient she may think their help likely to be. She must make it pleasant to work with her, and show, by the way she works, the beauty of service. A country place provides small choice of neighbours and fellow-workers; the clergyman's wife must make the best of what she has, and this is in itself a useful discipline. She must on no account isolate herself, and should, if she is able, join in diocesan gatherings and common diocesan work. By so doing she may enlarge her own mind, get new ideas, and keep herself from growing narrow. It is not well always to ask too curiously: "What good has such a gathering done me?" To those who go in the right spirit, at the very least it will have quickened the sense of fellowship—and few things in life are so inspiring and helpful as the sense of fellowship in work.

Everyone who has led a quiet life in the country knows how great are the risks of stagnation, and this specially in the case of the wife, whom duty generally calls to stay at home. Yet she must remember that not what she does, but what she is, is of the first importance to husband, children, parish. It is useless for her to make to herself, from what she can observe or learn, an ideal of what a clergyman's wife should be; to lament that she has not the gifts and capacities of her neighbour. She must make the best of herself and of her circumstances. It is often only to court failure to try and succeed in the same lines in which we have seen another succeed. We cannot all do the same thing, but we can each do something. The clergyman's wife, as indeed no other woman, should neglect no part of herself. The time given to reading, or to the cultivation of any talent she may possess, will not be wasted, for it can be a source of inspiration to those around her. The sad thing is that sometimes her very virtues may become a source of

danger. Her activity may make her a busybody, her desire to help may lead her to become interfering. How shall she guard from these dangers? Like other people, she can only hope to do so by losing the sense of self. She must not wish to have her own way; she must not wish her plan to succeed because it is hers; she must not care that her good deeds should be known, that she should get credit for her work. She must gladly get others to do the work, and let the success and the praise be theirs. She must have no feelings about what is due to her, but must cultivate a keen sense of what is due to others. She must honour all men and manage none.

But she has another danger peculiar to the circumstances of her own life, which is often most dispiriting. To those who see the priest minister and hear him preach, he may easily appear a saint, but his wife may have to suffer from the fretfulness of fatigue after the noble sermon or the long Sunday's work. If not in the case of her own husband, in the case of others she will often be led to see much of the purely professional side of clerical life. A clergyman's wife once said bitterly, "We are all in the business," and when holy things become the business of life, it is hard to keep them from being soiled and tainted. The disappointment to the high ideals with which a clergyman's wife entered upon her married life may often be a serious check to her spiritual progress. But whilst we may recognize that there was, perhaps, something highflown and exaggerated in those ideals, something that needs to be checked by common sense and mature reflection, let us not lose them altogether. The priest's calling is a specially holy calling, and it is a precious privilege to be able to help him in ever so small a way to fulfil it. We know how difficult it is for ourselves to keep our own motives pure, but we are struggling to do so; let us believe that others struggle also. Let us try to see beneath their small failings the purpose of their lives, and believe in it. If others seem to have a low ideal, to make a mere business of holy things, to talk about decorations and church needlework, and altar vases and choristers, as if they were of primary importance, let us not presume to judge them, but only look the closer at our own life, at our own ideals, that we may see that we are growing in the power of apprehending spiritual things, and that the first object of our life is not a prettily decorated church, a good musical service, or even a well-organized parish, but to know God and do His will, and lead others to know and serve Him.

(a) IN TOWNS.

The Hon. Mrs. F. E. PELHAM, Buckhurst Hill Rectory.

IN endeavouring to present some suggestions upon the subject entrusted to me, it appears that the circumstances and contingencies surrounding it are so various and dissimilar, that it is possible to contract its limits into a superficial narrowness, or to generalize into a dull vagueness. To point our thoughts, may I quote the words of one who thus defined the life and duties of those whose lives we, as clergy wives, are pledged to share? He says, "The very idea and essence of an English clergyman's duty is that, in a defined area, a definite charge is entrusted to him. He must visit the people house to house, and know them; be at their beck and call; go in and out among them; pray for them; help

them when they are sick and afflicted, and take them by the hand to the brink of the river of death. The call involves the dedication of the life, the absolute relinquishment of all which conflicts with or impairs the full discharge of their duties; the surrender of earthly joys and prospects, if Christ bids them surrender them; and, further, he promises to take his place in the forefront of the battle if danger comes. He must live a spotless and holy life in fellowship with God, and he must give an account on the last day of the souls committed to him."

Such is the vocation, and no less, to which a clergyman's wife must respond, if she is to be a helpmeet; and unless, by a lower standard of life, she becomes rather a moth fretting the garment, than in good old Saxon phrase, the wife, the weaver of the life in the home of her husband. And this in a town parish with its complex life and inherent difficulties. Once for all let it be said, lest it should appear to be the last thing instead of the first, that the foremost object of the wife must be the husband, the first duty of her life must be the home. In it the tone of the outside work will be set, and according to its order and peace and devotion the comfort and spring of the daily work beyond will be attuned. Some there must be who, from weak health or straitened means, cannot throw themselves into the thick of outside work; they will kneel at the fountain-head, while others bear the burden and heat of the day.

I suppose on this occasion we all agree that the parochial system of our Church, when really worked in town parishes, has proved by its success to be the best means to the end, and is carried out under every phase of teaching and school of thought in parishes of all sorts and kinds. A clergyman's wife must accept "the defined area" as loyally as her husband; and within it, it must be her ceaseless aim to foster the spirit of *esprit de corps* and healthy, unselfish co-operation and effort. Not each for himself or herself, but all for the whole, for Christ. Isolated work means weak work; through it Church-life dies down and suffers loss. Then Dissent riddles the locality. She will have to wage perpetual warfare with the free-lancing element, and endeavour to guide individuals into a more loyal and co-operative habit of work. And not only individuals—certain societies formed apparently to supply spiritual gymnastics for the unattached benevolent, swoop down from time to time and make havoc among "cases," without consultation or information. Too late they refer to head-quarters for advice, and soon depart, leaving the work to be disentangled by local workers who had it all in hand before. It is generally the undeserving who get the assistance of free-lancing help. I know well the power of special gifts in special directions. Such will always be recognized and commissioned.

For the sake of example, it may be wise for the clergyman's wife to identify herself solely with no special work. This needs a good deal of self-discipline. She will be required constantly to start new work to meet fresh needs, as well as continually to stimulate the old. To create a new post, and at the same time to train a worker for it, then herself to step back, no longer to hold, but to support, will cover more ground effectually than to confine time and thought in one or two directions only.

I am supposing this town parish to be worked in the ordinary way, with a staff of clergy and lay helpers, completed with well trained women

workers, a deaconess, a parish nurse, and one or two mission women, if possible "home-made." This trained band is a necessity in a town parish. It will be an immense help in making voluntary workers efficient. The untrained volunteer is a trying quantity at first. Few people realize that Church work is a science to be learnt first, and then practised. The growth and development of university missions and settlements have greatly aided in raising the standard of all voluntary parochial work. Add to these the staff of day school teachers of the Church schools, a power for good, living on the spot, and knowing the homes of the children. And the Sunday school teachers—we must seek to win our young educated communicants to make their first efforts in Church work in the Sunday schools, and learn and teach valuable lessons for their own lives. Bible-classes for young men and women are popular with educated people, but into this foundation teaching of the Church they will not readily plunge. Is this loyal Churchmanship?

With all these various workers the parson must be the person in the parish, and in those social bonds which help to bind together for the hardest work the clergyman's wife must be his ready coadjutor, and make the parsonage take its place for them all, as a centre of sympathy, a cheery home for mutual recreation, as well as the focus of strenuous work. We must guard ourselves from being used as message carriers between workers and the clergy; it promotes want of method and inaccuracy. We are neither telephones or filters.

Next in importance to *esprit de corps* I put the endeavour to make the mothering care of the Church very real to individual lives, according to their needs, in the regular succession of protective and helpful organizations from Holy Baptism to Christian burial. In a large town parish, with a tide of population setting through it, links can be riveted more effectually by using the various great Church societies and methods than by working only through parish guilds and strictly local agencies. When the ebb comes which drains your local guild, and may leave your people stranded in an unknown parish, the wider method of work, even though you may not entirely like it, meets the strain better, provides continuity of Church life, and brings home the value of Church membership most acceptably at the critical moment. It is a good plan to follow up strangers who bring children to Holy Baptism. In this way new comers are often found before house to house visitation has discovered them, and old influences in a new place are brought to bear again. The wives of tradesmen, including publicans, should be sought out. They often make a cordial response to any plan for definite instruction if tact is used, and a common ground of meetings arranged for. The rigid etiquette, one might almost call it "caste," which rules in commercial social life would easily shipwreck any attempt unless fully thought out. This particular field is wide, neglected, and full of promise; the children also are most responsive, and make eager helpers in the cause of home and foreign missions.

The regular visiting of the day schools brings the clergyman's wife into pleasant relations with the junior and pupil teachers. These days of centres leave little spare time, but even a monthly working party can be made attractive and useful. In the case of Church schools, to gather the younger teachers once a week for Bible study in preparation for

their certificate examination, while the Scripture lesson is being given, cements real friendship and influence, and is valued by them. To stimulate the interest of the parishioners in the schools, it is useful to organize a ladies' association to collect subscriptions and to carry out practical details connected with cookery classes, sales of school work, the giving of cards for good attendance, prizes, and for taking interest in girls who have left school. It is popular with teachers and scholars, and does splendid work.

Where there are any gentry, the clergyman's wife should invite the elder educated girls to join the Girls' Friendly Society, and be their special associate. In such a band of intelligent, active, young Churchwomen you foster the workers of the future, and secure at once bright, capable helpers, who unconsciously give the tone and "make things go," as only young ones can, when your refined girls, *as members*, come into direct contact with their poorer sisters. In the same way, when the educated mothers are invited first to join the Mothers' Union, it makes *them* a power in the place, the poorer mothers have their special helps, and will follow easily. In its new consolidated character there must be even a greater and more influential future before this noble, this truly English society.

Relations with the parish nurse, and with the sick through her, will be full of interest. As her official superintendent, even if assisted by other ladies, it will be a first duty to guard her from overwork, and to insist on the precise keeping of the rules laid down, and upon the maintenance of her recreation time. In a fully trained, devoted hospital nurse living on the spot, the clergy hold the golden key they should never resign to other agencies, which unlocks doors and hearts that have been otherwise absolutely closed to all good influences.

In tracing some of the many opportunities that offer themselves to us within the defined area of the clergy's care, we feel again and again that the Church in active life there is only the small part of a great whole throbbing and working around. Work that is to tell must be definite; but there are requirements in a parish that flourish better on a broader basis. Subordination is the secret of breadth, and the Church system meets us here and is amply sufficient. We take our stand for such work in our rural deanery, or with our diocesan association.

I hold strongly that no parish is fully equipped without provision for preventive and rescue work. Time was when this was mainly left to a great central society or to private effort. Gradually our diocesan centres are taking up the ground, linking our workhouses and deanery associations to themselves, thus economizing machinery and money, and putting the work into the hands of those best qualified to do it. It is most inspiring to know that we have only to make good our connection, and find the responsibility of this pressing, absorbing, and difficult work laid on those most experienced and capable of forwarding it. The working, financially and otherwise, of the Girls' Friendly Society in a large, poor parish is often a great anxiety to the clergyman's wife, even if she is not branch secretary. In a rural deanery there are generally one or more parishes richer than others; and so to enlarge the basis of the branch would equalize the liabilities, concentrate resources, reduce machinery, and infuse more interest into quarterly meetings and festivals.

Temperance work amongst women must deeply exercise us. It is simplest to work it through our women's meetings of all kinds, in conjunction with the parish branch of the Church of England Temperance Society, encouraging the women to become workers for the cause, even if they take to being "Phoenix Sisters." If we can widen out this work and our Bands of Hope to a broader connection in the deanery, through competitions and exhibitions of Home Arts and Industries, it increases interest and enthusiasm.

In the presence of these and many other ways of building up the great corporate life, we must keep in touch with and forward to our utmost the missionary work of the Church at home and abroad. In this lies the touchstone of the spiritual life of the parish. Holy Communion and the daily services of the Church must be carefully used. They become the most restful and strengthening portions of the day, absolutely free from interruption.

Constant evening work makes the occasional evening at home a coveted pleasure; and we must watch lest apathy for further recreation grows upon us to our loss. In some town parishes clergy are cut off by distance and want of time from friends and acquaintances of their own; they are living constantly with their inferiors, educationally and socially. Think how these brave hearts are wrung silently, as they see their children growing up, debarred by their surroundings from the joys of their own past childhood, or returning from school to the less attractive look of their home, with its sparse indulgences and pleasures. Think of the invalid children of these homes, with their few alleviations and varieties, to whom, while the tenderest love is yearning round them, only the shreds of time can be given. May we not learn to accept with simplicity any overture of personal kindness from the philanthropic and the leisured? Such often invade a parish with a pet hobby, and we long to convert that hobby into thoughtful care for those on whom the chief burden lies. Surely, if some would bring their refinement, their opportunities, and their kindness to bear on the tired lives and hearts in the homes of the clergy, toiling incessantly in these great town parishes, they would do with greater grace a neglected work of compassion, that would sound no trumpet and carry no initial.

Seeing how great are the possibilities of helping or hindering, of making or of marring, the work of the clergy of our Church, may we not, as a body of working women, ask humbly and earnestly to be so far recognized by our bishops that they will from time to time call us together, and by their fatherly counsel and prayer fit us the better to rise to the duties, responsibilities, and obligations of our vocation as clergy-wives of the Church of England?

"We shall behold a something we have done—
Shall of the work, together we have wrought,
Beyond our aspiration and our thought,
Some not unworthy issue yet receive,
For Love is fellow-service, I believe."

(b) IN THE COUNTRY.

Mrs. WODEHOUSE, The Rectory, Gotham, Derby.

MRS. CREIGHTON asked me to criticise her paper in opening the discussion. I should as little think of criticising it as our husbands would think of criticising their bishop's charge. But I must ask to say a word about the "young priest's" gloomy ideas as to secrecy and separation of interest between him and his wife. Are not doctors and lawyers sought out, and confidences reposed in them not shared by their wives? Surely a good wife is too glad if her husband's counsel is sought to give relief in "mind, body, or estate." As to that young priest with his morbid sadness, and trying to sadden his wife too, he did not deserve a wife at all; and I hope there are not many of his class growing up round us. Rather would I emphasize the opinion of one who, after careful observation of many homes, came to the conclusion that no homes were so happy as those of the clergy, and why? Because the work could be shared in by every member of their family. This is surely the happy experience of the greater number.

My own personal experience never included the luxury, or difficulty, of a squire's wife, or curate, or even the farmers' wives and daughters of leisure. I speak more for those who find themselves planted in a very poor working parish.

The home must be the wife's first duty. Does it not take time to see after servants, to help them not to waste, sometimes to teach them their work, by working with them, and to care for their leisure as well as their work.

Then there is ample scope for energy in the family life. How careful we ought to be not to have all our evenings absorbed by parish engagements. Who has not felt almost ashamed when a little one has asked, "Have you anything this evening, mother"? and the answer has to be, "Only the choir practice." "Oh! that tiresome choir," or "that horrid class!" "When will you be able to play with us"? How easy to have a grudge forming in the children's hearts against the very work we want them to love, because it is robbing them of some of the precious time they claim as their own? But if one whose lot is cast in a country place is really anxious to be of use, how soon she will find that she is called upon to consider the whole parish as more or less part of her large family. The principle of motherhood comes into active exercise. Perhaps the interrupted mornings demand the most patience, and yet no one must feel they will be sent away without a hearing. Some family trouble, a girl needing a place, an ache or pain for which the clergyman's wife is supposed to have a remedy. After all, what more blessed than to be "wanted"—and that she will certainly be. I might mention here that I have found an occasional turn out of left-off children's clothing, and bits of carpet, etc., offered for sale at a nominal cost, a great improvement upon the giving away system. The money should be used for some parochial or missionary object, and the plan seems to give general satisfaction.

Need I even mention the Mothers' Meeting, as a sure way to keep up friendly relations, to relieve the monotony of toiling lives, and, as I firmly believe, a constant stepping-stone to attendance at church, and even godly lives. The Mothers' Union, the Women's Temperance Work—who can start it but the clergyman's wife? Then there are the

girls. She feels she must extend a mother's care to them all, Church and chapel alike. They must know that someone cares very, very much whether they stand firm, or yield to the prevailing low standard. Do we begin early enough? As one of our bishops has put it: lose sense of decency, and modesty soon follows, and the next step is loss of purity. We must enlist landlords, School Boards, and above all, the mothers of small children, more and more in this great crusade.

I hope no clergyman's wife will quite leave out the overgrown boys, the farm lads, the youths who in some places "prop up the walls," and seem to have so little resource in themselves. If she can get them to spend their evenings and Sunday afternoons better—by classes, by singing, by painting, by some interest—she may find in them what the *mother* is sure of, that underneath the rough exterior there is a possible true brave man.

Perhaps some find plenty to occupy them in work among the little children, so ready to come and listen to teaching on the Bible, or anything especially for them. A lady told me that in a parish where the clergyman's wife went in for half an hour each morning to the village school for a little religious instruction, the after-results were most surprising and encouraging. Saturday morning classes for them are a very good idea.

The openings for work do not stop here. If we find some in other parishes willing to help us with our Mothers' Union or our girls', we must be prepared to sacrifice a little time to go and help them. "He that hath friends must show himself friendly." But all these demands need such constant fresh supplies from God's boundless treasury. Surely the first work of all is to see to it that the spiritual life is not neglected.

It is not a "business" or a "profession." It is a life—and the life must be "hid with Christ, in God"—"lived by faith in the Son of God." There must be the early hour of communion, jealously guarded, for prayer and God's Word, or what power can be claimed to meet the disappointments, the failures, the worries of daily life, even in a secluded country parsonage. What she *is*, is still more important than what she *does*, and the motive for all the active, busy life must be solely because in each child, youth, girl, and mother, she recognizes her Lord and Master. It is unto Him, and "inasmuch as ye did it to one of the *least* of these My little ones, ye did it unto Me."

WORKING MEN'S HALL,

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 7TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF WAKEFIELD in the Chair.

WOMEN'S (MOTHERS') MEETING.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

I AM going to claim my privilege as chairman, and say a few opening words to you. I believe I am addressing a large number of mothers : and oh, mothers, what a tremendous task, what a beautiful task, is yours ! Now I do want any mothers here who have little children to say to themselves something like this, " Here is my darling little boy : God has entrusted him to me, and bidden me train him up to become a brave, pure, honest, and self-reliant man ; " or " Here is my sweet little winsome girl : God has entrusted her to me that I may train her up to become a modest, loving, helpful woman : " and it depends upon your fulfilment of that commission which God lays upon you, not only what your own happiness in life will be, not only what your children's happiness in life will be, but what the coming generation of this land of ours, which we profess to love so well, will be. I dare say you have heard what the great Napoleon answered when asked, " What does France need to make her great ? " His reply was " Mothers. " Of course he meant mothers who would train up their children in the right way. Now, mothers, there is one thing which comes into my mind to say to you first of all. If you would train your children aright, train yourselves first. Remember example is better than precept, and your children will learn a great deal more from what they see than from what you tell them. I heard lately a very sad thing about a little girl. Someone asked her if she said her prayers. " Oh, yes, " she said, " I do ; but when I am big I am not going to say my prayers any more, for mother never does. " Now was not that a very sad thing ? You see they are so quick to notice. You may tell them what is right, but if they see you do otherwise, your lessons will be of very little avail. Nevertheless, I believe myself that the best lessons that are ever given to a child are given by its mother, and that the best school a little child can go to is at its mother's knee.

Now I am quite sure that the ladies who are going to address you can tell you a great deal more than I can, and can speak to you a great deal better than I can. But there are one or two little things which I

should like to say. What are the lessons which your little ones are to learn at this school—I mean at the mother's knee? The first two lessons that I want you to teach them are *reverence* and *obedience*. First of all in regard to reverence. A very young child is capable of the conception of reverence. Of course its conceptions will not be very clear and definite, but I believe myself that a child even of two years old is able to conceive of the spiritual existence of a God who is everywhere, if you explain it. I believe that even very young children are able to take in the idea, and it is a grand thing when you have once taught them to realize that there is something beyond all those things that they can touch and see all day long. As soon as ever you give them a conception of the unseen world, and of a God who is everywhere, they have gained, at any rate, a germ, the first seed, of faith—which will remain with them all their life long, and be an infinite blessing to them—that faith which looks not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen. And teach them to be very reverent in their thoughts of God, teach them to be very reverent in the house of God, teach them of God's presence, and make them feel that they are in a different place and atmosphere from that of common life. I am quite sure that reverence, especially in these days, is one of the lessons we want most carefully to impress upon our young.

I once heard a story of a little boy in a certain London hospital which is exceedingly well-known to my friend Mr. Hoskyns. This little boy was sent to the hospital, having met with an accident, and he was put in a ward with many men and one or two boys. The first night he knelt down and said his prayers by his bed-side. A rough man, seeing him do so, called the nurse, and enquired, "What is that boy doing?" and she replied, "Saying his prayers." "What does he belong to?" he next asked. She replied, "I will ask him as soon as he gets up." As soon as the boy rose the nurse put the question to him, and the lad answered, "I am a Church of England boy." He was next asked "Where do you come from—what parish?" And the rough-looking man said, "I should very much like to see the parson of that parish." The nurse sent him a message, and he came to the hospital, and found that the little boy had been preparing the way for him and his message, teaching the poor sick man and others the lesson of reverence and patience, bidding them say their prayers and trust in God. Because that boy had been trained in reverential habits of devotion, he was an unconscious missionary in the ward of that great hospital in which he was placed.

Now about obedience. I do wish parents would be very firm without being fussy, that they would not give too many commands to their children, but that they would see that they were obeyed. I have often been grieved, when calling at cottages, to hear a mother scolding away at her children, telling them do this and that, and never enforcing what she said. Of course if she acts in that way the child naturally grows up as disobedient and disagreeable as can be. That is a poor way of training up children. I will tell you a story of what was overheard by one of the clergy in my diocese. There was a boy outside a house, and the mother standing at the door cried, "Johnnie, thee gang to school this minute." Johnnie replied, "I shanna." The mother then shouted, "If

thee dinna gang to school this minute, I'll braise y'r 'ead." To which the boy replied, "I winna." Then said the mother, "Ye winna, Johnnie? then ye shanna." That is not the way to make a boy obedient. Teach your children that it is a duty to obey from the first. I would once more recommend you not to order too many things, but when you do order a thing, see that it is done.

Now, just one word more about what I said first of all as to example being better than precept. Oh, do make your homes truly religious homes. I know that it is not always possible, but, if it is possible, do have a short family prayer with your children. You have no idea what the influence of that will be all through their lives. Gather them together, and say a short prayer with them. I know your own clergyman, whatever parish you belong to, would give you a short and simple prayer at any time. And next, teach them to love the House of God. Some people say that little children get sick and weary of the services, and that they are too long and difficult for them, but I know that it is very easy to make them feel it a great treat and blessing to go there, and I know they love it and enjoy it. Teach them the hymns, so that they may be able to join in and sing them. You can, of course, take them out of church before the sermon. I certainly think that some of our sermons are not the most edifying to little children. I am thankful, however to know that there are plenty of children's services, and I hope that catechising, which is a capital way of teaching them, may be more largely employed. Teach them to love their Sunday. Do not make them feel that it is a dreary day or a gloomy day, but make it a day of gladness of heart and joy in the Lord. I do not want to say any more. I hope you will try to lead your little ones to God, so as to bring to them that blessing which we earnestly hope and pray may be theirs.

The Rev. EDWYN HOSKYNS, Vicar of S. Peter's,
Bolton-le-Moors.

It is hard to understand why men and women are to-night separated. The subject elsewhere is that of divorce, but if ever there was a subject which touches the interests of women it is this, and therefore I do not hesitate for one moment to refer to this question. The importance of the matter ends not with the interrogation, "Is it for an individual right or not?" It is more than this; for not unlikely we may ere long find that a struggle has commenced between Church and State, with results which none can foresee.

Can any Christian, can any woman, look with indifference upon the trend of public opinion? I care not where you go for evidence—to the divorce court, to the press, to the novel, to the play; and what does one find? Passion, the lust of the flesh, the desire of the eyes; this is to be the guiding principle of all union, furnishing sufficient excuse for any combination of intrigue and plot. All is well if you are able to say, "Ah, but how passionately fond of her he was."

But no sooner do you thus open the door for divorce, than see how rapidly it spreads, what uncertainty it brings into all relationships!

Every man and every woman is in effect told that there is a way possible by which the restraints of contract can be broken, and that if it is broken, both society and the press, and perhaps even the Church, will proceed to make excuses and show how reasonable such a course is. In the midst of all such entanglement and uncertainty there is only one safe course to pursue, viz., to go back to the plain teaching of Christ and His Apostles, and upon that to stand.

One of the questions put to our Blessed Lord was the identical question which to-day is put to our Blessed Lord's Church, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?" For an answer, our Lord carries the enquirer back to the very time of the ordination of marriage, and, whilst allowing that because of the hardness of men's hearts there was a period under the Mosaic dispensation when man was unprepared to accept the ideal, yet He adds, "But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh; so that they are no more twain, but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." Solemn words, which everyone of you heard repeated when at your marriage the priest placed your right hand in your husband's, and, raising them aloft, bound together, said, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder."

The disciples, puzzled with the clearness and definiteness of these words, press Him in private upon the question of re-marriage of the divorced. His reply is as follows:—"Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another committeth adultery against her, and if a woman shall put away her husband and be married to another she committeth adultery."

Following upon this teaching the Apostle Paul writes to the married, "I command, yet not I, but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her husband. But and if she depart (for separation may be a necessity), let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband; and let not the husband put away his wife."

Add to this the language so well known to you all in which marriage is lifted up above all other relationships, and is made the very type of the unity—the unity between Christ and His Church. And thus how light, how frivolous appear the arguments used to-day to prevail upon us to lower, in man's and woman's estimation, the sacrament of marriage!

It is one of the prevailing fallacies of to-day that on these and kindred subjects a solution of the difficulties will be found in a spirit of compromise. But the result of compromise is too often the rapid upgrowth of a crop of difficulties, rendering the last state worse than the first. I stand here, therefore, to-night to call you back to first principles. The unity of man and woman in marriage. The relationship which exists between him and the wife's relations (*i.e.*, as he cannot marry his sister, neither can he marry his sister-in-law). And in doing so, let it not be said that such discipline is a mere piece of ecclesiastical tyranny and narrowness. My friends, as S. Paul said, "The Lord commands." And you may rest satisfied, though you cannot always see how it works out, that what the Lord commands is no

empty assertion of authority, but contains some deep principle which, when observed, proves to be for the well-being of His flock.

But on this question is it hard to see the practical wisdom of this teaching? Think how the home rests upon confidence and love; think of the position of woman when her natural guardian and the bread-winner goes forth from under the roof; think of the little children—children, the pathetic argument in themselves against the cruelty and inhumanity of divorce, and surely we need no more to prove how loving is the wisdom of the Father in the home above.

Now, if this be so, then, ye mothers, let it not be said by you that this is a clerical question. Many, indeed most of us clergy, are prepared to refuse obedience to the law if the law presumes to compel the Church to lower the standard of marriage. We say: That lovely service shall not be made a sham; the altar shall not be defiled; such unions cannot receive the blessing of the Church; better a thousand times that men and women who determine thus to act should go to the register office rather than the people should say, "The Church follows not her Lord."

And how can the mothers of England help at the present moment? First, by studying and grasping the subject. Secondly, by bringing their influence to bear; and this influence will best be exerted upon one another, and then upon the sons and daughters in the family. How can one fail, therefore, to thank God that these last few years have seen a mighty effort bursting into life amongst our girls and mothers having this object in view—the purifying of the home and family life?

Personally, I have little fear for the future if the work of the Mothers' Union and Girls' Friendly Society continue to exist. Speaking as a parish priest, what is it that I observe? Societies, based upon sacramental union with Christ; societies, handmaids of the Church, working through grace for the purpose of lifting men and women to a life of purity and holiness; societies, in which women and girls are banded together, obliterating all class distinctions, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, working side by side as mothers, sisters, and friends; societies, finally, which aim at the creation of brides for whom the marriage service is appropriate and fitting.

My sisters in Christ, at a moment when women are being called more and more to shape the form of society, when the education of the young is falling more and more into their hands, when young women of culture are becoming teachers in our elementary schools, can you have a nobler aim than this—the brightening of the home? To do this, it appears to me that we need to do more than teach by precept. How wisely the Church in her Prayer-book preserves the sanctity of marriage, and yet how rarely we take advantage of the opportunity offered. For instance, how terribly we have suffered through the absence of the Holy Eucharist in the marriage service. It is provided for in the Prayer-book, and yet, owing perhaps to the impossibility of any modified form of reservation of the Sacrament, or owing to the tyranny of dress, and fashion, and worldliness, this outward and visible sign of the presence of Christ at the wedding is lost. Cannot we restore the simplicity of weddings and the Holy Eucharist?

At any rate, we can at once make much more common the early Communion. Do you not believe that, if there were this seeking after

grace, then grace, for obedience to the marriage vow, would be abundantly poured upon the married? And if you reply, "But in so many cases either the man or woman is unworthy;" or if you say, "In many parts of the country the bride is a mother before marriage," then, I add, all the more reason for such observances, in order that we may bring godly discipline to bear evidently upon the lives of the people.

MRS. PHILLP, Birmingham.

THE idea of motherhood has in all ages been a stimulus and an inspiration. The power and possibilities of motherhood itself have been recognized as limitless, and witnessed to by such proverbs as the familiar, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world"; by such stories as that of S. Augustine saved by his mother's prayers; such poems as Cowper's lines on seeing his mother's picture; and such sayings as that of the great Napoleon, that what a nation needed most to make it great was "good mothers." Its sublime power of self-sacrifice, and its enduring persistence are presented to us in our Bibles as the type of the Holiest, Highest Love; and its sweetness and joy inspired the greatest painters the world has ever seen, and have given us such pictures as Raphael's "Madonnas," and Holman Hunt's "Christ in the Temple." Like all great subjects it can be viewed in countless lights—seen from many and various points of view; but, as has been said of our Holy Faith, it is like the coloured windows of a great church. Look at them from outside, and they are a puzzle and a mystery to the keenest eye; but looked at from within, their meaning and their glory are apparent to the humblest.

Mothers, is it not so of our motherhood? Poet and painter, statesman and philosopher, have wondered and speculated on our love and our longing, have striven to understand that passion of devotion which makes the dreariest labour and toil of no account, which can give the fiercest courage to the most timid, and tireless strength to the weakest; that love which never wearies, never fails, and never falters; that longing for her children's good which can transform the most selfish of women into the most self-denying; and it remains a mystery and a miracle to them. But we on whom God has conferred the great honour of motherhood, we know all that our high calling means; how endlessly it enlarges our being, increasing our capacity alike for happiness and suffering; how it tramples down self within us, clears our vision, and supplies an ever-present motive for prayer and for a strenuous struggle towards the higher life. For we stand within the great temple of motherhood, God's purposes and designs for us revealed in all their magnificence as His pure light shines on our souls through the mother-instincts and gifts He has planted in our hearts. At least, we may so see them if we lift our eyes and thoughts to the highest level, and do not let ourselves be so absorbed by the daily life of small cares and petty troubles, that we fail to look up to God and to see the claims of our motherhood, the sweetness of its joy, and the meaning of its suffering illuminated for us by His light and truth.

From the moment our first-born lay by our side, and the first thrill of joy and pride at the conscious enlargement of our existence stirred our

hearts, to be quickly followed by the awful thought that we had had a responsible share in bringing into being a little soul that was going to grow and grow, to exist in joy or sorrow through the endless ages of eternity, we have been conscious every moment that the crown of womanhood, with its attendant duties, was ours. We may have thrust the consciousness to the back of our minds, have let the weeds and tares of this world choke the noblest and highest thing which has ever striven to grow there, and gone carelessly and idly on our way, leaving to others what should have been our greatest joy and most sacred duty, the care of our little ones ; or we may have cultivated the consciousness, and gone about with Margaret Fuller's prayer perpetually in our hearts and lives : "God help me ; I am the mother of an immortal soul." In either case the revelation, the inspiration, has been ours—is still ours while life and opportunity last—to lead us on to the blessed moment when, with all our children gathered round us on our Lord's right hand, we hear the words, "Well done, good and faithful servant," and in proud humility echo His own cry, "Lo, here am I and the children whom Thou hast given me" ; or, if we neglect and despise it, to lead to a moment as terrible, as overwhelming, as the other will be glorious, when our account of our use of this priceless talent of motherhood will be demanded of us, and we shall have nothing to offer but a miserable record of lost opportunities and wasted wealth of chances ! God grant no mother here may have to face Him on that great and awful day with such remorse and such despair in her heart ; that the cry of a soul awake to its responsibilities and opportunities only when they are past may not wring from any of our hearts the awful "Too late, too late," which from age to age of the Church's history has stood for the utterance of the extremity of despair, with the added bitterness of knowing that the crown forfeited, the inheritance lost, is not our own alone, but our children's also !

'Thank God this need not be, for every one of us it is still "To-day." Let us only in God's name and in His strength use to the uttermost the means of grace and the helps He has given us, and avoid with all the skill and strength we can the hindrances ever in our way. Of these helps and hindrances I want to say a few words.

I think the hindrance which we have most to fear is that which comes from our own weakness, that fatal want of thought by which, as Hood so truly tells us, far "more ill is wrought" by women than "by want of heart." Most mother-hearts beat true enough ; most mothers passionately desire the good and well-being of their children, and are ready for any personal sacrifice and self-denial which will secure it. The tragedy of the thousands of mothers who are even now breaking their hearts in this England of ours over daughters who are fallen, and sons who are lost and dead to all that is good, is that they would have given, would now give, their very lives to save them. It is not the heartless and wicked women who always turn out the worst children ; but, alas, so often the fond and foolish, who cannot deny their children what they know to be bad for them ; who foster their pride, vanity, and selfishness by indulgence ; who teach truth and honesty, the need of prayer, and fear of God with their lips, and in their daily lives give the lie to their own teaching ; who forget that if they would have their children enter in at the strait gate, and tread the difficult and narrow way which alone

leads to eternal life, they must not drive and push them, but lead, and they will surely follow.

Knowing how entirely most mothers desire and strive for their children's welfare, it would be incredible that the great army of fallen women never fails to recruit its ranks from the young and innocent—that the awful national curse of intemperance still, like an evil demon-idol, demands and receives its awful annual sacrifice of thousands of victims from the brightest and most promising of our young men ; that children through the length and breadth of our land are growing up with their minds crammed with all kinds of useless knowledge, and in profound ignorance of those great truths which can alone make them wise unto salvation, guide and support them through the trials and difficulties of this evil world, and insure for them the inheritance of everlasting joy, which is their birthright as children of a Christian country— did we not know the giant power of the monster Ignorance, which is largely the result of this want of thought. Would that the mothers of England would wake to their duty and their power ; would realize that they cannot begin too early to train their children for heaven ; that it is not fine clothes, or good food, or a good education that they should strive to gain for them, so much as training which will fit them for the kingdom of heaven ; and that they cannot neglect the means of grace which our Church offers without teaching their sons and daughters to esteem them lightly. But, alas ! we do *not* think ; we drift idly on with low aims and mean ideals ; we let opportunities slip through our fingers, the precious early years pass away, our sons leave us unarmed for the fight, and our daughters slide into motherhood as unfitted and unprepared for its great responsibilities as we were ourselves.

And what helps have we to oppose to these and other hindrances ? Thank God, our helps are many. There are the kindness and goodness of neighbour-mothers, the special care for children which has ever been part of our Church's system, and, above all, the ever-present aid and presence of God the Holy Spirit.

And in these latter days that presence and aid has been very visibly manifested ; for, working as He does in this dispensation by human means and instruments, God put it into the heart of a wise woman to start that band of mothers pledged to work and pray for their own and "other mothers'" children, which we know as the "Mothers' Union"— a band which has grown and strengthened, and now extends to all parts of our own islands and our colonies. Its rules are very simple. Each member receives a card to hang on the walls of her bedroom and remind her daily of her duty of praying for and teaching her children, and so ordering her life that her example may lead them on to heaven. If it did nothing for us but this, we should have much to thank the Mothers' Union for ; but it does much more. It helps us with a threefold strength and method. First, by the power and stimulus which union always gives—the sense of comradeship which makes a joy of duty ; the rebound of blessing on our own homes when we begin for the sake of our own motherhood to care for, tend, and pray for other mothers' children. Secondly, it helps us by its good and wise rules, carefully and prayerfully compiled by those who have bought their experience, and wish to help others to avoid mistakes, and use wise methods of training. These rules, carefully considered and wisely

followed, would save young mothers from many a blunder, many a heartache ! Thirdly, it helps us by its spirit of prayer. In no department of life is this more needed. It is only when we try with all our soul and all our strength to be good mothers, that we find out how feeble, how ignorant, weak, and blundering, we are ; and then, when we have found that we of ourselves can do nothing, less than nothing, we turn to God with the knowledge that He will undertake for us, that He compasses us behind and before. But for this blessed knowledge the motherhood, at first all joy and happiness while the little ones are round their mother's knees, would be agony and perpetual distress to older mothers, to those whose children are far away from them in the distant parts of the earth amidst dangers and temptations they cannot know or ward off ; or among the evil surroundings of great cities, in difficulties and perils which the loving mother-heart at home cannot even imagine.

That comforting knowledge that the son she can no longer warn, the daughter she cannot shield and protect, are safe in their Father's Hands ; that He hears and answers every prayer offered on their behalf ; and that those hours she spends on her knees commending them to Him are of infinitely more value to them than even those which were fullest of love and labour in the happy past, is the greatest joy and support of an older mother's heart. But for that she would think of the future with dread ; the anxiety of the present would be unendurable ; and the thought of those mistakes of her past, which her children must expiate, intolerable. In nothing is our Mothers' Union more valuable than in its systematic and united prayer ; for not only are we pledged to pray daily for our own and other mothers' children, but each parish has its regular meetings of those gathered together in God's Name to pray for a common blessing, and in most the beautiful Mothers' Union Litany, with its practical and far-seeing intercession, is regularly used.

Let us see to it, then, that we do not neglect to use so practical a help offered to us, but join the Mothers' Union, and *live up to it*. If we do not do this, the rejected or unused blessings will turn into a curse, and be but another wasted opportunity, another rejection of God's gracious help. The one danger of such Unions is people thinking that in the joining itself lies some hidden virtue. As in membership of our Church, it is the living up to our privileges, the loyal service, the determination to hold fast to the inward and spiritual grace, of which we have accepted the outward and visible sign, that leads to salvation—salvation which for us mothers means not only personal safety from evils to come, but entering at last with our loved children around us into those everlasting joys of which we are told that "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him."

MRS. HATTON, Guardian of the Poor for the Union of
Wolverhampton.

I AM somewhat embarrassed at this moment, and feel like one who has listened to so many good things that I should like to sit quite still and think them all over, and appropriate them, and grow stronger and better for life and duty, rather than to stand up and address this meeting. But as I am called upon and expected to speak, I suppose one must say

a little; and I must say that in looking across a large audience like this I am almost overwhelmed by the thought of how much power is gathered here; so much of power for good or for evil. Every woman here has her own centre of influence, and she has her influence also to distribute, and this renders the mothers most important, not collectively, but individually, and each must take into her deepest consideration the purposes of her womanhood. Now, I remember hearing a sermon a great many years ago which has served me for many a thought, and has given me many and many a serious moment. It was to this effect, that lying beneath every building are the foundations, and that, in building, those foundations are selected with the utmost care that they may be strong and firm, and such as shall render them sufficient to rear upon them the structure in the mind of the architect; that deep down, where the foundations are laid, is hidden away a great deal of material, and this also must be of the very best quality. It is only then, after a great deal of patient labour, that the walls begin to rise above the surface. I have often thought of this in regard to the hidden lives of many mothers. They are laying foundations, they are selecting and preparing materials upon which shall be built the structure of lives that shall be for ever enduring. Think of this, dear mothers, and it will make your lives something very solemn, something very holy, and something very useful. Do not think that because you are working away in the silence of your homes with hardly another eye to see the work you are doing that yours is useless work. You are laying the foundation. God grant the material may be good, and your hearts and whole intelligence may be strengthened as you lay every brick and every stone that goes to the building up of the character of the children committed to your care, the servants that may be around you, and the friends with whom you come in contact.

And now I want to speak to you very seriously. Much has been said about the home life, and I was intensely interested in the remarks of Mr. Hoskyns. He spoke of the sanctity of marriage, but I want to precede that sanctity. I mean to say that I would speak of the sanctity of the time before marriage—the engagement time. I wish to address you upon this, because I see a great many maidens before me. Maidens, make your maidenhood beautiful and graceful. Learn all you can that is womanly, and then you will find that you will gladden some heart and some home, and you will do a great work that will be enduring. Do not bestow yourselves unworthily. You will by this means lift up mankind. Take care, for on this will very much depend the kind of home you will make, and will also help very much to avert the evils which have been so clearly set before you. I am quite sure you will forgive me if I tell you a little anecdote, and I shall try to be brief. Many years ago a sweet young woman, who lived with me far away from her mother, came to me and said, "If you please, So-and-so is going to speak to you, because he wishes to pay his addresses to me." I felt very thankful that she had this confidence in me, and I do say that it is first of all necessary that a young girl shall go either to her mother or to some friend to tell all the circumstances of her possible engagement with a young man. I said, "I know the young man, and shall be pleased to see him." He came, smiling and blushing, and stammering and stuttering, for he was not half so brave as she was in the matter.

He stood before me, a picture of manliness, and I said to him, "How long have you thought of Charlotte?" He answered, "A good while." I asked, "Have you not spoken to her? Where did you see her?" "Well, madam," he replied, "I used to stand behind the curtain when she was going to church and look after her." "Where did you go to find her?" And he said, "I felt that if I did wish to see her that I must go to the same church as she did." He went to the church, and then he spoke to her, and asked her if he might walk out with her, and she told him, "I should like you to speak to my mistress," and he came, and in reply to my question, "Why have you not spoken to her before?" said, "Because I thought she was a great deal too good for me." Oh, that is the feeling that should be in every young man's heart before he approaches a girl—that she is too good for him, but that she is worth trying for. Those are likely to be holy and sacred marriages.

Then I look into that dear old Book and read of the woman rejoicing exceedingly when the angel came and said she should have the desire of her heart. You remember what she told her husband. How he asked for the angel; how he wished to see the angel; how the angel visited them; and before the child was born how he asked, "What shall we do with this child?" how must they order their lives that this child might become a child not only of promise, but of God? How they stood quietly and took their instructions, and you remember how their lives were ordered even before the child was born. Believe me this, mothers, that you can give a bend, an inclination to the life of a child. A victory over any evil passion or appetite before the birth of a child is something won for that child, and assists it on the way to the kingdom. Then comes the time when the little ones begin to think. They are probably around you, and they are all eyes and ears, and they are taking in father and mother in the most wonderful manner, and they are forming their own conceptions and ideas long before some of us are aware of what is happening. Let us, therefore, be careful that we teach them only those thoughts which are pure, and only that which is lovely, that their ears may never be sullied by that which is evil. I remember when I was working beside that sainted woman, Sister Dora—I was working with her two days a week only, but they were the happiest days of my life so long as I served beside her—I remember a little child being brought in with a broken arm, and while the sister was examining it the child suffered very great pain, and cried out, using perfectly horrid language. This child was very young, and therefore could only have picked up such expressions at home. The mother exclaimed, "I can't think where the child has heard such words," and I recall Sister Dora saying, "Be silent; this little one has not gone from the house, and therefore he has learned the language he has repeated at his home; these little ones take it all in."

Much has been said about influence, and I am sure on that subject another anecdote may be given, because much is to be learned from it. During the progress of one of the great Lancashire strikes I went with a tried friend of mine, who was distributing relief to the men who were on strike because they dare not work. We went to one of the miners' cottages. We entered. It was beautifully clean, although very poor. There were high-backed chairs there, a little antimacassar for the head, a cloth neatly spread over the round table, a fire burning in the beautifully bright grate, and in the room there sat a man, the father. I asked

for the mistress of the house, and he rose and with bated breath said, "Will you please to take a seat?" and we did so. There was something so silent about him. Then we heard a murmur, for the stairs went up close inside the door of the room; and to account for the silence he said, "The missis will be down directly, she always goes upstairs with the little ones to bed, and she takes them up and says a bit of a prayer by them." Here was laying the foundations firm and strong; here was a poor cottage, whose people scarcely knew where the daily bread was coming from, but they had made of that little home in that simple cottage a temple wherein the Highest was pleased to dwell, and His Name was mentioned with reverence. Will you tell me that when those little ones grew up in life they would forget their mother's taking them up to bed and saying a bit of a prayer? Wherever those lads might go they would remember that little cottage with joy and gladness; it would be a place to which they would desire to return; it would be the home of mother and father to them, whatever their after circumstances might be; and those parents were laying the foundations sure and firm upon which the course of those children's lives was to be built.

And, again, a great many years ago, I was interested in the railway men in our town, and was aided very much indeed in my work by a man who was employed at the station. It was a rule for one or other of them to carry my bag home for me, and I said to George, who was walking by me one evening, "What has made you what you are, so helpful and so strong, such an excellent helper as you are to me?" "Well, then" he said, "It was mother. When I was a lad, my father died just when I wanted him most, and I fell into evil company, and grieved mother very much. Indeed, so much so that I could not bear to look at her; but, believe me, mother was always ready to receive me, and receive me kindly. But at last it grew intolerable, I wished she would say something, so I said to mother, 'I am going away from home, I have taken lodgings.' 'Well, my lad,' says mother, 'if you will be more comfortable, you must go, but I did hope for better things.'" He continued, "I left home, and after that I led a wild and reckless life; and one night I was in the 'White Swan'—a public-house well known to me—"and there was a lot of us together, and most of the people were talking about God, and if there was a God, and whether there was a judgment, when one of the young men stood up and said, 'Well, now if there is a God we will put Him to the proof,' and he rose and said, 'If there is a God, let Him strike me dead.'" George went on, "I rushed down the steps of the place. It was a moonlight night. I came out without my hat and stood in the middle of the road, and I asked myself, 'What am I doing here, with father in heaven, and mother praying for me I am certain? What am I doing here, what shall I do?'" And he said it seemed as if a voice came to him and said, "'Go home to mother.' And then," said George, "I went. I thought that she would have gone to bed. I put my thumb on the latch, the door gave way before me, and there was mother. There was a little fire, the light she had put out for the sake of economy, though she had been reading her Bible. I stepped lightly into the place and said, 'Mother!' She got up, and said, 'George, my lad, I have expected this ever since you left, and I have prayed you might come home, and here you are.' I said, 'Mother, pray for me

now,' and then I went down on my knees one side of the table, and she went down on her knees on the other side. She did not pray for me as a prodigal, but poured out her heart in thanksgiving. After that I never left her house until I had a house of my own to go to, and then I took her with me." She had made the foundations sure and strong, she had made the character complete in early life, and now her wandering son came back to bless her and enter into rest.

I see my friend is looking at his watch, and I want you to feel that in every home our children should lift up their voices in devotion, and that you should feel personal responsibility. Now to quote a great historian of ours. You know we are all very proud of our nation's greatness and our people, and especially just now, when the heart of England is throbbing with sympathy for the suffering Armenians, and we have sent out our voice into the uttermost parts of the world requiring that justice shall be done—we are proud of England, and we are proud of our gracious, revered, and beloved Queen. There is not a woman in this assembly that would not like to do something if she could to add to the greatness of the nation to which we belong, and of which we are so proud, and which we love so well. Whether the nation, said this historian, be great or little depends entirely on the sort of men and women that it is producing. A sound nation is a nation that is composed of sound human beings, healthy in body, strong in limb, true in heart, brave, sober, temperate and chaste, to whom morals are of more importance than wealth or knowledge—a nation where duty is first and the rights of man are second, where, in short, men grow up and live and work, having in them what our ancestors called the "fear of God." It is to form a character of this kind that human beings are sent into this world, and those nations who succeed in doing it are those who will make their mark in history. May God bless you all, and give you abundant blessings, and I trust that such a missionary spirit will have been aroused in this meeting that every woman will feel that she lives not only for herself, but that she has to work for God, that she has to lay the foundations sure and strong, that afterwards she may rest in that beauteous home that is firm and steadfast, and which lies beyond the veil.

The Right Rev. the CHAIRMAN.

OUR dear friend, Mrs. MacLagan, would like to say good-night to you.

Hon. Mrs. MACLAGAN.

I do not intend to keep you more than a minute. You have heard a great deal, and it is time for you all to go home, but I may never again have a chance of seeing so many of you together. Some of you, I know, will remember me, and though I cannot remember your faces, I do remember so many happy afternoons and evenings that I have had with you in the dear old by-gone days, that I should feel very sad if I went back to Yorkshire without saying good-night to my dear Shrewsbury mothers. In saying good-night, I want to give you one single word to remember as my good-night word to you, and that is the power of gentleness. At this time of year everything is going away from us, but we are putting seed and furrows into the ground with the hope of a

joyful resurrection when the spring time comes. We have harder winters in the north even than we used to have here. But in the last hard winter every day that I went out a beautiful sermon was preached to me by the spring flowers coming through the ground. Hard as the earth was, the little delicate spikes of the snow-drops and crocuses pushed their way through the frozen ground. It seemed marvellous how they did it—it was the power of gentleness. Take that home with you, and remember that that power lies in the hands of everyone of you to make your homes bright and happy, that you will break through hard ground, sinful ground, and frozen ground, if only with gentle, loving words you will push up the little gentle spikes. Good-night and God bless you.

MUSIC HALL.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 8TH, 1896.

THE MAYOR'S CONVERSAZIONE.

The Worshipful the Mayor and Miss How entertained the members of Congress and others at a Conversazione in the Music Hall.

At a late hour, after the Mayor had received his numerous guests, and following on a short Concert,

The Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester,

said—It is not necessary for me to introduce Mr. Holman Hunt to this assembly to secure for him a cordial welcome. You know well his long and conscientious services to Christian art; and I rise to explain specially why he and I are entering upon your notice at this hour in the evening, when you might justly covet a well-earned relaxation from the labours of the day. It is this: there has been a feeling among some, for some time past, that there is more separation than there ought to be between the two great interests which are represented by the names clergy and artists. That separation is regarded as partly a personal separation. The men of the two sorts do not know one another or see one another as much as they should. I am not going to analyze that phenomenon. It is felt, and it is probably true, that there may be many reasons for it. Already, what little effort has been made on the part of a few from both sides to draw one another to each other has been attended by a quick reward of pleasure and of profit to both. There is another sense in which there has been an undoubted separation between the two. There is no greater distinction than that which exists between the work of the artist, and that which is commonly called "art-work." Of late years there has been too much of mere trade work in our Churches, and too little of the artist. There is no ground for that in principle. We believe too deeply in the service of beauty and unity. There is no authority for it in history; and we are quite convinced that if the clergy and men of religious faith, and men of that other faith, which is also religious, will draw together, they have much to give to each other, and we may look forward, along with other forms of wholesome study, to a growth in our religious life—to the growth of a deep and religious and adorned devotion, which shall be sober and wise and English in character, and have in it refinement, skill, and perfect taste, and the controlling power of long tradition.

HOLMAN HUNT, Esq., Artist, Draycourt Lodge, Fulham,*

READ a Paper upon the subject of art in its relation to the Church. Premising that his remarks, which must of necessity be of a critical nature, were dictated with

* Mr. Holman Hunt having retained the copyright of his address, which is to be published elsewhere, therefore only this summary is given here.

great reverence, not only for the Church of England, but for every Church that bows to our Lord Christ, and with a feeling of fellowship for every Church that called upon the God of Abraham as its God, he said that with respect to the art he followed, the Church of England held a most discouraging position. The primitive Church betrayed no inclination to oppose art, but only concurrence in the destiny which condemned the decadent system of society whose art, with other beautiful things, was disappearing, without, and indeed in spite of, Christianity. The new faith decorated art with religious significance, as the illustrations on the walls of the catacombs, combined with the designs on Christian sarcophagi, proved. Yet there was still the survival of a tacit prejudice, scarcely outspoken any longer, against painting and sculpture. The Bishop of London in 1774 refused the offer of Sir Joshua Reynolds and James Barry to give their services gratuitously for the decoration of St. Paul's, adding that "never during his lifetime should the cathedral be so desecrated." It was fortunate that thus it had been left to our day, with a large-minded diocesan, and an artist having a profound understanding of decorative requirements, and the genius and knowledge to apply them. It was often assumed that the Jews from the beginning denounced art; but this was not so. The twelve tribes had their standard emblazoned with the forms of animals, in obedience to the instructions of Moses, and in the Temple Holy of Holies were two cherubim carved in wood, with other emblems, sculptured or cast, in the House. Hezekiah, it was true, destroyed the brazen serpent and other image work in the Temple, and, doubtless, though he acted without any command, the danger of idolatry was too real to leave any question of his wisdom. It was an act to destroy devil worship, but it caused the Jews afterwards to hate all art as the snare of Satan, and led the Mohammedans to abjure it altogether. All wisdom, however, dictated caution against the falsehood of extremes. Jesus instilled a love of beauty of nature in the minds of His followers, so that they were better prepared than other Jews to recognize what was still innocent in the taste for the art of the Gentiles. Their immediate use of it was to proclaim the victory over death, but the Church of Christ was not ready to foster a new art. It had to keep its life and faith amid the struggles of rival barbarians. Later on the artistic productions of the Church were of griffinish grotesqueness; but, although retarded by ignorance, the spirit of art slowly raised its head, and the loveliness of its creation was so great that to this day it was a powerful pleader for the Church, which in its later days became for a time the refuge of every unclean abomination. Yet though these influences gradually killed the religious art of the sixteenth century, the array of great productions done during three hundred years under the auspices of the Church of Rome bore so noble a balance of inspiration as to demand a stay of condemnatory judgment. Fra Angelico and Luini were not alone in testifying to the remembrance of the Church when she was the bride of Christ, and yet henceforth art became impossible to her. Thirty years ago he had the good fortune to meet Dean Stanley in Florence, and after many visits to the churches and cathedrals the Dean said to him:—"I thought that at least in Catholic churches we should find the greatest taste in the decorations of their altars, but instead of refined arrangement I see the vulgarest display of dolls, with tinselly crinolines, such as the tawdriest shops in London would not have in their windows." For his own part, Mr. Hunt proceeded to remark, he would not begrudge any price paid for the great Reformation if it had been given only for religion's sake. The real cost of the change, and of the unholy powers that scrambled for the booty that was destroyed, and divided it, were narrated in Cobbett's "History of the Reformation," written about the year 1830, long before the Oxford Movement. It was the rapacity of robbers, greedy to divide the spoil, that first set the example of destroying noble works of exquisite design, rather than the fear of idolatry in the over-zealous. England had been a country full of the riches of art, and there was evidence of this fact in the ruined churches and monasteries whose wrecks now met the eye everywhere. When Henry had completed his work the country stood devastated as though a savage army had desolated it. The Christian Church after the destruction of pagan art one thousand years before turned the poor heritage of a *tabula rasa* into a blessing. Had the old art lasted, so great was the force of precedent, the new art, with all its sympathetic grace, its altruistic tenderness, could never have arisen. It might have been assumed that when the angry passions of the conflict had passed away the handmaid of religion would have been made welcome in the reformed Church, but the decision arrived at by the authorities was to refuse her services. The distrust of art was also extended to science, and the antagonism shown had naturally provoked indifference on the part of the two as followers of nature, towards a teaching that would seem to limit the revelations of God's secrets as having been restricted to one country, and one period in

history, when they themselves were messengers of continuous teachings. Dealing with the changes of modern opinion in regard to the interior decoration of churches, Mr. Hunt remarked that undoubtedly about half-a-century since a conviction grew up that the deadly dull interior of modern churches ought to be amended. The Gothic taste for church buildings had completely overcome other fashion, and the architects of the day, having absolutely no ideas of their own, merely copied what they found in edifices of five hundred years' earlier date. Our present Church was founded with the obligation to teach the full truth, not to the dead, but to the living, and her highest teachers had in literature long taken pains to do so. What had to be insisted upon was that if the religion of our Lord was, as ever, to be quickened by heaven, if the message of mercy and reconciliation was to be offered to men in these latter days with all the heart and with all the soul, there must be varieties of living intelligence enlisted in the service, and we must show that we were not afraid of truth. What the authorities had done in this matter of art was not to use the old fashions only, but to find the ancient worm-eaten weapons of Poitiers and Cressy, without bow strings and arrows, and harness with broken buckles and straps, and to make Chinese-like copies of them. The wants for the mind of man grew as much as those for his body, and the world would not stand still, whether we did or did not like it. The sham art that we had got in our churches had been tolerated so long because art was considered to be properly an indulgence for the rich. Church decoration must be entirely under the artist, and on the new system we should have no more devices that were like the pictures on playing-cards, but presentments that would speak of real, dear, imperishable humanity, moved by the living spirit of unselfish love.

CONGRESS HALL,

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT in the Chair.

VOTES OF THANKS.

IN the Congress Hall on Friday Afternoon at the end of the discussion on "Tendencies in Modern Society," the Dean of Rochester was called upon by the permanent hon. sec., Archdeacon Emery, to move the first resolution.

The Very Rev. S. REYNOLDS HOLE, D.D., Dean of Rochester.

I ESTEEM it as a very great privilege, a great honour, to introduce to you a resolution. It is, "That this Congress desires to express its respectful and hearty thanks to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield for the able and courteous manner in which his lordship has fulfilled the responsible duties of President." It needs no words from me—happily for you it has only just been put into my hand, and I have no long preparation of sentences to give you—but this I must be allowed to say, that I am in some measure qualified to offer this vote of thanks, because it has been my honour and happiness to know the noble house to which the bishop belongs for considerably more than half a century. The late Lord Dartmouth was my Oxford friend, and as to the present lord, I can remember him as a boy with a bow and arrow, and I am delighted to find that he has made such progress in archery, and has attained such skill in hitting the mark. Of this house it may be said, "Not to the past but to the future looks true nobility, but finds its blazon in posterity." And it is to houses like this which maintain the dignity of their position, together with a wide and extensive sympathy, that we owe for centuries the security of the House of Lords. I have been to a great number of Congresses, but I have never been to one which has been conducted with more entire sympathy between the multitude who have assembled and the dignitary who has presided. I did feel a little anxiety as to this critical and momentous period in my friend's life, and nothing has

given me greater pleasure than to take him by the hand, and, as an old man to a comparatively young man, to offer him my thanks and congratulations on the conclusion of his presidency. He has throughout, I am sure, had your grateful recognition for his kindness and courtesy.

The resolution was put by Archdeacon Emery and carried unanimously.

The Right Rev. the PRESIDENT.

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN AND DEAN OF ROCHESTER—I thank you very sincerely for the cordial reception you have given to the vote of thanks which has just been accorded to me. The Dean spoke as an old personal friend, and it was a pleasure and gratification to me to hear the kind terms in which he proposed this resolution. I do hope that in some measure this Congress, which is now drawing to a conclusion, has been a success. I venture to say that what appears to me to be characteristic of this particular Church Congress is, that in addition to the really splendid attendance we have had throughout, there has been a sense of cheerfulness mingled with a spirit of seriousness, which has been exceedingly gratifying. We have met together as earnest Churchmen and Churchwomen who felt that we had a purpose in life and a purpose associated with the Church to which we belong. At the same time good temper has reigned supreme through all our meetings. I cannot but remember that the President is dependent upon the people, and that it is because of the spirit that has animated you that there has been no sign of controversy, no jarring note to interfere with the perfect harmony which I think I may say has prevailed at all our meetings. May I refer to one subject that has been before this Congress this year, because recent circumstances have added to it a special interest—I mean the subject of our National Church, as brought before us both on the opening day of the Congress, and also at that meeting which was full of interest, but which I was unable to attend, on the continuity of our Church. Well, now I hope that we have given a contribution, and shall do so in a permanent form by means of the report of this Congress, to the literature on this subject. There have been brought before us very distinctly and clearly the principles on which we rest our Church organization, and the position that the English Church takes up. It reminds me that within the last week, or a little more, another meeting has been held within the limits of this diocese—in another part of it. In North Staffordshire, a meeting has been held of a society which calls itself the Catholic Truth Society, and there have been speeches made there, and addresses read, and it has had the advantage of the presence of a cardinal archbishop, a prince of the Roman Church, and also of a bishop—the Bishop of Birmingham, who, I believe, presided over it. Well, I do think that on this occasion this Church Congress, with the vast numbers who have attended it, and the deep interest that has been shown in the story of our Church, her expansion, and her teaching, which has been given to us on this occasion—I do believe that this Church Congress is as good an answer as we could possibly have given to that other assembly. I am ready to leave it to you and to the people of this country to decide who has been the intruder into this diocese, the Bishop of Birmingham or the Bishop of Lichfield, who has been encroaching on the legitimate jurisdiction of another bishop, Cardinal Vaughan or the successor in a direct, continuous, and unbroken line of our own S. Chad.

The Right Rev. EDGAR JACOB, D.D., Lord Bishop of Newcastle.

THERE will be as little doubt as to the acceptance of this resolution as of that to which a unanimous response has just now been made. It is my duty and pleasure to move "That the members of the Congress very gratefully acknowledge the friendly reception and generous hospitality accorded by the Worshipful Mayor of Shrewsbury, which has made their visit to this ancient town so pleasant and profitable, and would wish to convey through him their grateful sense of the abundant hospitality and goodwill which have been so widely exercised throughout the town and district." There can be no doubt about the absolute unanimity with which both parts of this resolution will be accepted. It is always a matter of interest, and sometimes of a little anxiety, when a Church Congress is to be held, to know who is to be the Mayor of the town or

the city during the Church Congress. I congratulate myself as an old Wykehamist of the two foundations of Winchester and New College, that the Mayor of Shrewsbury has received exactly the same education in the two colleges as that which I received myself, and I congratulate, not only myself, but all this audience, and all the members of the Congress, that the Mayor of this year has been one who, from his own previous education, and from all he has done for the town, is well fitted for the position. He is also a nephew of a prominent bishop, and has been an ideal mayor for a Church Congress. We cannot forget the hospitality he showed us yesterday. We cannot forget the sweet singer who sang to us so exquisitely, or the privilege that we had of seeing and hearing Mr. Holman Hunt, and we are also equally grateful to those many kind friends in the town and district who have given such generous hospitality to the members of the Congress. There has been but one opinion as to the generosity of that hospitality, and there can be but one opinion as to the thanks we should render.

The Worshipful W. M. HOW, Esq., Mayor of Shrewsbury.

IT is hard for me to have to utter my first word in this vast hall about so uninteresting, so uninspiring, a theme as myself, and my difficulty is increased by the extraordinary eloquence of the speeches of this afternoon. I cannot recognize the ideal portrait which the bishop has drawn, but I accept with pleasure your thanks and applause, because I recognize that they are not accorded to me as an individual, but to me in my representative capacity, and as intended to include the people of Shrewsbury. When I undertook the office of Mayor, it was upon the understanding that I would do my utmost to promote the success of the Congress, and that my fellow-townsmen would give me their cordial and ungrudging support. I am proud to think that, in the opinion of the Bishop of Newcastle, that mutual understanding has been honourably observed. Speaking for myself as a novice in Congress matters, I may say that my interest in the proceedings has not been damped by the rain, even when it came through the ventilators. Of course mine has been rather a novel experience, that I, by the accident of my municipal position, should be thrust into prominence, and should have to sit here among bishops and dignitaries of the Church. But I can only say that I have found my company so pleasant that I shall be sorry to lose it. Indeed, I think that this is the general feeling, that we shall all be sorry to lose our Congress visitors, who have shown themselves so ready to make the best of circumstances, so willing to believe in our genuine anxiety for their proper entertainment. We all feel that we have been benefited by the Congress, and that we owe a lasting debt of gratitude to those distinguished divines, those men of learning and science, who have come here to address us.

The Very Rev. the DEAN OF S. ASAPH.

I **BEG** to move the following resolution: "That our best thanks are tendered to the Lords-Lieutenant of the Diocese, the Earls of Dartmouth and Powis, to the various civil authorities, to his Grace the Archbishop of York, and to the many other Preachers, Readers, and Speakers, who have so willingly and profitably assisted in this noteworthy thirty-sixth Congress."

The Right Hon. the EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

I **FEEL** the responsibility of replying on behalf of the distinguished people whose names are contained in this resolution. This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to read a Paper, but the preparation of a Paper on such a subject I can assure you means neither recreation nor amusement. I think, however, I may safely say on behalf of myself and those included in this resolution, that it has been a matter of great satisfaction to us all to be identified with the work and the success of the Congress. We shall all look back with much satisfaction to that success.

The Right Rev. SAMUEL THORNTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ballarat.

I ASK leave to move as follows: "That this Congress is deeply sensible of the valuable and prolonged services of the Lord Bishop of Shrewsbury, the other honorary secretaries, the rest of the officers, and the various committees, who have helped to make the Congress so successful a gathering in the long series of annual meetings since 1861; and tenders to all their warmest acknowledgments." I need not say much to secure the passing of that resolution. The labour of arranging a Church Congress is enormous. I have had occasion to look into this lately, because your Congresses in England have been reproduced at the Antipodes, and the next Australasian Church Congress is to take place in my own cathedral city, which fills me with apprehensions, tempered by encouragement drawn from the successful example furnished by the management of this Congress at Shrewsbury. Its officers had no light task to satisfy 3,000 English people—proverbially the greatest grumblers in the world. Moreover, Jupiter Pluvius was against them: "the stars in their courses fought against" Shrewsbury: driven by furious wind the rain came down—and umbrellas went up—even in this noble Congress Hall. Yet all came right in the end: we waited "till the clouds rolled by," and they did roll by—as they always do—and the turquoise sky that smiles down on us through those windows now is emblematic of what will follow sooner or later every tempest that may beat upon our dear old Church. All that was under their control the managers of this Congress have arranged admirably, and we warmly thank the various committees, the officers, and the hon. secretaries, for their "valuable and prolonged" services. As for the Bishop of Shrewsbury, in putting to the vote our thanks to him, the President might well say: "Any one of the contrary opinion will be escorted to the county lunatic asylum." The Bishop of Shrewsbury is no novice as a friend of the Church Congress. In 1875 (I remember the year, for it was that of my consecration) it was at Stoke-on-Trent, and the bishop (not bishop then) was hon. secretary, and acquired experience which he has turned to splendid account now that it has visited his own Shrewsbury. And it has proved a great success, this thirty-sixth Congress. Many of the Papers read have shown commanding ability, and the debates have been of a very high class indeed; and I shall carry to my distant diocese a delightful recollection of the Shrewsbury Church Congress. I have come farther, probably, than any of you, except my brother of Rockhampton, to attend it—14,000 miles, but it would have been worth travelling twice as far to do so. Especially thankful do I feel at the spirit of loving unity which has pervaded the Sessions. "How good and pleasant a thing" that is! "It is like the precious ointment." I have sniffed the perfume of that ointment in this hall this week, and it has made me glad. Observe, my resolution does not say the officers have made this Congress the success it has been—only "helped" to make it. Who has made it so? Surely He Whom we sought in our prayers at its opening has answered them, and blessed us to its close. All the praise be His! I cannot sit down without one allusion, for which I am sure I shall be pardoned. In the arrangements they made, the committees included for the first time among the preachers of the opening sermons a bishop of our Church in the Colonies. As this could not possibly have any personal reference, I gratefully accept it in their behalf, as a delicate, considerate, judicious, and highly appreciated recognition of the entire oneness of our Church at home and in Greater Britain.

The Right Rev. SIR LOVELACE T. STAMER, D.D., Lord Bishop of Shrewsbury.

THE place to which the Bishop of Ballarat would consign anyone who would endeavour to veto the resolution would make it impossible for anyone to hold up his hand against it; but I venture to believe that not that terror, but rather a genuine feeling of approval and thankfulness for the Congress in which you have taken part, has constrained you to give unanimous assent to the proposal which has been submitted to you. Undoubtedly it has been a matter of great anxiety to myself and to those who have been associated with me in the Congress to make it a success. It was not without earnest prayer that the Congress came together in a happy temper to listen to wise and wholesome and mature counsel on a great variety of subjects in a spirit of love and unity. When we look to the close of the Congress, we have

undoubted reasons to believe that it is not human or individual effort, but God Himself Who has prospered our work. For myself, I naturally had a jealous feeling of anxiety that Shrewsbury should behave itself properly. It is my pride and privilege to be connected with this old town, which rejoices that it would rather be the first of towns than the last of cities; but, nevertheless, it is privileged to give its name to a Suffragan Bishop—if ever a Suffragan Bishop be required to assist the Bishop of Lichfield. Although there were doubts as to the wisdom and policy of inviting a Church Congress to meet at Shrewsbury, when the hint was given me by Archdeacon Emery that it might be agreeable to come here, I felt that there were many reasons why Shrewsbury should form a happy and attractive centre. I do believe there is no fairer town in this part of England, and never has a Congress Hall been placed in fairer surroundings. I said that, only given a fine week (which we have not had), and the autumn tints on our lime trees, you would be tempted rather to stroll about the Quarry than to keep in attendance at the Congress Hall; but you have been kept in strict attendance here—and that is one of the advantages of the rain we have had. I am not abating one jot from the attractions of the speakers who have held you together, but I do believe if it had been fine—with lovely October weather—a S. Luke's summer, and the Quarry had been in her natural beauty, with the full flowing Severn, you would have been tempted to spend some portion of your time amid these beauties, and be lax in your attendance here; and, therefore, I am thankful for the wet weather. The only quarrel I have is with the Bishop of Ballarat, who, when a drop of rain, driven by a furious gale, came through the skylight, appeared on the platform with his umbrella open. The work I have done has only been in close association with a great number of others, the secretaries and committees, who have given themselves most assiduously to their work during the past twelve months. One happy feature of the Congress is this—that although necessarily held in the diocese of Lichfield, yet we have had associated with us the dioceses of Hereford and S. Asaph. This Congress has, therefore, served a triple purpose, because it has brought into association three dioceses in the endeavour to make the result as happy and successful as I believe it has been. We owe many thanks both to the Bishop of Hereford and the Bishop of S. Asaph for having brought their dioceses into line with ourselves, and for having given us the help they have done. We have had secretaries, both lay and clerical, from those dioceses. In conclusion, I beg to return our grateful thanks for the cordial acceptance of the resolution which the Bishop of Ballarat has submitted.

The Ven. ARCHDEACON EMERY, Permanent Hon. Secretary.

I HAVE now only to announce that the next Church Congress will be held at Nottingham.

CLOSING SERVICES,

FRIDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

CLOSING SERVICES WERE HELD IN S. CHAD'S,
S. MARY'S, AND THE ABBEY CHURCHES.

THE SERMON

BY

THE REV. A. F. WINNINGTON INGRAM

(*Head of the Oxford House and Rector of Bethnal Green*),

PREACHED IN

S. CHAD'S CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.

"When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord.

"For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken:

"And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men."—*Luke v. 8-10.*

AS EVERYONE knows, it is an *innovation*, and surely a very happy innovation, to close the Congress with a service of praise. What possible end can be better than these rolling hymns and psalms? But it becomes a serious question for the preacher which of two courses to adopt—he can either come with a prepared and written message, which may or may not turn out to be in accord with the special note and message which every Congress possesses, or he may plunge into the heart of the Congress, fill himself, so far as he can, with the spirit of it, and then try, in however inadequate a way, to voice its message at the end.

That, my friends, is the course I have adopted myself; it will mean, I fear, a rough and imperfect sermon; but it may be none the worse for that, if it drives home to your and my own conscience but one echo of the message which the Lord has been thundering in our ears through this great week.

(1) For notice first—in a *Church Congress Jesus speaks*.

We know it in a Mission; we recognize that when we pray before a Mission, the Holy Spirit comes and brings the Father with Him; we know by blessed experience, both those who take a Mission and those who come to it, that it is a Personal coming of Jesus Christ through the town where it is held; we may touch the hem of His garment, and know that virtue has come out of Him to our souls.

Now, if this is true with a Church Mission, it ought to be also true of a Church Congress; if a Church Congress is merely an ecclesiastical picnic, or a Church debating society, then I deliberately say that it is not worth holding at all; it is not worth the exceeding labour to the secretaries and local clergy, and it is not even worth while for busy men from all parts of England to give up a week of their year's work.

But if, as I believe, in answer to many prayers, the Holy Spirit has been shed forth in a special way, and has been taking of Christ's and showing Him to us; if it is true that where two or three and *à fortiori* many hundreds, are gathered together in Christ's name, *there He is in the midst of them*; then it is true that in the most literal, though invisible way, Christ has been present in the Church Congress of this year, and is present in our midst to-day.

It is for this reason, and no other, that we gather round Him with these shouts of praise; it is for this reason, in three great churches simultaneously, we thank Him for His Presence; we thank Him that no unseemly incident, no bitterness of party spirit, no weather, however partially unpropitious, has been allowed to mar the spiritual purpose which brought us here, not only from the ends of England, but also from the very ends of the earth.

(2) *But what has He said to us?* That is the all-important question. "I will hearken what the Lord God has said concerning me," is the only true attitude of a converted heart, and the reason I have chosen this story of long ago as the groundwork of our meditation to-night is because I believe that the lesson of the story and the message which it brings is the lesson and the message which Jesus has spoken through the Church Congress of 1896.

(a) And first let us recall the delightful picture of Jesus in the early morning coming down the beach to Peter and the others, and asking from him the loan of his ship; it was a request that must have meant distinct inconvenience and probably money loss, but Peter with alacrity obeyed; he was content, nay, glad, that at any risk or inconvenience Jesus should have his pulpit down among the crowd.

Now, if this Congress has not been a call to *service*, what has it been? Is it possible for any man with a conscience and heart to go home from this Congress and be content to do nothing for the cause of Christ? I could tell you of two instances alone where men who came indifferent have been moved at it to offer themselves for service; and the first glorious message which has rung through the Congress is this, that Christ needs the service of every man and woman who has been present at it.

And, I ask you, can we picture anything more thrilling and inspiring than Jesus coming up in the morning of life and asking for our boat? He wants a pulpit among the people as much as ever; He wants not clergymen only, but laymen; not men only, but women; He wants you to let Him come into the boat with you, as you move about your business, as you stand in the workshop or work in the Church; He wants every moment of your leisure-time that you can spare to the point of self-sacrifice, to the limit of loss—He wants you to commit yourself to His service.

There may be some here who have known Jesus up to now as Peter knew Him up to that morning; who have been attracted to Him as

Peter had been on his first interview, but have never committed themselves ; have never said, "I am a Christian before I am anything else, and a Churchman because I am a Christian ;" or there may be some who have called themselves Churchmen, but have not realized that the term implies devoted work through life to Christ Himself ; then let them at last hear the call to service which Jesus Himself has rung in our ears this week.

(b) But, secondly, it has been more than a practical Congress ; it has been a *missionary* one. No one who was present will ever forget the grand missionary meeting of Thursday morning, when bishop and layman, missionary and home worker, young and old, re-echoed through us again the second great command Christ gave Peter on the beach—"Launch out into the deep, and let down your net for a draught." There may be some, still, who are unconvinced that this command is binding on every member of the Church, that you cannot be a Christian unless you are also a missionary, that Christ's spirit is only promised to a missionary Church, and that, therefore, the parish which has no zeal for Missions is certain to have no life at home ; there may be some who have been taken in by the shallow estimate of a mere casual traveller as to the utility of Missions, and are really believing that the money spent on them is thrown away ; then I beseech you to read again those ringing speeches and addresses, and buy for threepence a little work entitled, "Are Foreign Missions Doing any Good ?" Be certain of this, that the man or woman who is taking no part in Mission work has not responded yet in full to the call of Christ ! But not content with convincing the unconvinced, we look for a new development from this Congress in Mission work. Why should not an association be formed of the young women of this country, on the lines which have been so happy and successful in connection with the young layman and the young priest, and so let Christ see, as the result of this Congress, another set of hands grasp the great ropes which draw to His feet the 980 millions of heathen and Mohammedans still waiting to be saved ?

(c) But I must pass on to what I know to some will be a more unexpected message. "When Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus' knees, and cried, *Depart from me*, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." What an unexpected cry ! Not a note of triumph, not an utterance of thanksgiving alone, but an utterance of *fervent and reverent contrition*.

For the first time he realized Who was with him in the boat, for the first time it dawned on him that He Who could see into the depths of the sea could see, too, into the depths of Peter's heart, and in no morbid spirit, for never did Peter love Christ so much, as when he said it He fell down at Jesus' knees and cried, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

Do we really think, then, that our service to-night can be unalloyed thanksgiving and nothing else ? Not, I venture to say, if we once realize the presence of Christ and have grasped the standard of the ideal He has put before us.

As I was coming out of one of our meetings, I met an old working man of Shrewsbury, whom I had known in days gone by ; the rest of us were all going out with the feeling that we had had a good meeting, but this old fellow shook me sadly by the hand. "Mr. Ingram," he said, "I have been made ashamed of myself at this meeting ; I am coming

to the end of my days, and I have not used the powers and the time the Lord gave me as I might." He was saying in his heart at that moment, if ever man was saying it, to Christ Himself, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." What he said was a rebuke to us all; the effect of that enthusiastic meeting on that simple heart was not elation, it was contrition; he had seen, like S. Peter, from the accounts of others, the haul of fishes which the Church's net had taken, and he was astonished; yes, but he went on to fall down at Jesus' knees and say, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Now, there were three meetings connected with the Congress which ought to have abashed us, if they did not.

(1) First, the meeting on Armenia. The Church Congress subjects have to be settled so long before that such a subject, even if thought advisable, could not have been included in the official programme, but ample amends were made for the omission from the official programme by the great meeting of Sunday last, and especially the marvellous force of the meeting on Thursday night.

I am not saying a word about our feelings as Englishmen. To know that twice we have interfered between Turkey and ruin; to know that the very province where one of the worst massacres has taken place was wrested by our influence on the diplomacy of Europe from Russia and put again under Turkey's rule; to know that still, by the Treaty of Berlin, we are bound to attack any force which enters without our leave on Turkish territory—is enough to make every Englishman at present feel a share in the guilt of what has happened.

But I am speaking as a Churchman to brother Churchmen: I speak as a priest of a Church whose main function it is to inform, and strengthen, and fortify the conscience of the nation; and I ask what Christ thinks of us, if we have not taken the trouble to inform ourselves of the facts; if we are not aware that, proved, not by newspaper report, but by official reports, that this is the greatest persecution of Christians which has taken place since the world began, that three thousand were burnt alive on Holy Innocents' Day in one Church, that women and maidens are now, hundreds of them, in the houses of their fathers' and husbands' murderers, with what treatment the imagination positively recoils from picturing, and that it is not the fact of their being Christians which alone concerns us, but their being fellow men and women.

It is no question of dictating a policy, but of facing a fact. It is a fact that hundreds of thousands are homeless and starving, and that at the lowest computation tens of thousands have been killed.

I ask you what Christ thinks of the priest, layman, or Englishwoman who, without finding out whether the facts are true or not, who, without lifting a finger in their rescue, says, "It is six of one and half-a-dozen of the other," and thinks he can, with such a saying, wash his hands of the whole concern. I believe that if he once sat down and read the facts, he would say, as one who made so frank a confession on Thursday night, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

(2) Or take the question of the *Reunion of Christendom*. It has come before us in this Congress in all its difficulty; as was so nobly put before us in the opening service in this Church, the Papal Bull is a document which stands the test neither of logic nor of history; it has

not shaken by a hair's breadth in any part of England our loyalty and love to our own Church. But let us remember this, it has hurt us if it has made us bitter; it has hurt us if it makes us give up the fulfilment of Christ's last prayer as an aspiration and a hope; it has hurt us if it makes us care any less for our Catholic tradition and our Apostolic ancestry.

On the other hand, have we been playing with Rome? have we been disloyal to our own Church? have we been using Roman and not Catholic customs; furtively introducing Roman devotions? have we, while holding posts in the English Church, been really teaching Roman doctrines? then let the message of Christ as given in this Congress reach our hearts; as the continuity, the power, and the grace of the English Church has been displayed before our eyes, and we see against what we have been sinning, let us meekly pray, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man."

Or take the *Nonconformists*. What is our conduct to the Nonconformists in our parishes? Has it been uncharitable and harsh? Can we never see any good in what they do? Is the talk of the vicarage an unkind denunciation of all work which is not Church work? If so, how can we imagine for a moment that we are going to win to fuller truth those who make such noble sacrifices for the truth which they have?

On the other hand, have we surrendered a particle of the faith delivered to the saints as a weak compromise? have we realized that the only hope of the reunion of Christendom is, as Bishop Lightfoot pointed out in his last Congress sermon, "under the banner of the English Church"? Then for that distant day it is essential we preserve both our Catholic tradition and our open Bible; and to give up any part of either is not only a treachery to truth, but defeats the aim on which Christ has set His heart. Then we shall feel that the man who has either by want of charity or loyalty endangered home reunion must fall at Jesus' knees and say, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

(3) Once again, take *Church reform*. Perhaps most of all this might be called a Church Reform Congress. No one can doubt that changes must and will come; but, quite apart from these, is no one convicted of sin in this Congress, apart from any weakness in the Church's system? Has any man here been engaged himself in an unholy traffic in livings? Has any man here been using the Church's money, not as a sacred trust, but to enrich himself? Has any here been so idle and inert a priest as to discourage the generous from providing any more money for the Church's work at all? Then we must share in the note of contrition of this Congress, and pray before we leave—"Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

(4) For notice, lastly, the fourth message of the Congress is a message, *not of warning, but of hope*.

And Jesus said, "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men." What does it mean?

(1) It means, first, that past sin, if confessed and forgiven, is no bar to future usefulness. "Fear not" is the encouraging answer to-day as of old to the really penitent soul. When Peter was self-confident and boastful he fell; when he was penitent he helped to convert the world:

the very shadow of the forgiven Peter passing by healed the sick. We can go back, priest and layman, men and women, to our work, purified and forgiven as we leave a Mission ; boastfulness and self-confidence may have marred our work up to now, but "henceforth thou shalt catch men."

(2) It means, secondly, that human infirmity is no bar to successful work ; Christ asks our work, and not our success. He has His treasures in earthen vessels ; and as He sends us forth again He says, "My grace is sufficient for thee, for My strength is made perfect in weakness."

Never forget that, you who go back to your solitary outpost in the country, or to the stern stress of the winter's battle in the town ; or you, my sister, who go back to your Mothers' Meeting and the overwhelming mass of parish detail ; He asks your work and He undertakes the success ; bear your witness, and He will do the converting. "Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men."

And so we go forth with these gracious words ringing in our ears. We go back, if we have learnt the lessons of the Congress, thankful for His presence, ready for His service, full of missionary zeal, contrite for the past, and hopeful for the future ; and if in that spirit we launch the great Church ship into the deep this winter, and let down our nets for a draught, not only Simon and Andrew and the sons of Zebedee, but the very angels in heaven shall rejoice at the harvest of souls that we shall win.

THE SERMON

BY

The Very Rev. F. PAGET, D.D.,

(Dean of Christ Church)

PREACHED IN

S. MARY'S CHURCH, SHREWSBURY,

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

“Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.”—*S. Mark ix. 50.*

THE metaphor used in these words would probably suggest, to those whom our Lord was teaching, three groups of ideas. As they tried to understand His bidding, and to bring into the moral and spiritual order the image He had taken from the material, they might think first—recalling, perhaps, the words of Job (Job vi. 6)—how salt in its most familiar use corrects what is insipid, dull, flat, and feeble to the palate; how, as we say, it “gives point” to what would otherwise be poor and tasteless; and how its clear, keen, pungent taste seasons more or less almost all our food. And, secondly, they might think of its common use as a safeguard against corruption; as tending to preserve what was impregnated with it; as helping resistance to the onset of decay. And, thirdly, their minds would certainly be turned to that constant use of it which our Lord had just recalled. “Every sacrifice,” He had said—in accordance with the book of Leviticus (Lev. ii. 13)—“every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.” It seems that this requirement of the law did not rest only on the natural and ordinary uses of salt, but also on its peculiar meaning as the symbol of fellowship and hospitality; so that its presence in every sacrificial act was a token of God’s will that through the sacrifice men should draw near and find communion with Him; it was an element in that great prophecy of perfect Atonement and Communion which the Temple Service continually kept up. As giving point, then, and character to what would be dull; as guarding purity and freshness in what might else decay; as constantly entering into all acts of sacrifice—thus, with a threefold cluster of associations, would our Lord’s hearers think of the salt that here He took to be the type of a certain grace which He would have His servants cherish. They are associations which would lead us, I think, to expect some sort of keenness, austerity, sternness, and strictness with one’s self in the grace which is represented by such an image.

But His bidding has a second, simpler part which may help us to understand the first: “Have peace,” He adds, “one with another.” He clearly seems to mean that there is a connection between the inner quality which His metaphor represents and the outward bearing of true

peaceableness. He does not define the connection ; it may be that the inner quality is the condition, or the source, or the regulating principle of the outward bearing ; it may be that the outward bearing is the expression, or the natural companion of the inner quality ; but some relation between the two is certainly suggested. It may be that neither of the two can be fully attained or understood without the other ; but whether or no so much as this is meant, at all events it would be an incomplete attention and obedience to our Saviour's words that fastened upon one half of the command and neglected the other. There would be a risk of misunderstanding, disproportion, exaggeration, error in extolling either the inner quality or the outward bearing, as though it were the whole duty of man. The peaceableness which our Lord plainly commands is not to be severed from the character or temper corresponding to His metaphor ; we are likely to fail of the true peace with one another if we have not what He meant by salt in ourselves.

I have only very tentatively, fragmentarily, slightly tried to suggest what His meaning may have been. But I would ask you to bear in mind this twofold bidding of His—even thus partially explained—while we think of one particular blessing amongst those for which we come to thank Him in this closing service of the Church Congress. There must be many gifts for which the hearts of those who have been here would give Him thanks and praise to-night ; gifts of clearer light and higher hope and deeper purpose ; gifts granted in answer to the tide of prayer that has been set to gain His hallowing for these days. Each knows best the special mercy that he has to own, and guard, and realize by humble and sustained thanksgiving, both in word and deed. It is only of one widespread blessing, such as all may recognize and share, that I would try to speak.

The blessing that I mean is the increase of mutual understanding and respect between those who see things somewhat differently. It is most unlikely that, even within the Church of England, men will ever all think alike about matters of religion ; and there is room for considerable difference with entire loyalty. No more is gained by pretending to agree than by pretending anything else. But it is a great gain that those who differ should be fair to one another, in thought as well as speech ; that each should give the other the very same credit for honesty that he expects himself to receive ; that each should be alive to the moral excellences that are specially congenial to the other ; not looking askance at any form of good because he does not like the soil it grows in, nor doubting that evil may be really overcome by one who "followeth not with us" ; and that all should be getting on with the hard task of entering into the mind of others, and doing full justice to an alien position. How hard a task that is one only realizes gradually as one detects one's own failure in it, and perhaps one's own mistake in fancying that one was succeeding in it ; or, it may be, as one feels what it is to be one's self honestly and thoroughly misunderstood. It is indeed a blessing that Churchpeople should learn to understand one another better than they did, and to be more just and reverent towards one another. And it is a blessing which we can clearly trace, I think, in the life of the English Church during the last twenty or thirty years—not, of course, with a uniform and universal prevalence, but broadly and

steadily enough to warrant one in thinking it a significant characteristic of the way in which things have moved, and may probably be moving still. We may be sure that there are many causes behind such a change, and that the blessing has not come by one channel only. Many influences must have helped men to such better understanding of one another as they have attained. But it would be hard to doubt that among the means which God has blessed to this end have been such gatherings as that of the past week. The free interchange of thoughts; the knowledge of men as they are, and not merely as they are labelled; the sense of living reality in convictions and enthusiasm not one's own; the vivid and controlling realization of a common cause, transcending and outweighing in its moral import and effect all separate interests, all distinctive predilections; the acts of common worship; the further discernment of the awful, the overwhelming task that is before the Church of England, demanding the unreserved service, the concentrated attention of all her members, and surpassing, in pathetic disproportion, the utmost strength that it seems possible to pour into it—these are some of the ways in which Church Congresses have helped men to correct their own mistakes, to see things more truly and with a larger view, to think more calmly and charitably, to understand one another better than they did, and to read the course of affairs with a less exclusive appreciation of their own position, a more generous recognition of what is true and honest, pure and just, and lovely in those who stand more or less apart from them.

Who can deny that this is, indeed, a great blessing, a change for which we well may give God thanks to-night? When we think of the place the Church of England holds among mankind; of the enemies that threaten it, the dangers that beset, and to some degree invade it, of the work that is before it, of its reasonable hopes, its unique opportunities, its inconceivable possibilities; surely we must be thankful for all that has helped to overcome distrust, and conflict, and severance among us: helped us to see and own ungrudgingly what is good elsewhere than with ourselves and our own friends. Only let us not think that this better understanding of one another is all we have to secure; that we have reached and made sure of that peace with one another which Christ bids us have, because we have learnt to enter into one another's minds. Hard as that may be, it is a partial and precarious attainment if it abides alone. Great moral victories are not so simply won: and if we would have peace one with another in the sense of our Lord's words, there must be effort, watchfulness, self-discipline going on somehow for the sake of it; the sterner side of His bidding must be telling on us no less than the brighter and the pleasanter. Yes, and it may be that, just when the increase of mutual understanding seems especially to favour our having peace one with another, we have especial need to take care that we are not failing of that strictness and decision and severity in the inner life which our Lord seems to have meant by having salt in ourselves. Doubtless men have often gone astray because they were engrossed with severity, and lost all power to understand, or to work or even live with others; but may not the power to understand others, the recognition of truth everywhere, be also perverted to a wrong use, and drawn into the service of a comfortable, easy-going life? Narrowness has its obvious perils, its great disasters,

its fatal disabilities ; but the mere perception that there is much to be said for almost every view is apt to lend itself to indolence and the dislike of saying or doing what will be unwelcome ; it is possible to be large-minded and sympathetic, and yet " not valiant for the truth upon the earth " (Jer. ix. 3). It is not only what is called the academic mind that is sometimes paralyzed by its own sensitiveness, and by qualifying all statements till there is nothing clear enough to act on, positive enough to venture much for (*cf.* T. B. Strong, "Christian Ethics," pp. 354-5). There is a treacherous bit in most of us ; we can misuse our best possessions ; and when we are trusted with a further discernment of truth, a wider view of the conditions of life, a deeper sense of its complexity, we may well be careful lest we misunderstand our own gain. And now especially, when indifference is widely prevalent, and often unabashed ; when the motive forces of action seem inadequate and vacillating ; when one of our commonest dangers seems to be the pause, and hesitation, and apathy that comes between the recognition of a duty and the doing of it, surely we all need to watch and pray lest the harm that is in the air should spoil that width of sympathy which we are thankful to have gained : lest our discernment of good widely scattered among men of all sorts and all opinions should blend with the prevalent inclination to hang back from venturing, and should make us faint-hearted, critical, lethargic, and soon weary in that service to which once—if it be but only once—we heard God calling us with no uncertain voice.

And if there is any danger in the direction towards which I have tried to point, if any care is needed lest we misuse this great blessing of a better understanding of one another, the safeguard surely must be sought where our Lord, with His perfect knowledge of us, has revealed it—in that strictness and keenness and clearness of dealing with ourselves which may raise us out of the flat dullness of indifference, and defend us against the corruption of worldliness, and renew and strengthen in us the will of sacrifice. For thus, I think, the power of intellectual sympathy is secured from the misuse of indolence, and lifted up to the height of Christian peaceableness and charity—a height far above the cold and hazy levels of indifference—a height that glows with the light and fire of love. And thus the heart is kept independent, and free from the embarrassment of worldliness, free to listen for and not unwont to hear the Voice of God ; the Voice that makes a man's way plain before his face ; so that with no narrowness, no shortsightedness, no failure of charity, no forgetfulness of what is due to others, and what is true in others, he can, when the time requires it, hold his own line with simplicity and decision, ready to suffer all things for his work's sake ; never doubting the excellence of what is done in other ways, but never letting his breadth of view perplex or weaken his purpose of entire devotion, at all costs, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear, to the truth which he has been allowed to see. The relation between the two parts of our Lord's bidding—"Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another"—may not be easy to trace or to define in theory ; but it may be learnt, I think, clearly enough, if men take pains over it in practice : and it is illustrated now and then in high examples. As autumn deepens towards winter, some of us, perhaps, may recall in this regard the example of one whom God six

years ago called from His service upon earth—of Richard William Church. Few, I think, have entered more thoroughly and finely into the minds of others : few have understood men better, and done fuller justice to diverse types of thought and character, whether in the field of history or in contemporary life. Yet no one who knew him could think him likely to hang back or vacillate when the need came for decisive action, for clear-cut distinction, for irrevocable venture, for costly sacrifice. He loved the truth and peace ; and by God's grace he truly served both. And if it be asked how such width of sympathy was blent with such fearless and unreserved decision in counsel, purpose, and work, such unqualified self-committal to a definite course, one would answer, I think, that in part at least it was by that inner sternness of thought and will which counted for so much in the great movement of Church life in which he had lived and borne his part : that hidden austerity which guards from softness and degeneracy the bright hopefulness and kindness of the peaceable temper.

THE SERMON*

BY

THE REV. CHARLES GORE

(Canon of Westminster),

PREACHED IN

HOLY CROSS CHURCH, SHREWSBURY,

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9TH, 1896.

"We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one."—
1 John v. 19.

S. JOHN concludes his great Epistle by three great affirmations of Christian science, three great "we knows." The first affirms the absolute moral supremacy of Christianity—"We know that every one who has been begotten of God sinneth not, but He That was begotten of God (the eternal Son) keepeth him, and the evil one toucheth him not." The second is the affirmation of the essential contrariety of the Church and of the world—"We know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one." The last is the affirmation of the finality of our Christian faith—"We know that the Son of God (no less a Being) is come, and hath given us an understanding to know the genuine One, and we are in the genuine One, in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the genuine God and life eternal." To understand S. John's affirmations we must give some attention to the way he has of regarding things. S. John loved to regard things as they are when they are true to their essential being or principle. For example, we know that the language of Scripture impels us to affirm that every baptized person is also regenerate, but S. John habitually in this Epistle talks about the life of the regenerate, about those who are begotten of God, and always he uses the expression of those who not only are in fact baptized, but who also have realized the claim and power of their regenerate life. "Everyone that hath been begotten of God sinneth not. He that is begotten of God cannot sin, for His seed abideth in him." It is the same in regard to the other sacrament. The language of Scripture impels us to affirm that the Eucharistic gift is objective—that is to say, is independent of the state of mind of the recipient; but S. John loves to cite the language of our Lord in which He spoke of eating His flesh and drinking His blood as appertaining to those only who eat and drink, not merely outwardly, but in conformity of spirit, so that He abideth in them and they in Him. S. John speaks of things, that is, as they are true to their essential principles. For the rest, for those who belong indeed to Christ's religion but are not true to His spirit, he has a plain word—"If any man says 'I know Him' and keepeth not His commandments, he is a liar." It is closely akin to this that S. John loves always

* This sermon was delivered extemporé, and is printed from reporter's notes.

to speak of things as they are in their extremes. He does, indeed, contemplate the life of the Christian as it actually is in this mixed world. "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves. . . . If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." But in general he speaks of the Christian life as it is when it is in its extreme, consistent with itself. "He that is begotten of God," so far, that is, as he is true to the principle of his new birth, "cannot sin." He looks in the same way at evil. He loves to call sins which are but beginning to be sins as they would be if they were carried out to their extreme point. Hating is, in S. John's language, murder. We must understand S. John's method in this respect if we are to understand the language of these three final affirmations, and in particular the language of that second affirmation which I have read to you as my text this evening, "We know that we are of God." "We," that is what S. Augustine calls "the true body of Christ," those who are not only members of the Church in fact, but members of the Church in spiritual reality and correspondence—"We know that we are of God," and we know that, under whatsoever masks of seemliness and of respectability, "the whole world lieth in the evil one."

Let us reflect on this great affirmation to night, and first on its latter half.

What does this tremendous pronouncement, "The whole world lieth in the evil one," mean? "The world" means, of course, not this creation of God which God pronounced to be "very good," and which is evil only in so far as we misuse it. "The world," as S. John here is using it, and as the writers of the New Testament generally use it, means human society, the society of men, considered as organizing itself in independence of God, in forgetfulness of God. Everything, then, belongs to "the world" which men can carry on in forgetfulness or in independence of God. It is to say the same thing to say that everything belongs to the world which proceeds from the natural instincts of human nature in its societies, in its nations, in its families, in its classes, without any degree of moral effort or moral regeneration. That is the meaning of "the world." And of that—of human society as it thus organizes itself apart from God—S. John pronounces that the whole of it, however innocent and natural it looks, lieth in the wicked one. In going away from God it necessarily resigns itself into the power of that great hostile will which is organizing all the forces of evil in opposition to God. We cannot separate ourselves from God and fail to belong to Satan and his kingdom. "The whole world lieth in the evil one."

Let us amplify this a little in our imagination by thinking of some of these elements of human society which belong to the world. The family: surely here is a thing natural. Surely here is a thing which more than anything else has admitted, and, perhaps, especially in this Church of England of ours, of the highest spiritual consecration. But the family is also something which subsists in man apart altogether from the consecration which the thought of God may give it. "Blood," we know, "is thicker than water." It is so quite apart from any moral effort, from any thought of God. It is for that very reason that our Lord chose the life of the family to pronounce His most mysterious and tremendous warning with regard to it, "If a man hate not his father, his

mother, his sister, his brother, he cannot be My disciple"—as though to make plain to us that, just where you touch what is most central and most natural in human nature, there you have most need to be reminded that it lieth in the evil one till it has admitted the unquestionable supremacy of God in the homage of the heart. Or think again. Patriotism—can we doubt that patriotism admits of highest spiritual consecration? Can we think of our own great patriots—can we think of Lord Shaftesbury or Lord Lawrence—and doubt the reality of a Christian patriotism which, inspired with the highest sense of Divine consecration, goes forth in most thorough self-sacrifice for the good of the race and country in which God has put one? Nay, we may look higher, we may think of S. Paul as he makes that strange utterance, "I caught myself praying that I might be anathema from Christ for my kinsmen's sake according to the flesh." Here is patriotism than which nothing could be deeper. Aye, we think—higher still—of Jesus of Nazareth as He weeps over Jerusalem. "If thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things that belong unto thy peace." Undoubtedly again, then, blood is thicker than water. Patriotism is natural to us—patriotism admits of the highest spiritual consecration. But, none the less, patriotism will subsist in its lower form altogether apart from the consecration of God. It is that sort of patriotism which we know so well in our own streets and in our own newspapers—the patriotism so quick to fire up at the least suggestion of anything which seems to threaten its pride or its self-assertion, be it in Venezuela or in South Africa, and, at the same time, so slow, so unspeakably slow, to acknowledge the obligation which, by our repeated acts, we have bound upon our back as by a threefold cord in regard to unhappy Armenia. A patriotism of that sort is but the instinct of blood in an aggressive and powerful race. It lieth in the evil one. So, too, with the instinct of property—to pass from the ties of blood to those of class. We know, of course, what a high and holy thing the use of property can be when it is sanctified by the grace of God; what a high and holy stewardship and ministry in those who are both wealthy in fact and also most fully acknowledge the duty of service. But we know, too, the clamour of the rights of property as it comes from the wealthy as a class. What is it but just the instinct of the class? It would talk just the same language were there no God. It involves in those who utter it no degree of moral self-sacrifice. It is just the utterance of the class anxious to preserve its own rights and its own position. It lieth in the evil one.

I shall not, perhaps, be accused of denying on the other hand the reality of a Christian socialism, that sort of socialism which believes that each man counts for one, and not more than one, in the sight of God, and that each may claim of society equality of consideration; which emphasizes that it is society which has enabled men to acquire and to hold wealth, and society has therefore the power to lay its hand upon it when the individual claims to use it for the damage of the whole body through membership in which alone he has been enabled to possess it. But socialism may in the same way represent nothing more than the instinct, the unregenerate, uncleansed instinct of a class that is discontented, that has got, or believes that it has got, less than its fair share of the

goods of the world. Just like any other mere instinct of class, it lieth in the evil one.

Highest of all, our religion, our Apostolic succession. We need not say how high and great a thing is the sense of fellowship in the great priesthood of the Catholic Church, in the great and mighty ministry which unites us, if it has any moral meaning at all for us, most chiefly to the sufferings of Christ. But yet we know there may be, if not in our lips, yet in our heart, the cry of those who of old claimed to sit in the seat of Moses—"We have Abraham to our father." It may be just like any other self-assertion of a class. So it is all through these elements of our nature. There they are the ties of blood, the ties of class, the ties of profession; they bind men together naturally. They belong to their unregenerate instincts; they shout along; they involve no moral self-sacrifice; they subsist all the same, whether men think of God, or whether they forget Him.

These are things, then, which belong to the world. These are things which, however large and impressive a place they hold in human society, are the things of which S. John says, "The whole world lieth in the evil one"; of which our Lord says, "My kingdom is not of this world. If My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight." That is the very explanation and the meaning of it. "If I would appeal to the sort of motives which men can share without moral self-sacrifice or without the thought of God, then My kingdom would go shouting along like any other of those movements in human society which appeal to the unregenerate instincts of men; but now is My kingdom not from hence." That means this, at least, that the Christian and the Christian Church can never suffer themselves to appeal to or to trust these instincts of the blood, of the class, of the profession. They can never appeal to them. They can never intrust themselves to them; they can never sanction them till they are sanctified by the allegiance of Christ. And that puts the Christian prophet always in an attitude which, if I may use a colloquialism, is that of making himself disagreeable all round. This was, in fact, the consistent attitude of the Old Testament prophets. Were there ever men who spoke sterner and severer words towards wealth than those Hebrew prophets? Can you conceive them addressing our congregations of rich men without saying words that would rankle deep, that would astonish, that would create rebellion? It is for this reason that some modern writers have said of those Hebrew prophets that they were Radical agitators. Perhaps the best answer to that is to say that it would be a good thing if Radical agitators were like the Old Testament prophets.

But we may go higher still. Think of the method of our Lord. It is always, surely, to lay the profoundest moral claim on the particular class of which He is addressing the representative. Does He speak to the rich young man about the rights of property? Does He speak to the man who came with a grievance, complaining that he had got an unequal division of the good things of life—does He speak to him about rights? No; about worldliness. "Who made Me a judge and a divider?" Does He speak to the Pharisee about the importance of eternal form? Or, in view of revolutionaries, does He not tell them that he that shall think lightly, and teach men to think lightly, of one of

the least of the commandments of the old law shall have but the lowest place in the kingdom of God?

Did I say too much when I said that the spirit of Christian prophecy is that of making oneself disagreeable all round? And yet to realize that is to lay upon oneself a severe and difficult obligation. Brethren, you come to a Church Congress, and, if you are like me, a Church Congress has on your heart and your feeling a singularly inspiring influence. You realize the prerogative of belonging to our great and ancient Church. You love to trace back the continuity which through all its chequered history has made it for our great nation the witness for Christ. But yet about such gatherings as this there is always a peril. They may always resolve themselves, and that quite unintentionally, into mutual admiration societies. We may become so impressed with the greatness of our historical position, with the indisputable reality of our Apostolic succession, that we may go to our homes saying little else in effect than, "We have Abraham to our father." We may go to our homes thinking, indeed, of the glory of being a National Church, but forgetting its tremendous, its constant responsibilities, satisfied to put a sort of veneer of ecclesiasticism, or of religion, upon what is, in fact, an altogether unregenerated national life. To face the responsibility of the witness required of us would be, indeed, impossible—to say that in truth the whole world lieth in wickedness would be, indeed, too depressing for the human spirit—if it were not buoyed up and inspired by the counter-truth, "We know that we are of God." What means that? S. John explains it again and again. To be of God is to be filled with love. That is the explanation; that and that simply; and S. John continually through this Epistle gives it. "He that loveth knoweth God." Where love is God is. "He that loveth not, knoweth not God." Where love is not, God is not. "God is love." That is the theme of this great Epistle.

What is the thought of which our mind is full, we who have gone through this inspiring Congress? What is it that most naturally rises to your lips as the record of the assurance or of the conviction which you have most certainly gained as you sat through those sessions? "We know" the validity of our Apostolic succession. Quite true. S. John was, as in authentic tradition we read, the organizer of the Episcopal constitution of the Churches of Asia. He would not have us disparage our Apostolic succession. But that is not the conviction which he here utters. "We know" that we hold the orthodox faith of the Catholic Church. S. John contends—we know how keenly he contends—for the truth of the Incarnation; that the Highest has taken the lowest unto Himself; that the Word, the very Son of God, has been made flesh, and is "to come" still in the future "in the flesh." We know how He bids us not to receive into our houses teachers who, in the name of the Church, would teach any different doctrine. "He that abideth not in that doctrine hath not God." You cannot accuse S. John of being indifferent to this fundamental Christian orthodoxy, but it is not that which S. John would have us express as our profoundest, our most central conviction. "We know that we are of God." He means by that, "We know that we love the brethren, that we have received into our heart and being the gift of love, which is the unmistakable, the infallible evidence of the Divine indwelling." S. John has

what we may almost call a terror of hypocrisy. Thus, again and again he enjoins upon us to sift the quality of this love which we have, in order that we may assure ourselves of its legitimacy and its genuineness. He first of all presents to the imagination a high claim to a Divine love, and he tests it by the simplest of tests. Do you love your brother as he is there before your eyes? If not, talk no more of the Divine love. Thou art a liar. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God Whom he hath not seen?"

But, once more, he presents to his imagination that sort of ideal love of man which loves or professes to love man in the abstract, or man in his spirit, and is deaf to the common, ordinary, physical claim of his brother in the body. "He that hath this world's goods, and seeth that his brother hath need, and shutteth up the bowels of his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" "Let us not love in word, but in truth."

Once more, and for the last time. S. John tests the reality and sincerity of our love by the consideration—Is it able to change with the changing of human need? Is the old commandment able again and again to become to us a new commandment? S. John had seen a strange experience. You know with what enthusiasm we read the records of the first Jerusalem Church, as it lived there in voluntary communism, having all things common, no man calling the things which he possessed his own. But yet the difficulty of love was hardly begun, for those men and women who formed this Jerusalem Church were associated in common ties of blood; they were living under the impulse of great enthusiasm. They were expecting immediately the second coming of their Lord. We see the rising wave of a great enthusiasm, such as has founded one of the religious orders in later times. It was, as things are at such times, in a certain sense easy work. The enthusiasm was great, and the fellowship was natural. But the time changed. The admission of the Gentiles became the obvious claim. S. Paul proclaimed the Catholicism of the Gospel. Then it was out of the heart of this very Jerusalem Church, which had been so forward in the race of love, that there appeared the most bigoted opposition to the requirement of love when it took this new form. It is often so in the history of the Church. Men love one another under one form, and then that which is the enthusiasm and the religion of one generation becomes the tradition and the routine of the next, and those who use the language which has now become familiar are found to be denying its spirit. So S. John, who had seen an old world pass away from under his feet and the new world break upon him, presses upon those he writes to that the old commandment, the word "Love one another," which they heard from the beginning, has become for them, as for each new age, a new commandment.

Brethren, do we know that we are of God? Are we quite sure that there is in our heart this most certainly—the reality of human love? Do we test it rigorously, test it by these strenuous tests; for are they not strenuous? There is high talk about love which does not show itself in love of men. There is high talk about philanthropy, an abstract love which does not show itself in love to the individual, the particular man, or to man in his whole being. How monstrously do they misuse that declaration of our Lord, "My kingdom is not of this world," who use it

to deny to us Christians the obligation to look after the whole of what concerns and interests and elevates human life. Christ our Lord took not our human spirit only, but our human flesh. Christ took the whole of human life, and with the whole of human life He concerns Himself. He heals men's bodies that He may heal their spirits; and we deny the verity of the Incarnation in its principle if we deny to the Christian spirit the privilege, aye, and the obligation, to concern itself with everything that interests and that touches human life. "We lie" (so we may adapt the language of S. John) "if we say that we love the spirits of our brethren, and do not love their bodies and their temporal condition."

And once more, does our love exhibit itself as changing with the changing time, not in the essence, but in its application? Beautiful was the picture of that old feudal constitution of society, as the squire and the parson and the farmer and the peasantry lived with one another in a sort of hierarchy of orders. That constitution of things prevails still and has power in our country places. It will prevail for many a year to come in a measure. In our towns it has vanished altogether. It has gone. Another constitution, another set of cries and claims is uppermost. It is the equal right of all to consideration, the equal claim of all to the opportunity to make the best of their faculties.

That is the Christian meaning of brotherhood and of equality, and the question is, now that the cry is heard, do we look backward? Are any of us ready to be loving under the old set of circumstances, but not ready to exhibit the same reality of Christian love that our fathers showed under the new set of circumstances. Does the old commandment become to us a new commandment? These are stern questions which we have to set to ourselves. And it never is safe, I believe, to let ourselves think about the validity of our sacraments and the certainty of our orders and the glory of our history and the splendour of our privileges without pressing home to ourselves then at that very time the tremendous severity of that inward claim. "We know that we are of God. We know that the whole world lieth in the wicked one." If we know that, are we showing it? "We know that the whole world lieth in the wicked one." That means nothing less than this, nothing other than this—that we, as we stand each in his own place, preaching the truth of Christ, are John the Baptists speaking with impartial simplicity, insight, knowledge, and severity towards all classes, including our own; towards the commercial class preaching with accuracy of knowledge, but with reality of moral severity in regard of that dishonesty which is honeycombing our commerce at home and abroad; towards the wealthy speaking words which echo with trenchant and penetrating incisiveness all the precepts of S. James, of S. Paul, of our Lord. You remember those words of our Lord—"Thus have ye made the commandments of God of none effect by your traditions." You can trace easily enough how by explanations and evasions and dispensations that commandment to honour parents had had its moral force obliterated. You feel the force of our Lord's denunciation. But, brethren, place yourselves on your knees before the cross of Jesus. Read there the tremendous simplicity of His language, of the language of S. James about riches, the simplicity of the language of S. Paul about those who desire to be rich; and ask yourselves whether this Church of ours at home can fail to hear with the ear of the spirit those same words of

Jesus spoken over their pulpits and over their assemblies, "Thus and thus and thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect by your traditions."

We are to speak also with that same severity towards those whom we call by a title equally unfortunate for those who are included in it and for those who are not "the working classes." They, too, must be forced to consider their own responsibilities. Suppose there was no change of social condition in the next forty years, but during those years a diminution by one-third of the lust and the drunkenness and the gambling which at present degrade their lives; and would you know this world, this England of ours? so utterly changed as by a moral revolution would be the face of our country. And let there be the best possible social changes for the next forty years, and let there be no diminution in the lust and the gambling and the drunkenness, and would not the condition of the country be infinitely and intolerably worse than it is now, as more leisure and more wealth would mean more vice? Have we our John the Baptists? Are we all in our place recognizing that "the whole world lieth in the wicked one"?

And then the other side of it. "We know that we are of God." We read the record of a S. Francis of Assisi, of a S. Vincent. They were foreign saints. The English character is more homely. We read the record of our S. Wulfstan with his love for his rough Saxon brethren. Brethren, what are we doing? Is the record of Christian love as vigorous in our time and our Church? Have we ever made in this Church revival of ours yet the adequate impression of self-sacrifice upon the heart of the suffering and the poor? Are we by conventionality and by ridicule restraining anywhere the force and fire of Divine appeals which in the hearts of men are stirring them to tittermost self-sacrifice, to that liberty of celibacy, and that reality of voluntary poverty by which under a changed exterior, adapted to our time, I suppose, but with the same splendour of meaning, the joy of love is again to be made impressive to the hearts of men? At least let us take away with us S. John's great affirmation. At least when we ask ourselves what we mean by being a Christian let the answer rise, instinctive, full-hearted, in our whole being, "We know that we are of God." We know that we love, if imperfectly, yet with the reality and the self-sacrifice of Christ for His people. "It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master." If murmurs rise in our hearts at the hardness of our condition in any way or at any time, that is enough, I think, to stifle any murmuring, to suppress any complaint; verily it is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master and the servant as his Lord. And verily now always the reality of the spiritual life of a Christian community turns on one thing only—on the thoroughness with which they realize that the being of God is love, and that fellowship with God is love, self-sacrificing love, to their brother men.

APPENDIX A—(see page 386.)

HARRY PHILLIPS, Esq., Alderman of West Ham.

IN dealing with the question of the morality of strikes and lock-outs, I cannot generalize, for each strike must be dealt with on its merits. There is the immoral strike and the moral strike. The immoral strike is that in which men after having taken a contract, knowing they have the employer in their power, strike for more wages because they know he cannot resist their demand. That is a violation of contract and breaking of faith on the part of the men. Then there is the strike of ninety-nine unionists against one non-unionist, and the lock-out of thousands because of a foolish fifty. These are immoral, and should be opposed. A moral strike is when the working men strike against conditions of work which produce stunted manhood, desecrated childhood, and degraded womanhood. By every principle of Christianity we are morally bound to support such a strike. When it is impossible to develop the God-given capacities of manhood, the capacities of life, and of a joyous life, the capacities which enable a man to enter into the raptures of art, literature, and music—no one can say I am giving too high an ideal for a working man's life—when the conditions of life render it impossible for a man to enter into the full capacities of manhood, then men have a right to revolt and rebel against those conditions. When all peaceable methods to secure justice and fair play have been tried and have failed, then such a strike is sacred and righteous.

What is ethically wrong—living cannot be financially right. "What! know ye not your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost?" So when the conditions of labour are such that they destroy manhood, a strike is justifiable; and to continue quiet under such conditions would be criminally wrong. They must be resisted at all costs, and at the expense of all suffering. And it must be remembered that there can be no faith without its martyrs; no victory without its slain; and if the workman suffers for his faith, all the more honour to the man. There are too few who suffer for their creed. Often a strike will produce real heroism; and develop a character in a man that was never suspected. It often develops his manhood. That is to be set off against the suffering entailed; and it is marvellous how willing the women are to suffer.

The workman has always had to fight and suffer to obtain better conditions, for his only hope lies in combination. Individually he is not in the same plane as his employer in making a bargain. Having democratically, and after calm consideration and much negotiation, decided to strike, he is justified in making that strike as effective as possible. A strike is a blow which should be effective at once. It should not have to last any great length of time to succeed.

What should be the attitude of Churchmen in relation to strikes? If we would influence a strike, or prevent or help it, we must win the confidence of the unionist. If you would lead, you must start before the rest of the procession. What help does the Church offer to the workmen, individually, collectively, socially? Does she do all she can? Does she, for instance, offer the workman the use of schoolrooms for his meetings, instead of

the public-house? Does she teach him by means of economic lectures and kindred subjects the rights and wrongs of his position and his surroundings? It is often said that the men are indifferent to the Church, but is that not because the Church does not concern herself about them?

I say that the Church should ascertain the grievances of the working classes and master their grievances. But does the Church go right down into the life of the workman and try and elevate it? In your parish, is the clergyman a labour leader! Is it not our duty as Churchmen to do what we can for our poorer brethren? The invitation of Christ is, "Come unto Me, and I will give you life"—life: larger, fuller, deeper. Is not the social movement of to-day materialistic just because the Church as a whole has stood out of it? No one can deny that the Church is charitable, but charity too often merely subsidizes the sweater's wage, making it possible for the people to barely live. Surely a healthy independence is better.

Let us seek to develop right living all round. This is not a matter for debate. It is a positive obligation to all. Moses was called by God to lead men out of their servitude in order that they might worship Him, which was impossible in their Egyptian bondage; so whenever we see conditions of labour so bad that the higher life is stunted and hampered, we are bound to become, as Moses of old, labour leaders, and strike organizers against all modern Pharaohs who enslave and oppress the people. The message of the Church must be—"Let My people go that they may serve Me."

List of Church Congresses.

DATE.	TOWN.	PRESIDENT.
1861—	Cambridge ..	Archdeacon of Ely (Dr. France).
1862—	Oxford ..	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce).
1863—	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Prince Lee).
1864—	Bristol ..	Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott).
1865—	Norwich ..	Bishop of Norwich (Hon. Dr. Pelham).
1866—	York ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1867—	Wolverhampton ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Lonsdale).
1868—	Dublin ..	Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Trench).
1869—	Liverpool ..	Bishop of Chester (Dr. Jacobson).
1870—	Southampton ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce).
1871—	Nottingham ..	Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Wordsworth).
1872—	Leeds ..	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth).
1873—	Bath ..	Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey)
1874—	Brighton ..	Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Durnford).
1875—	Stoke ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Selwyn).
1876—	Plymouth ..	Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple).
1877—	Croydon ..	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait).
1878—	Sheffield ..	Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson).
1879—	Swansea ..	Bishop of S. David's (Dr. Jones).
1880—	Leicester ..	Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee).
1881—	Newcastle ..	Bishop of Durham (Dr. Lightfoot).
1882—	Derby ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan).
1883—	Reading ..	Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Mackarness).
1884—	Carlisle ..	Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Harvey Goodwin).
1885—	Portsmouth ..	Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Harold Browne).
1886—	Wakefield ..	Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Boyd-Carpenter).
1887—	Wolverhampton ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Dr. Maclagan).
1888—	Manchester ..	Bishop of Manchester (Dr. Moorhouse).
1889—	Cardiff ..	Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Richard Lewis).
1890—	Hull ..	Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott).
1891—	Rhyl ..	Bishop of S. Asaph (Dr. Alfred George Edwards).
1892—	Folkestone ..	Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson).
1893—	Birmingham ..	Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Perowne).
1894—	Exeter ..	Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Bickersteth).
1895—	Norwich ..	Bishop of Norwich (John Sheepshanks, M.A.)
1896—	Shrewsbury ..	Bishop of Lichfield (Hon. A. Legge, D.D.)

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